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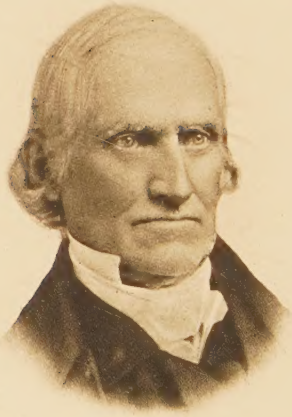

Sylvester Judd.

History *of* Hadley

INCLUDING THE

Early History of Hatfield, South Hadley Amherst and Granby

MASSACHUSETTS

By SYLVESTER JUDD

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

GEORGE SHELDON

ALSO

Family Genealogies

By LUCIUS M. BOLTWOOD

Published by H. R. HUNTTING & COMPANY
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PREFACE

TO THE ORIGINAL EDITION

THE town of Hadley is one of the oldest in the Connecticut valley. Differences of opinion in relation to discipline, baptism, and the qualifications for church membership, had so rent the churches of Hartford and Wethersfield, that Gov. John Webster, Elder William Goodwin, and Rev. John Russell, with their friends, at length decided to seek a new home at a higher point on the river.

To brave the journey of fifty miles through the wilderness and to lay again the foundations of a new town, was of course no small undertaking, yet the peace of the Colony requiring it, such was their resolve. Accordingly, on the 18th of April, 1659, the company to the number of sixty, met at the house of Nathaniel Ward in Hartford, and signed an agreement for their regulation and government, pledging themselves to remove to the "plantation purchased on the east side of the river of Connecticut, beside Northampton," as early as the 29th of September of the following year. For various reasons, twenty of the original signers failed to fulfil their engagements, yet their places were supplied by others, the town was settled, and has ever since continued to prosper.

To trace the history of this enterprise, from its inception to the present time—to relate the toils, privations and dangers which beset the path of our ancestors—to describe their mode of life—to tell what they did for the cause of learning and religion—and to give some account of their families, is the object of the present work. In carrying out this purpose, no available source of information has been overlooked.

Induced by no expectation of pecuniary reward, but stimulated by an ardent love for historical research and a desire to preserve from destruction the crumbling materials of a long and interesting history, at the pressing solicitation of Major Sylvester Smith, SYLVESTER JUDD, ESQ., commenced the publication of this work. To it he devoted every moment

which health would allow, and continued his labors until removed by death.

With not a little reluctance, at the earnest desire of his family, shortly after Mr. Judd's decease, did I consent to complete the work commenced by one, who has well been styled, "the distinguished antiquary of Northampton." To this task, amid a pressure of other duties, have I devoted my leisure moments; and having brought together the scattered fragments of family history left by Mr. Judd, and added to the same from my own collections, I am able at length to lay before the public, the result of my labors, having pursued the work with interest heightened by being able to trace my own descent from no less than five of those noble men, who more than two hundred years ago, in prayer and faith, laid such goodly foundations in this garden of New England.

L. M. BOLTWOOD.

Amherst, March, 1863.

INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW EDITION

Containing a Careful Study of the Lives of the Regicides and an Inquiry into the Historical Basis of the "Angel of Hadley" Legend.

By GEORGE SHELDON.

There are events in the history of Hadley of which her citizens are, and of right ought to be, very proud. They may tell of heroes living and dying there, whose dust sanctifies their soil—heroes of war, and heroes of peace. The actions of the former are usually on a stage where they can be seen and known of all men. For the most part these live and act conscious of a watching world, and assured that lasting memorials will perpetuate their names and deeds. We point to Hadley's farmer-soldier General Hooker on Beacon Hill.

To the heroes of peace all this incentive to action is notably wanting. Their noblest deeds are often done in emergencies, on a sudden impulse, with no applauding crowd; more often without a witness, and with no thought of present reward or future fame. The greatest hero of Hadley, however, was of a still nobler and finer mold. Actuated by pure motives of humanity, sympathy and duty, and the loftiest pitch of patriotism, he patiently wrought in darkness and in silence. Through the anxious days and lingering nights of more than ten years, he bravely stood within a hand's breadth of the gates of ignominious death. He never faltered for a single hour, nor ever sought to shift upon another the burden and responsibility. Month after month, summer and winter, year after year, zealously watching and guarding his trust, John Russell was virtually a prisoner within his own hamlet. Under his very rooftree he was secreting Edward Whalley and William Goffe, two of the patriot judges who con-

demned to the scaffold that misguided and perfidious representative of the "divine right of kings," Charles I., of England. These two men were now proscribed; a price was set upon their heads, and a swift retribution awaited any who might relieve or conceal them. Any neglect of precaution, any unforeseen mishap to the premises, any single case of misplaced confidence, and both he and his guests were surely doomed to nameless torture and death. Of necessity there must have been those about him in the secret, but none failed him, although each knew that a single whispered word would bring a rich reward. All honor to these faithful souls.

Whalley and Goffe were known to be in Boston in 1660, and also in New Haven in 1661; and zealous minions of Charles II. were for twenty years ransacking every corner of the Colonies with the ardor and persistence of bloodhounds; their very house of refuge was searched. Over these two men, themselves of heroic proportion, lovers of liberty, patriots of the highest type, Mr. Russell was in truth the real "Guardian Angel of Hadley."

In 1672 Mr. Russell was appointed to a place of trust and honor, which would have taken him to Boston free of expense twice each year. This very desirable service he declined by letter, saying guardedly, that he must do so on account of "the special worke where with I stand charged." Seldom or never in all the years in which he was guarding that trust, could the steadfast pastor get a release from the stated Sunday and Fast Day service by an exchange of pulpits; not once the refreshment and inspiration which the country minister was wont to get in the "Annual Convention" at Boston.

In 1674 Goffe writes to his wife that her father, General Whalley, was fast nearing his end; but no one knows when the day of rest came. All knowledge of the time or place of Goffe's departure has also passed with him behind the veil. In 1685, however, we find the faithful watchman breathing the free air of Boston. Probably his "special worke" came to an end finally with a second burial in his cellar. Mr. Russell died in 1692. Hadley has indeed reason to be proud of such sublime heroism as his, and it is passing strange that her citizens have so long delayed placing an indestructible memorial to mark the spot where, even in the shadow of the grave, loom up the truly grand proportions of John Russell. Here shone forth his intense love of liberty. Here he stood ready to sacrifice his life, in showing honor for the daring deeds of these two apostles of civil freedom, whom he was shielding from a horrible death. Here he emphasized his belief, that

"Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God." Evidence is not wanting, that the time is now ripe for Hadley to honor itself by doing honor to her most noble nobleman, brave John Russell; and we may hope and expect with confidence, that this long-delayed duty will soon be an actual achievement. His descendants may be scattered far and wide; but let Hadley see to it that his fame with her shall ever abide.

The story of the town has been told with rare interest in Judd's History of Hadley. This book has been long out of print. More than thirty years ago, I bought the only copy I could find on sale in Boston. As it is indispensible to any well-equipped library of Americana, public or private, and has become so scarce that its price has reached a prohibitory figure to most students, there can be no question about the necessity of a new edition. Judd's History has been known as a standard work ever since it was issued. It not only covers Hadley, but the territory for a score of miles up and down the valley of the Connecticut. In it the searcher after knowledge of the manners and customs of the early days will find a full field from which to garner colonial, ecclesiastical, scholastic, civic, industrial, mercantile, legal and legendary lore. The very opening chapter contains a clue to the obscure, but interminable church quarrels so common and persistent among our Puritan and Pilgrim fathers and mothers. The causes, when we can unlock their confusing mysteries, seem to us trivial, but examination shows that by these earnest, honest men and women, they were considered vital and controlling, as being matters of eternal consequence. It was one of these disturbing events in Connecticut that determined when and by whom Hadley should be settled.

Judd was an enthusiastic student; generally seeking the material for his history at first hand—in old parchment-covered record books, files of musty time-stained papers, tattered letters, and long-forgotten diaries. Those who have seen the mass of his accumulated papers are surprised at the extent and diversity of his research. Although fate decreed that Mr. Judd should not have the final arrangement of his great store of genealogical data, this work was successfully accomplished by Hon. Lucius M. Boltwood, and is, and always will be, a rich mine for the delver after family history in the valley of the Connecticut.

As before said, Mr. Judd must always be looked up to as a sound historical authority of the highest rank. If once in a great while he be found tripping, we can but say, that it is the common lot of all who depend upon original manuscript. New material

of this kind may and often does come to light, for the use and edification of the later writer. There was one topic upon which the painstaking Judd was led astray; that was in giving undue credit to President Ezra Stiles, in his History of the Three Judges. Through his faith in the standing of the man, Judd accepted as history, without his usual investigation, the Leverett Tradition, that on Sept. 1, 1675, Hadley was attacked by Indians while the inhabitants were assembled in the meetinghouse holding a Fast Day service, and that the town was only saved from destruction by the sudden appearance of General Goffe, at a critical moment. If this story is otherwise read by me, and my version be accepted as true, I am here embarrassed by an apparent claim to be the better student. I am not, and far be it from me to make such a claim. It may not be improper to say, that in common with all the later historians of New England, I had accepted the account of President Stiles as an established fact, and no more thought of calling in question the authenticity of the Goffe story, than of any accepted fact of history. I had seen, however, so many traditions discredited in my general reading, that I had made it my rule to take nothing second hand which could be personally investigated, and so when possible, I went to the same original sources of information as my author. This I soon found necessary to the spirit of independent thought and expression, for not seldom, I found myself differing from the author in hand, in my interpretation of the same facts.

It was in accordance with the above rule, that I began mining for the foundation of the "Angel of Hadley" story. To my surprise, I soon discovered that the corner stone, instead of being laid on bed rock or solid masonry, rested on nothing better than elusive quicksand. Had Mr. Judd entertained the faintest suspicion about the main fact of the story, I make no doubt he would have investigated the matter, and would have reached the same conclusion which was fairly forced upon me. With all his general faith in Stiles, Judd was compelled to question some of his positions on this subject, occasionally disputing him point blank; and he shows that some of the traditions upon which Stiles built, were "certainly false." Many other items are treated with small respect, "Some of which must be rejected," he says. Mr. Judd would doubtless be the last man to regret that the romantic, but baseless episode of the Angel of Rescue, so cherished by the sentimental, should be eliminated from the annals of the town, when its most potent factor is proved to be but the child of an indiscriminating credulity.

It is expected by the publishers of the new edition of Judd's History that the Introduction shall contain a concise review of the evidence upon which rests the story of the Angel of Hadley, as given by Stiles and accepted in the main feature by Judd. Necessarily the field to be explored is obscure, the facts to be dealt with, fragmentary, widely scattered and individually of small account; but all these facts focused upon the objective point, will, it is hoped, give a final quietus to the angel fabrication being accepted as history. As material for romantic fiction, the myth will live for ages.

General Edward Whalley and General William Goffe were members of the "High Court of Justice," which was the forlorn hope of civil and religious liberty for the English race, and which with one desperate blow so shattered the battlements of Prerogative, that its walls never have been and never can be fully built up again. With the restoration of Charles II., these two men fled to New England. When they left London, the King had not been proclaimed, but the news reached them while yet in the English Channel. The good ship of Captain Pierce, which brought them over, "came to anchor between Boston and Charlestown," July 27, 1660. Whalley had assumed the name of Richardson, and Goffe the name of Shepardson. They at once took up their residence at Cambridge. The quotations which follow are from the diary of General Goffe.

"July 29th, Lord's Day, heard Mr. Mitchell preach." They were well received here by men who knew their real character. Mitchell was the minister of Cambridge. "Aug. 9th, Went to Boston Lecture, heard Norton, Scotch ship brought threatned recognition by one who came in it. At night Maj. [Daniel] Gookin showed us a printed paper y^{t} was brought by the Scotch Ship wherin the Lds doe order 66 members of the High Court of Justice to be secured with y^{r} Estate."

While at Cambridge they also attended an Indian Lecture, probably by the apostle Eliot, and Goffe makes note of the discussion which followed and the searching questions put by the natives. After Aug. 9th, the Judges made no pretence of concealment.

"Aug. 16th, Sup'd with Mr. Chauncey [President of Harvard College] he was persuaded y^{e} Ld had brought us to this country for good both to them and ourselves."

"Aug. 23d, visited Elder Frost," and on the 26th they were visited by Mr. Mitchell. By the above may be seen their status in Boston. So the Judges waited coming events. Would Charles

be sustained? They had not long to wait. November 30th, a ship brought news that the King was firmly established on the throne, and furthermore, that complaints were abroad about the way the Judges had been received in the Colony. Action here became necessary, and on December 19th an "Address to the King" was sent over by the General Court. A gracious reply was returned by Charles. Before this had been received, however, orders had arrived for the apprehension of Whalley and Goffe. February 22d the Court of Assistants met to consider the matter. The members did not agree upon any action, and nothing followed; but all saw that a crisis was near, and means were found to send the Judges away from the Bay. They were guided by an Indian as far as Springfield, and thence by Simon Lobdel through Hartford, reaching New Haven March 7, 1661. A few days after they left Cambridge, a "Hue-and-Cry" was received from England, and March 8th, a warrant for their arrest was sent to Springfield, on their trail. But the birds had flown, as was doubtless expected.

The pretended efforts of Governor Endicott did not blind observers in England. One Mr. Lang writes Rev. John Davenport at New Haven, Oct. 28, 1661, "The Bay stirring soe much for the Apprehending of W: & G: signifie at present heere but little, because they were so long with them & then did nothing." Governor Endicott did not succeed altogether in saving his credit, but the Judges had fled beyond his jurisdiction and he was saved further embarrassment. They were well received as befitting their rank, by the leading men of Hartford and New Haven. They were probably sheltered under the roof of Rev. Mr. Davenport at New Haven, but not for long.

Forced by royal mandate, on the 7th of May, 1661, Governor Endicott sent Thomas Kellond, captain of an English ship, and Thomas Kirk, a young Boston merchant, two zealous royalists, to search for the Judges, as far south as New York. On their return May 29th, they made a detailed Report to Governor Endicott. From this Report we learn that they reached Guilford, Conn., May 11th, 1661, and had a conference with William Lette, acting governor. On the 12th or 13th, they arrived at New Haven. There some time was spent in ineffectual efforts to induce the magistrates to give them authority to search for the Judges. The agents were put off chiefly by pretended difficulties in matters of authority. They say, "And soe findeing them obstinate and pertenaceous in their contempt of his Majestie, we came away the next day in prosecution after them, according

to instructions, to the Governour of Manadas," by whom they received civil treatment and fair promises; after which "Wee made our returne by sea to give your honor an accompt."

To this relation they made oath. News of the coming of Kellond and Kirk was received at New Haven by Mr. Davenport in advance of their arrival, and the Judges were spirited away to a safe retreat. Later a search of New Haven was made by the authorities, which ended as intended. The Judges remained in hiding in and about New Haven and Guilford until 1664, when, learning that Commissioners from England had arrived in Boston with special orders to search for Whalley and Goffe, it was thought they were no longer safe in Connecticut; and on the 13th day of October, 1664, they began their long night journey through the woods to the house of Rev. John Russell, in Hadley. That little plantation was only five years old, but its sturdy stock, the pick of three towns, had already taken firm root in the virgin soil. The minister, who had led his flock out of a theological snarl in Connecticut, was leader still. Peter Tilton, the magistrate, stood next in position. All were men of strong parts and sterling principles; men to be relied upon should the worst befall. In this little town, deep in the wilderness, the worn and hunted men found a sure refuge. One of them for a certainty here finished his checkered career, and here I believe his ashes still rest in an undiscovered grave. As to the younger, General Goffe, doubts may properly be raised.

From Hadley the exiles corresponded by letter with their friends in England and in New England, under assumed names.

The question of the Indian attack on Hadley Sept. 1, 1675, and the appearance of the "Good Angel" Goffe to the rescue, will be considered in a general review of the evidence in the case. The wide dissemination of this story is chiefly due to Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College, in his History of the Three Judges published in 1794. For this work, Doctor Stiles attempted to make an exhaustive search in all directions for material, and he shows a commendable zeal and industry in hunting for recorded facts and traditions. Unfortunately, however, there appears to be in him a lack of the judicial quality. He delights to eat and drink of traditions, but he fails in their digestion. He plainly exhibits a certain twist in his make-up, which inclines him to give more weight to a faint family tradition, than to verified contemporaneous facts. In justification of this criticism, I will cite a single example. I have spoken of the mission of Kellond and Kirk to New Haven, and their sworn return to Governor Endicott.

This Report is printed in full by Doctor Stiles. The salient facts are, that the emissaries spent three days in fruitless efforts to obtain a warrant to enable them to search for the Judges. Failing in this, on the fourth day, they left Connecticut for New York, without making any search; and from New York they say "Wee made our returne by sea, to give your honor an accompt." After giving this Report, Stiles comments upon it thus: "They arrived at New Haven the 13th day; and it should seem that they left the town the next day, and this without any search at all; and particularly, no mention is made of their interview with Mr. Davenport. But the constant tradition in New Haven is, that they diligently searched the town, and particularly the house of Mr. Davenport, whom they treated with asperity, and reprehension. . . . It would seem that they [the Judges] were not in town while the pursuivants were here."

Now, in the face of this Report and his own comments, Stiles in the same chapter gives page after page of obscure and conflicting traditions, which he tries to soften and reconcile, to prove that Kellond and Kirk did search several houses, and that the Judges had several narrow escapes in the process. Further, that the pursuers returned home from New York not by sea, but through New Haven, where they continued the search; for so say some family traditions. Such treatment of evidence warrants a very careful scrutiny of other conclusions arrived at by Doctor Stiles. The knowledge that Whalley and Goffe were concealed at Hadley was "first made known to the world" in 1764, by Governor Thomas Hutchinson in his "History of Massachusetts." In collecting material for this history, Hutchinson visited Hadley, and sought to find and garner every scrap of tradition concerning the Judges that might have floated down on the years of a century which he knew had passed since their lot had been cast in that town. His errand appears to have been nearly barren of results. Apparently no one there had any knowledge or tradition connecting Hadley with the Judges. The result of his research so far as it appears, is this: "The tradition at Hadley is that two persons unknown were buried in the minister's cellar." That and no more.

In 1793, President Stiles, while hunting material for his history of the Judges also spent some time in Hadley. He aroused the interest and secured the help of Rev. Samuel Hopkins, who had been the minister there since 1754. They made diligent search among the older people for any and every possible scrap of tradition or legend—"Even fabulous ones," says Doctor Stiles—in

any way concerning the astounding revelation of Hutchinson in 1764. Nothing direct or substantial was discovered. They found a few faint and shadowy traditions, varying and contradicting one another, although all pointed toward the fact of strangers, in the long past, being concealed in the houses of Mr. Russell and Mr. Tilton; and that "one of them died in the town, those who remember which, say Whalley." The results from this search are embodied in a letter from Mr. Hopkins to President Stiles.

There is good reason to believe that the names of Russell, Tilton, and Whalley were later additions to the traditions. In this volume Judd printed all that was obtained by Stiles and Hopkins. Here will be found faint echoes of the real state of affairs at Hadley which leaked out in hints dropped by some of those in the deadly secret, long after all danger had passed. One of these traditions which appears the most trivial, is in reality the only one bearing internal evidence of being authentic. It shows conclusively that as late as 1725–30, while there were vague rumors in the air easily referable to the Judges, nothing was publicly known about the facts in the case. There were only unrelated stories. This one tradition follows. Doctor Stiles states, that in May, 1792, he visited at Wethersfield, Conn., Mrs. Porter, "a daughter of Mr. Ebenezer Marsh, and born at Hadley, 1715, next door to Mr. Tilton's." In reply to his questionings, she told him that before she left Hadley, "there were many flying stories, but so uncertain that nothing could be depended on." She said that "When she was a girl, it was the constant belief among the neighbors that an old man, for some reason or other, had been buried in the fence between Deacon Eastman's and her father's" so that each could "be able to say that he was not buried in his lot; but why he should be buried in the lot at all, and not in the public burying place, she had never heard any reason or tradition. She said the women and girls . . . used to meet at the dividing fence, and while chatting and talking together for amusement, one and another at times would say, with a sort of skittish fear and laughing, 'Who knows but what we are now standing on the old man's grave.'" The significance of this extract from Stiles, of which Hopkins could learn nothing, will appear when we come to consider his declaration that the story of Goffe, the angel, was known to everybody about 1690.

I will now take up the main object of this presentation, and give consideration to the letter from Hopkins to which I have alluded. It was written to Doctor Stiles March 26, 1793. I shall comment

only upon this significant passage which covers the gist of the Angel Story. "Most of whom I have enquired for tradition say, that while they [the Judges] were here, the Indians made an assault upon the town; that on this occasion a person unknown appeared, animating and leading on the inhabitants against the enemy and exciting them by his activity and ardours; that when the Indians were repulsed, the stranger disappeared—was gone —none ever knew where, or who he was. The above is the general tradition among us. I shall now notice some things which were in the tradition, as given by some differing from the above, or adding somewhat to it." Then follow the stories which have been characterized as misty, and inconclusive. In none of these, it must be noted, is there the slightest reference to the attack on Hadley September 1st, which Hopkins says in his letter, "is the general tradition among us." Whence comes this "general tradition"? Not from the stories which he gathered from the old families, and quotes. The source is not far to seek. Hutchinson, as we have seen, could not find at Hadley the slightest tradition or trace of Whalley or Goffe by name. The total result of his search was the story that "Two persons unknown, were buried in the minister's cellar." That, in 1763, was the sum and substance of Hadley tradition. Col. Israel Williams, an intimate personal and political friend of Hutchinson, was born and lived all his days within cannon shot of the house of Mr. Russell, and had known hundreds of people whose fathers or grandfathers were contemporary with the events at Hadley in 1675, but he could add nothing to this meager information. If no trace of the Angel Story was to be found in 1763, how comes it to be so "general" in 1793?

In 1764 Hutchinson published his history. For the first time, the generation then on the stage knew that the two Judges had ever been given shelter in Hadley. Here then is the base of this general tradition of 1793. After this strange revelation by the historian, it became the common topic of conversation. The matter was, of course, talked over and over by old and young, until at length it was incorporated in the town talk, and the people gradually assumed that the facts had always been known in the community. In truth they had always existed, to those born after 1763. In view of what is now known, this seems a simple and justifiable solution of the "general tradition" of which Hopkins writes in 1793.

We shall study Hutchinson's History only so far as it relates to Whalley and Goffe. When he wrote he had in his possession

that part of the diary of General Goffe from May 4, 1660, the time he left England, until 1667. Up to that date Hutchinson's knowledge is absolute and cannot be questioned. After that date his narrative is more general although he held other original papers. The latter are now accessible and have been freely used in preparing this introduction.

In his book, Hutchinson gives a general account of the arrival and reception of Whalley and Goffe at Boston and Cambridge, and of their sojourn at New Haven and Hadley. He says, "The story of these persons has never yet been published to the world. It has never been known in New-England. Their papers, after their death, were collected and have remained near an hundred years in a library in Boston." In a footnote of several pages Hutchinson enlarges; tells more particulars of their hiding and adventures at New Haven, until October 13th, 1664, when "they removed to Hadley near an hundred miles distant, travelling only by night, where Mr. Russell the minister of the place had previously agreed to receive them. Here they remained concealed fifteen or sixteen years, very few persons in this Colony being privy to it." This footnote closes thus; and here is the nut to be cracked: "I am loth to omit an anecdote handed down through Governor Leveret's family. I find Goffe takes notice in his journal of Leveret being at Hadley. The town of Hadley was alarmed by the Indians in 1675, in the time of public service, and the people were in the utmost confusion. Suddenly, a grave, elderly person appeared in the midst of them. In his mein and dress he differed from the rest of the people. He not only encouraged them to defend themselves, but put himself at their head, rallied, instructed and led them on to encounter the enemy, who by this means were repulsed. As suddenly the deliverer of Hadley disappeared. The people were left in consternation utterly unable to account for the strange phenomenon. It is not probable that they were ever able to explain it."

We note this is not given as history by Hutchinson, but only as an "anecdote" and merely in a footnote. The mysterious stranger is not mentioned at all in the body of the book where he gives the history of Philip's War. Not only this, but he gives good reasons why the story could not be true. His notice of the affair described in the "anecdote" is this—"September the 1st, Hadley was attacked upon a fast day, while the people were at church, which broke up the service, and obliged them to spend the day in a very different exercise." This much of the "anecdote" was accepted by the historian, as there is no other authority for it. Upon this

Stiles enlarges, thus: "Though told with some variation in different parts of New-England, the true story of the Angel is this: During their abode in Hadley, the famous . . . Philip's War took place . . . and Hadley . . . was then an exposed frontier. That pious congregation were observing a Fast at Hadley on the occasion of this war: and being at public worship in the meeting-house there on a Fast day, September 1, 1675, were suddenly surrounded and surprised by a body of Indians. . . The people immediately took to their arms, but were thrown into great consternation and confusion. Had Hadley been taken the discovery of the Judges had been inevitable. Suddenly, and in the midst of the people there appeared a man of a very venerable aspect, and different from the inhabitants in his apparel, who took the command, arranged and ordered them in the best military manner, and under his direction they repelled and routed the Indians, and the town was saved. He immediately vanished, and the inhabitants could not account for the phenomenon, but by considering that person as an Angel sent of God on that special occasion for their deliverance; and for some time after said and believed that they had been delivered and saved by an Angel—nor did they know or conceive otherwise till fifteen or twenty years after, when it at length became known at Hadley that the two Judges had been secreted there; which probably they did not know until after Mr. Russell's death in 1692. This story, however, of the Angel at Hadley, was before this universally diffused thro' New-England by means of the memorable Indian War of 1675. The mystery was unriddled after the revolution, when it became not so very dangerous to have it known that the Judges had received an asylum here and that Goffe was actually in Hadley at that time. The Angel was certainly General Goffe, for Whalley was superannuated in 1675."

Here we have the story of the attack September 1st, and the full-fledged Angel enlarged from the "anecdote." Stiles has now woven it into history. This has been accepted by all historians, great and small, and spread broadcast over the civilized world. It is confessedly founded upon the anecdote—no other source of information is even hinted at. Doctor Stiles gives credit to Hutchinson for a new fact in Philip's War, which had been overlooked by all the contemporaneous historians. Hutchinson did indeed swallow so much of the myth as covered the attack; but he states distinctly, that Goffe could not have appeared in the fray, without its leading to his discovery and destruction. This was a self-evident conclusion. Stiles cannot be justified in

discarding this statement and foisting the Angel story wrongfully upon Hutchinson.

Now a word about the origin of the "Anecdote." It was either one stroke of some imaginative genius, or as is more probable, the gradual growth of generations in the fireside lore of the Leverett family. Its roots were no doubt planted in Mather's story of the "Alarm" at Hadley September 1st, published in 1676. Its branches may easily have been scions grafted on the knowledge of the facts in the case, handed down in the Leverett family, that the Judges were in Hadley on that same day. This is Mather's account of what really did happen at Hadley Sept. 1, 1675, as given in his history of Philip's War. "One of the Churches in Boston was seeking the face of God by fasting and prayer before him. Also that very day, the Church in Hadley was before the Lord in the same way, but were driven from the holy service they were attending by a most sudden and violent alarm, which routed them the whole day after."

There can be no doubt that Mather's story of the "alarm" at Hadley was true. The same could have been said of Hatfield and Northampton, when the astounding news reached them of the attack that day upon Deerfield. No doubt they too "were in the utmost confusion," while making preparation for their defence. The usual method of Indians in warfare is, to watch chances for a surprise; then a swift stroke, and speedy retreat. But at Deerfield the first shock was unsuccessful; the Indians lingered, and in a measure besieged the garrisons, expecting to lay the whole town in ashes; part being busy in plundering and burning, out of musket range from the stockades. In the meantime this condition had been discovered and reported by scouts from below. It was the first attack upon any town in the valley, and what would be their fate after Deerfield had been destroyed, was the main thought. Of course, the people of Hadley were "in consternation by a most sudden and violent *alarm*, which routed them the whole day after," and doubtless a sleepless night followed. We must always note that Mather does not give the story of the alarm as part of the history of the war. He was dwelling strictly upon the dealings of God with the people, and the effect of prayer in turning aside His wrath.

The matter-of-fact Stoddard makes no note of this alarm. When sending Mather material for his "History of the War," he wrote only of the "Remarkable Passages." This alarm was such a trifle among the terrible tragedies of the two weeks covered by his letter, as not to be worthy of any note, and it is heard of

only in the theological disquisition by Mather—save when it serves as a sub-base for the narrative of Stiles.

Hutchinson says squarely that the knowledge of the Judges' concealment at Hadley "had never been known to the world" before 1764, just one hundred years after the event. Stiles calmly ignores this declaration, and says unreservedly that the story of the mysterious stranger of September 1st was known throughout the country in 1675–6, and that the stranger was believed to be an Angel until after 1688. Hutchinson was a Tory, his house had been sacked by a mob, and he had been driven from his native land. He died in comparative obscurity in 1780. Stiles was an earnest Whig, an ardent lover of civil freedom, a stout opposer of the Prerogative. Could he have supposed that the history of Hutchinson would also fall into disrepute, and be replaced by his own? He knew full well how marvelous stories were adapted to the popular taste.

We will now take up that part of the "anecdote" accepted by Hutchinson, and baldly say that the "Angel Story" could not be true for the reason that there was absolutely no attack on Hadley by Indians Sept. 1, 1675. The evidence to support this declaration is chiefly negative, but it seems to me that it is positive in effect. In a history of Philip's War published in December, 1676, Rev. Increase Mather, after giving an account of the fight at Sugar Loaf Aug. 25, 1675, continues:

"Sept. 1, The Indians set upon Deerfield (alias Pacumtuck) and killed one man and laid most of the houses in that new hopeful Plantation in ruinous heaps. That which added solemnity and awfulness to that desolation, is that it happened on the very day when one of the churches in Boston [Mather's own] was seeking the face of God by Fasting and Prayer. Also that very day the church in Hadley was before the Lord in the same way, but were driven from the Holy service they were attending by a most sudden and violent alarm, which routed them the whole day after, so that we may humbly complain, as sometime the Church did, 'How long hast thou smoaked against the Prayers of thy People.' Not long after this Capt. Beers with a considerable part of his men fell before the enemy. Concerning the state of these parts at this time until Sept. 15, I received information from a good hand whilst things were fresh in memory, which I shall here insert as containing a brief History of the transactions which happened within the time mentioned [Sept. 1–15], these parts being the seat of the war. The letter I intend is that which followeth."

The letter referred to is in this volume. It is from Rev. Solomon Stoddard, then minister at Northampton, dated Sept. 15, 1675. It is a long letter, reciting minutely the movements of the contending forces in the valley. Stoddard tells of the disarming of the near-by Indians, August 24th, the affair at Sugar Loaf, August 25th, and says, "We heard no more of the Indians till the first of September, when they shot down a garrison soldier at Pocumtuck, that was looking after his horse, and ran violently up into the town, many people having scarcely time enough to get into the garrison: that day they burnt most of their houses and barns, the garrisons not being strong enough to sally out upon them, but killed two of their men from their forts." He gives a full account of the tragic events which accompanied the distruction of Northfield, September 2–6; the second attack on Deerfield September 12th; the relief expedition, September 13th, and the arrival of Captain Moseley at Hadley, September 14th. Hadley is not named at all September 1st, and who knew the events of that day better than Parson Stoddard?

Samuel Mather, nephew of Increase Mather, then minister at Deerfield, wrote his uncle the fullest account of the assault which has been found. With all this information before him, Mather gives not the slightest hint of any trouble at Hadley but the "Alarm," which was obviously on hearing the news from Deerfield. That was enough; for Deerfield, as I have said, was the first town in the valley which was attacked by Indians. Mather writes the next year a History of New England. Hubbard published his notable History of Philip's War in 1677. Several contemporary pamphlets and letters are extant, but not one of these affords a scintilla of light on the alleged attack on Hadley. We also look in vain in the History of the War by Cotton Mather, a few years later. In fact, not a single word can be found on the matter before 1764. If the attack September 1st were a verity, why this silence?

Judd attempts an explanation: it was because the Judges were concealed there. He says, "It was necessary at the time and long after, to throw a veil over the transactions of that day, which has been, and can be, only partially removed." Let us examine this explanation—does it explain! How could this silence be enforced! The facts must have been known to every person in Hadley, inhabitants and soldiers; to all in Hatfield and Northampton. The story must have been repeated to the hundreds of soldiers who came to Hadley that week, for there was the headquarters of the army and the gathering place of the forces

from the East and from Connecticut. Silence might perhaps have been imposed upon the magistrates and ministers, but what of the miscellaneous multitude? All must see the utter impossibility of keeping their mouths shut, when, in the very nature of the case, no reason could be given, without betraying the fatal secret. On the contrary, if the people of Hadley believed they had been saved from destruction by an angel sent of God, why should not this amazing thing be proclaimed from every pulpit with joy and thanksgiving, be discussed at every fireside in the land, and preached in every camp that they were the chosen people of the Lord! This was by far and far the most important event in the history of New England; and how soon would the news have spread to the uttermost parts of the earth; and how would the literature of the times have teemed with the marvelous story. How the superstitious savage would have quailed in terror at this act of the white man's God! The bloody events of the current week show no such effect. If true, why do we not find traditions or recorded facts in the families of Barnard, Baldwin, Boltwood, Coleman, Dickinson, Hawks, Moody, Porter, Russell, Smith, Warner, or Wells, who were on the spot; or in those of Allis, Arms, Belden, Cowles, Field, Frary, Gillet, Graves, Hubbard, Hinsdale, Kellogg, Lyman, Munn, Montague, Marsh, Morton, Parsons, Pomeroy, Sheldon, Stebbins and scores of others in the surrounding towns, descendants of all of which families are now living among us? Look at the contrast! The knowledge of this wonderful deliverance of beset Hadley, by the act of the heroic Goffe, or the direct act of God, lay dormant and unknown for ninety years, to creep out at length through a traditionary anecdote handed down in a single family in far-off Boston, and then only preserved in a marginal footnote to a printed page. But Hutchinson, even, who published the tradition, did not believe the mysterious appearance part of the story, and the part which he did accept quietly slumbered for thirty years longer, until it was revived and printed by President Stiles, and so scattered broadcast as veritable history.

It is certainly strange that subsequent writers should have followed Stiles in the main feature of the story. Most of them added to or varied it, as their fancy dictated, or their judgment impelled. Hoyt can find no warrant for September 1st, and changes the date to June 9, 1676. Judd and Huntington find the attack was not on the meetinghouse. Holland adds many new features, following Hoyt in the date, and brings Major Talcott over from Northampton to be at the finish. Palfrey and Robbins add eloquent and

picturesque descriptions. Farmer makes quite a different thing of it and quotes conversation with Goffe. Drake accepted the story with great effort, and can only fix the date "Some time during the war."

There is one trifling but amusing feature which runs through all the accounts. We are expected to be impressed by the dramatic exhibit, the venerable aspect of the stranger, his silver locks, his ancient garb, his flashing sword. Assuming that his wardrobe had not been replenished during his eleven years' stay, would it appear noticeably "ancient" in a land where garments were habitually handed down from father to son? The man who wears my clothes is not pointed out on the street, although there has been no change in the fashion of his "garb" for well-nigh forty years. I do not believe the men of Hadley in 1675 were a bit more observant. The flowing locks of the old Round Head, and the ancient garb have been greatly overworked. I bid them a long adieu.

The supposed grave of Whalley. No one has ever been able to fix the exact date of Whalley's death, or the place of his burial. He was alive Aug. 5, 1674, but in a fast failing condition. It is generally agreed that he died within a few months. Of course, he was buried at Hadley. As to the exact place of burial, the traditions or stories gathered by Hopkins and Stiles in 1793 at Hadley are worthless. There was not one direct tradition to be found. "It seems to have been a matter of conjecture among the inhabitants," half a dozen sites are guessed at. Taking an average, Stiles guesses that one of the Judges was buried at Mr. Russell's and one at Mr. Tilton's; that both were eventually removed to New Haven and laid near the grave of Dixwell, the third of the "Three Judges in America." No one is found supporting Stiles in this last supposition. Judd says, "It seems to be fabulous. . . It is certainly false in regard to Whalley, and is believed to be equally unfounded as to Goffe. The necessity of secrecy would have prevented the removal as it must be done by oxen and cart." Judd thinks Whalley's grave has been found at Mr. Russell's. His views are stated in this volume. I will give a brief abstract, and my reason for a non-agreement.

Mr. Russell's house stood on the east side of Main Street, fronting south. It was built in 1660 with no cellar. Its flank was on Main Street, and in 1662 a kitchen with a cellar was added to the rear. In this cellar, if anywhere at Mr. Russell's, Whalley was buried. In 1749 the house had passed to Samuel Gaylord. His son Chester Gaylord, born in 1782, informed Mr. Judd in

1859, that before he was born his father took down and rebuilt the kitchen end, and "the old cellar remained." The main building was not changed in any way. Chester said, that when a boy, he had often taken up a loose board and gone down to the hiding place of the Judges behind the chimney. In 1795, he said the front part of the house was replaced by a larger, the extension being to the south. The kitchen was left standing. Some of the changes involved I do not understand, but I quote from Judd all that is essential. "In taking down the middle part of the front wall next the Main Street, the workmen discovered about four feet below the top of the ground, a place where the earth was loose, and a little search disclosed flat stones, a man's bones, and bits of wood. Almost all the bones were in pieces, but one thigh bone was whole, and there were two sound teeth. A doctor examined the thigh bone and said it was the thigh bone of a man of large size. This and other bones were laid on a shelf and in a short time they all crumbled into small pieces."

From the condition of these bones, I am convinced that they were not the remains of one of the Judges. They were too far gone in decay. It is more likely that this was the grave of an Indian buried long before Whalley came to Hadley. The grave may have been disturbed when the cellar wall of Mr. Russell's kitchen was built in 1662; most of the bones may have been scattered at that time. Reasons for my doubt are found in my own observation, reinforced by established facts. I have dug up many skeletons in my own home lot, owned in the family since 1701, and owned by other white men from 1667. Some of the graves contained bones in the last stages of decay. In those of more recent burial, the entire skeletons were in perfect condition. One of these skulls is now on exhibition at Amherst College, another at Worcester, several at Washington, all solid and in lasting condition. One was used by Hon. James S. Grinnell for an inkstand. Generally full sets of teeth remained, some much worn. In one case I found several decayed teeth. There could have been no burial here for over 200 years. Whalley had been dead only 120 years.

John Dixwell, another of the Judges, died at New Haven March 18, 1689. His remains were exposed Nov. 22, 1849, one hundred and sixty years after death. The Dixwell family of Boston were placing a monument over the grave in honor of their ancestor. The bones of Dixwell were in perfect condition, the skull so entirely sound that exact measurements were made for

the purpose of scientific comparison. He had been buried forty years longer than Whalley.

I was informed by Miss Fanny Chesebrough, who had exact knowledge, that when the grave of Lady Alice Fenwick at Saybrook, Conn., was invaded at the behest of the heartless railroad, the skeleton was intact. On reburial it was found that nothing but a single finger bone was lacking. Lady Fenwick had been buried 250 years, more than twice as long as General Whalley.

Within a few years quite a number of complete Indian skeletons were discovered at Hadley. It may not be out of place to notice here the growth of a story, which has just come under my eye. Speaking of this very grave, the writer says, "The remains of Whalley were found in a stone vault, outside the wall of Mr. Russell's cellar; it was covered by a single slab of hewn stone." Such is apt to be modern history as told in current literature.

Another reason for discrediting this location of Whalley's grave is that the burial must have been made by digging on the main street, at the imminent risk of discovery, or by taking down part of the cellar wall from the inside, and making an excavation some three feet from the surface. In doing this, there would be great danger of caving in by wall and earth and consequent discovery. Then the wall must be relaid, and no old cellar wall can be so treated without leaving marks of the process. Again, a body laid so near a rough stone wall must in decomposition soon betray the secret. If the burial was in the cellar, as it doubtless was, the simple and natural thing to do was to dig the grave in the bottom of the cellar with no risk of discovery, and where the marks of disturbance could easily be concealed. As to the necessity of concealing the grave of the Judges, Doctor Stiles says, "Such was the vigilance, activity and malice of Randolph . . . that both their persons and ashes would not escape his malicious vengeance if discovered." It was known that the graves of their dead compeers in England had been violated in the most horrible manner. Stiles says further that so late as 1760 "some British officers passing through New Haven, and hearing of Dixwell's grave visited it, and declared with rancorous and malicious vengeance, that if the British Ministers knew it, they would even then cause his body to be dug up and vilified. . . . . Crown officers so late as 1775" treated Dixwell's grave "with marks of indignity too indecent to be mentioned."

The Removal of Goffe to Hartford. As I have said, the time of Goffe's death and place of burial are unknown. The general

tenor of tradition at Hadley before treated upon, points to Hadley as the place. Whatever value these traditions may have, Judd believed the close of his career was in that town. Some of the stories there indicate his removal to New Haven, to Virginia, to the Narraganset Country, to the West Indies, to Hartford. This last tradition I think will be found true.

Philip's War broke out in the summer of 1675. Hadley was made headquarters for the forces sent to the Connecticut Valley, and the troops must have been billeted largely upon the inhabitants. It has always seemed a marvel that Goffe could lie concealed in that little village during this confused and congested condition; and it is easy to believe that he might have been spirited away to Hartford. Scattered evidence that this was done will be briefly considered.

While the Judges were in hiding at Hadley, they were in constant correspondence with friends and relatives in England and elsewhere, under assumed names. Rev. Increase Mather acted as clearing house in Boston. Many letters are extant which were sent through his hands. Goffe passed as Walter Goldsmith, Mrs. Goffe as his mother, "Frances Goldsmith." She was the daughter of Whalley, who was "Mr. Richardson." Rev. William Hooke was "D. G.," his wife, "Aunt Jane," was a sister to Whalley. It was in the Hooke family in London where the wife and children of Goffe found shelter. Circumstances brought about a change of residence. In the difficulty about Goffe's making a connection with the new address, evidence appears that Goffe was not in Hadley.

As we all know the war brought desolation to the towns in the Connecticut Valley in the fall of 1675. In the spring of 1676 Mr. John Russell writes to the Bay a letter foreboding ill from the Indians, "We must look to feel their utmost rage. My desire is we may be willing to do or suffer, to live or die, remain in or be driven out as the Lord our God would have us." All signs pointed to trouble in the Valley, and for its protection Major Savage was sent with forces from Boston, with Samuel Nowell as chaplain; and Major Treat from Hartford, with John Whiting as chaplain. It is assumed that the hands of both chaplains will soon appear in the removal of Goffe, and notices of them will have a bearing on the evidence to be presented. Mr. Whiting was a leading man in Connecticut, and a minister of Hartford. His wife was Sybil, daughter of Edward Collins, an agent and correspondent of Goffe. His second wife was Phebe, daughter of Thomas Gregson, prominent at New Haven, a close friend of

Governor Eaton, and of John Davenport, while they were giving shelter to the Judges about New Haven. Mr. Whiting's daughter Abigail married Jonathan Russell, son of John of Hadley, and after the death of Mr. Whiting, the widow Phebe became the wife of John Russell.

With no such close family relations, Chaplain Nowell was of old Puritan stock, and was in full sympathy with Goffe and Russell. He never settled in the ministry, but held high office in the civil life of the colony, was intimate with clergymen including Increase Mather; was agent for the colony in England and often there. He was a man of action, was chaplain at the Great Swamp Fight Dec. 19, 1675, "where his bravery was much applauded," using, it is intimated, "other than spiritual weapons." When on the march from Boston to Hadley under Savage, March, 1676, he criticises the officers for being outwitted by Indian strategy and not making an effective onslaught on the enemy about Wenimesset. Again, on the return march to Boston, Major Savage had conditional orders about striking the enemy in the swamps near the route. Arriving at Brookfield, a council of war was held to consider that question. The captains were opposed, while the intrepid Chaplain Nowell voted for the attack. With the opening of spring, 1676, the Indians made attacks on many of the outlying towns at the Bay. The authorities at Boston became much alarmed. The alarm soon grew to almost a panic. As Hubbard says, "It was now full Sea with Philip his Affairs." Orders were sent Major Savage to forthwith leave the valley to its fate, and march to the protection of the Bay. Only a forlorn hope was left with Captain William Turner. Hadley was no longer a safe retreat for Goffe. Who so likely as the impetuous Chaplain Nowell to take the risk of a night removal to Hartford, where Chaplain Whiting had prepared a place for his retreat.

From letters at hand, extracts will be given which bear upon the question of Goffe's removal from Hadley. Inference may also be drawn as to the bodily and mental condition of Goffe. Sept. 8, 1676, Goffe writes to Increase Mather: "Rever'd and Dear S^{r} I have received the letters from England that you enclosed to M^{r} Whiting and give you hearty thanks for your continued care in that matter. It is a great comfort to me to hear so frequently [from my] so far distant and dear relations, and I esteem it a great mercy, that (through your care) all our letters have hitherto passed without any one miscarrying. My dear Mo^{r} [wife] writes that the last she received came safe tho' it wanted the outer covering they vsed to have. But she desired me to do so

no more. . . . I suppose their desire is that mine may be covered by yourselfe, as judging it most safe." This certainly indicates some change in location and mode of transmitting letters. In a second part of the same letter, Goffe writes, "I was greatly behoulding to M^r^ Noell for his assistance in my remove to this Town. I pray if he be yet in Boston, remember my affectionate respects to him." This could not refer to the removal to Hadley twelve years before. It must refer to Hartford as we shall see.

Sept. 25, 1676, Samuel Nowell, our Chaplain, writes: "For his worthy friend M^r^ Jonathan Bull of Hartford." The letter was evidently written for the eye of Goffe. Its spirit agrees with our estimate of the writer. "Hon^d^ S^r^,—The day before the arrivall of this bearer, M^r^ Bull, I had written a letter to my worthy friend M^r^ Whyting & it was for your sake, in regard I did not know how to direct a few lines to you, & we have but little of news materiall stirring amongst us; there being no ship arrived lately from Engld. As for ourselves in New Engld, we are fearing a Generall Governour. How God will deale with us in our present buisinesse is uncertaine. I suppose you will judge it convenient to remove, if any such thing should happen, as that a Governour should be sent; although if this man live who is Governour at Boston [Governor Leverett], I believe the country will oppose, but if his head be once laid I do question whether he that shall come next will have spirit enough, or interest enough, to withstand the Authority of Old Engld. I shall endeavour to give you as timely notice as I can from thence of whatsoever shall happen. I resolve to see your relations & so at present leave you under that Shaddow where you have been safe hithertoo. So desiring your prayers I rest,

Y^r^ very humble serv^t^, Samuel Nowell."

It seems Nowell was going to England to watch the turn of affairs, and he would risk a visit to the family of Goffe. June 12, 1677, Goffe writes Mather, "I have rec'd yours of 17th May, with those from England, as also the 12th left with you by M N." —doubtless Mr. Nowell. There is no signature to this letter. While at Hadley, Goffe's address was "Walter Goldsmith." Aug. 30, 1678, he signs another letter to Mr. Mather "T. D." He writes: "I have received the letter you sent me very lately from my dear Mo: for which with all your long continued kindnesse, I heartily thank you; and am really ashamed to think how I am forced to be still so troublesome vnto you." In his letter from his wife he learns that Mr. Hooke, with whom she was

living, had died, and that she had removed to another place; but she forgot to name the new address, although she gave it to Mather.

Oct. 23, 1678, Goffe writes Mather as "T. D." "I lately gave you the trouble of a letter with one enclosed to my dear Mother, which should have been sent to a Friend that was to have returned to this Town, by whom I hoped to have rec'd a few words from yo^{w}. But he falling ill, went not. So I was forced to give an honor^{d} friend, the trouble thereof, who saide he would deliver it with his own hand. . . . I was forced to send that to my Mo: with a naked superscription and this also because I am ignorant of both the place & person appynted (since Mr. Hooke, his death) to direct them to. . . . I should take it as a great kindnesse to receive a word or two from you, if you please to enclose it to M^{r} Whiteing, only with this short direction (Thes for M^{r} T. D.). . . . It would be a great satisfaction to heare that you have rec^{d} my letters, and that you know the best way of sending them to England: & to be instructed by you, how to direct them for the future. Dear Sir, I desire to bear upon my Heart continually the many great concerns of this poor Countrey; especially of your Jurisdiction in reference to the many awfull providences wherewith the Lord hath been awakening you." This refers to the political turmoil at Boston, and also to the prevailing small-pox.

April 2, 1679, Goffe writes Mather again concerning "The various dispensations of Providence"; hopes he and his wife will receive "all the sanctified fruite of all his dealings with you. . . . And for your whole Jurisdiction. Oh that the Lord would help all his people there, to humble themselves vnder the mighty hand of God. . . . Then would he hear from heaven & forgive their sins & heale the land." No one in the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, would have written the above letters. Goffe was then in the jurisdiction of Connecticut. The next direct evidence that the lone exile was in Hartford is found in a long letter to him from Peter Tilton, his old time Hadley friend. Extracts are given below. It is directed, probably under cover, to Mr. Whiting, "These for M^{r} T. D. present."

"July:30:1679: Worthye and much honor^{d} S^{r},—Yours which I cannot but mention, dated M^{ch}. 18: '78: I receaved, crying howe wellcome and refreshing to my poore unworthye selfe, (which as an honey combe, to use your owne similitude full of pretious sweetenes). I would you did but knowe, being a semblance or representation of what sometime though unworthye, I had a Fuller Fruition of;" referring to their former intercourse at

Hadley. Tilton speaks of sending several books and papers, one of which he wants sent back—"it being borrowed, only, of a neighbour, I being desirous you might have a sight thereof. I have here sent you by S. P. [Samuel Porter of Hadley ?] tenn pounds haveing not before a safe hand to convey it, it being a token of the love and remembrance of severall friends who have you uppon their hearts." He speaks of the great news from England, "which I presume M^r^ Russell hath given you a full account of, as understanding he hath written to Hartford, that I neede not tautologize in that matter." If Goffe were in Hadley, he might himself have borrowed the book, and Mr. Russell could have told him "the news from England" face to face. Tilton, however, goes on—"I know what is writt from England by good hands, which I have by me, viz. that the most sober and wisest there feare that Black Cloude hanging over the nation will breake uppon the Protestant Interest." After a page of saddening and gloomy items Tilton tries to give Goffe a gleam of encouragement in spite of the desponding information. "Deare Sir, I hope God is makeing way for your enlargement. In the meanetime my poore prayers for you are, the Lord would make your heart glad with the light of His Countenance, and that the Lord of Peace would give you peace allwayes and by all meanes; Remember before the Lord, your vnworthye Friend, willing to serve you. *Vale*, *Vale*. P. T." This tender benediction and farewell of good Mr. Tilton is literally the last word known to have been written to the miserable prisoner of fate.

The act, with which the evidence of Goffe's residence at Hartford will close, has not to my knowledge been seriously considered by any historian. It has, rather, been spoken of as a farce—a bit of foolery by a worthless scalawag. On the contrary, I am sure the event is real history, although hardly sober history, for certainly the farcical element largely prevails, and the fashion of the drama is seen where a terrible tragedy is followed by a comedy. The action of the story exactly fits the character of the prominent actors. None of these are amateurs. All have been before in the public eye. Governor Andros, the feared and hated; Governor Leete, the daring successful diplomat; Major Talcott, guest of John Russell; Secretary Allyn, the all-seeing; Captain Bull, the fearless and defiant; John London, the notorious and condemned liar. The stage is Hartford, the denouement June 10, 1680. The prophecy of Chaplain Nowell had come true—a "Generall Governour" of New Eng-

land had been appointed, and the time had now arrived when Goffe did "find it convenient to remove."

April 20, 1680, John London of Hartford or Windsor, made an affidavit at New York "that Capt. Joseph Bull, Sen: had for several years past kept privately at his own house in Hartford, Col. Goffe, who went by the name of Mr. Cooke; that the deponent and one Dr. Robert Howard of Windsor, saw said Goffe at Capt. Bull's house in May 1679; that the deponent took measures to seize him and carry him to New York, but that one Thomas Powell, his neighbour disclosed his plans to Major Talcott and Capt. Allyn,—who caused the deponent to be arrested, charged him with conspiring against the Colony and forbade him to leave the county without license." He says that "James Richards who was the oldest member of the Council and the richest man in the Colony, was Agent of Goffe and that if he, London, discovered the matter it would tend to his own ruin." At the date of this affidavit, Richards was probably on his deathbed,—he died June 10th. If so, London may now have considered himself safe in denouncing Goffe and claiming the reward. His movement the year before had terminated in a manner quite unexpected, and he considered Richards as the active agent. London was a worthless fellow, who had been imprisoned for deserting, malicious lying against the Colony, etc., and it was easy to squelch him in his attempt to secure Goffe. The validity of his story now rests on the attending circumstances. Doctor Howard and Thomas Powell named in the affidavit were alive; they could dispute his story, and as well, Major Talcott, Captain Allyn and others. Furthermore, the actions of Governor Leete, Talcott, and Allyn confirm the truth of the tale. On the strength of London's affidavit, Governor Andros wrote to Governor Leete and the Assistants:

"Hon^{ble} S^{rs};

Being informed by Deposicons here taken upon oath, that Coll. Goth hath been and is still kept and consealed by Capt. Joseph Bull and his sons in the Towne of Hartford und^{r} the name of Mr. Cooke the s^{d} Goth and Coll. Whaley (who is since dead in y^{or} parts) haveing been persued as Traitors, that I may not be wanting in my duty, doe hereby give you the above intimacon, noe ways doubting of yo^{r} loyalty in every respect, and remaine

Hon^{ble} S^{rs}, Your affectionate neighbour and
Humble Servant,
E. Andross.

New Yorke,
May 18, 1680.

How fared this dispatch? Hartford was one hundred miles away. A post riding express should have delivered it not later than noon on the 20th. The Colony records show that it was delivered to Leete June 10th, twenty-one days later. In whose pocket had it reposed for three weeks? We can only be sure that the owner of it was high in office and a good friend of Goffe.

An affair of this kind was no new experience to Governor Leete. When acting governor of New Haven Colony, in 1661, he had dealt successfully, as we have seen, with the loyal messengers, Kellond and Kirk. Time was evidently taken to make provision for Goffe. When the coast was clear, it so happened that on June 10th, Governor Leete, Secretary Allyn, and Major Talcott, were together, when the letter from Andros was received, no doubt to their great surprise. However, they seem to have been so well prepared for it, that "before we parted" they were able to send forth a long patriotic and carefully constructed warrant, without one earmark of haste upon it, based as they say, upon "letter to us just now received" from Governor Andros. The constable and marshal were ordered in high-sounding verbiage to visit the Bull's and "search in the houses, barns, outhouses & all places therein, for the sayd Col. Goffe," or any other place where there is "the least susspition. Hereof you may not fayle, as you will answer the contrary at your perill."

The next day a long letter was sent to Andros from Hartford thanking him for his notice, and telling him of their prompt action, "being together when we received your letter." He is informed that after the diligent search, the officers "being upon oath, returned," that they "could find no such person as was mentioned, nor any stranger that in the least could be suspected to be any such person." They then say, "After the search o^{r} people were amased that any such thing could be suspected at Hartford, but the father of lyes is o^{r} enemie & doth instigate his instruments to maligne this poore Colony, but we hope the Father of lights will vindicate vs in his due time." Andros is cautioned against believing all the flying stories against Connecticut, and told that if their men believed all the stories against New York, it would breed bad blood between the Colonies. In every paper upon the subject the Governor and Assistants are careful to say that their action was instant upon receiving the letter, but we find no note of inquiry as to the tardy pace of the messenger; as though four and one-half miles a day was nothing uncommon for an express. There seems no need of further evidence, that for several years General Goffe was at Hartford.

The influences affecting Goffe's condition during the period are revealed in what follows. In the earlier years of exile, the Judges were sustained by the expectation of being speedily made free by the downfall of Charles II. They had constant news of the political movements in Europe, and as the years dragged on with Charles in the ascendency, hope gradually died out, as may be seen by their letters. One by one the members of the "High Court of Justice" were taken and executed with the barbarity of Cannibal Islanders, some of them after a surrender on fair but false promises. Others were betrayed by fickle friends to curry favor with the Crown. Some were murdered in foreign lands. One cheering report came to their ears, that they themselves had been killed in Switzerland. Mrs. Goffe, with her children, had been safe with her Aunt Jane Hooke, at London. She had kept the absent husband in touch with all household events; the death of one child in her years of promise, the marriage of another, the birth and death of a grandchild; had shared with him her joys and sorrows.

But a change was to come. Mr. Hooke fell sick and Aug. 5, 1674, Goffe wrote him a farewell letter. It was long and tender as befitting the occasion; but as "that Heavy word is not yet spoken," he still has "Hope the Lord may lengthen out your life & mine & so order things in His Providence, that I may yet see your face once again, even in this world, which hath indeed, nothing in it more Desirable than such faces." He deplores the necessity of his wife's removal, but hopes "the Lord who tells all her wanderings and puts her tears into his bottle . . . will provide some place where she may comfortably abide . . . and bless her & her poor afflicted family." It was soon after this that trouble began about their correspondence. Goffe was never able to find out the place of her abode. Goffe writes to Mather June 12, 1677, "I have rec^{d} yours of the 17th of May, with those from England, as also the 12th left with you by M. N., for all which & for all former kindnesses, I return you my hearty thanks, which is all I am able to do. . . . Dear S^{r}, You know my tryalls are considerable, & did you know my weakness, you would surely pitty & pray earnestly for me." He hopes the Lord's purpose is to teach him a "Lesson by bringing & keeping me into this Desolate state." He finds in the Scriptures, "Good & comfortable words from the Lord, or any of his people are very refreshing. But alas, I am worthy of neither." Alas, indeed, that these longed-for words are so few. He misses Whalley, and at Hartford his horizon is more and more obscure. In another letter to Mather he writes, "Dear Sir, I Beg the continuance of your Love & fervent prayers, that

for the good will of him that Dwelt in the Bush, the Blessing may yet come upon the head, the top of the head of the poor worm that hath been so long seperated from his brethern and allmost from all Humain Society."

After Mrs. Goffe's removal from the Hooke house, a new channel for correspondence became necessary. Goffe as "T. D." writes in a letter to Mather, Aug. 30, 1678, that as regards Mr. Hooke, "that Heavy word has been spoken." He says "My Mo: writes that he being dead shee hath written to her Friend (by whom I suppose she means yourself) to send her letters to another place; but did so far forget herself, as not to inform me either of name or place." He encloses a letter to his wife, "which I humbly entreat you to cover and send away, . . and also that you would be pleased to give yourself the trouble of writeing a few words to let me know what place & person it is, that my Dear Mo: directs to, that I may know for the future how to superscribe my letter to her."

To this reasonable appeal no reply was ever received, and no better heed was given later ones. "T. D." writes again Oct. 23, 1678, "I lately gave you the trouble of a letter, with one enclosed to my Dear Mother . . . and hoped to have rec^{d} a few words from y^{w}. . . . I was forced to send that to my Mo: with a naked superscription and this also; because I am ignorant both of the place & person appoynted (since Mr. H. his death) to direct them to. I beseech you sir, to vse your prudenc in the safe convayance of them, for tho' my letters be of little worth, yet my Dear Mo: is pleased to esteem them a comfort to her in this day of her great and long continued affliction. . . . I should take it as a great kindnesse to receive a word or two from you, if you please to inclose it to M^{r} Whiteing. . . It would be a great satisfaction to heare that you have rec^{d} my letters, and that you know the way of sending them to England, & to be instructed by you, how to direct them for the future. . . . . I Beg your fervent prayers, as having more need of them than ever. I have been long in the furnace."

April 2, 1679, the anxious and tortured T. D. makes another and last appeal to Mather—"I am also greatly longing to heare from my poor, Desolat Relations; and whether my last summer's letters got safe to them. It was a trouble to me that I was forced to send them to yourself so badly directed, and hoped to have received a few lines from you concerning it, and how you would have me direct them for the future. I Beseech you S^{r} to pardon my giving you this great & long trouble, and let me receive a word or

two by this Bearer. If I have missed it in anything, vpon the least intimation, I shall indeavour to rectify it, or reform for the future. Dear Sir, I earnestly Beg the continuance of your fervant prayers to the Lord for me & mine, as such as stand in great need thereof. I may truly say, I make mention of yourself in particular, at least twise or thise in a day before the Lord to whose Grace I recomend you & all yours, and remain, Dear Sir, your much oblidged and very thankfull friend, T. D.

I sent you three letters last summer & hope you received them."

How could the sorrowing husband and father account for the seemingly coldhearted refusal of Mather to heed his earnest supplications? How can we explain it? The keen hunt for Goffe was still on. It may be that Mather had heard or suspected that the Bull family at Hartford were more defiant than circumspect in regard to "Mr. Cooke," and he feared to trust his signature or the secret with them. The last words known to have been written by the sad exile are those which close the above letter, hoping that his letters to Mather had been received. With no assurance that this hope was well founded, without knowing that his desolate wife had received a single word from him after her removal; repulsed in all attempts to learn even the place of her abode; with his narrowing circle of faithful friends in England and New England; unable to account for the cutting coldness and neglect of the one who was the sole connecting link with his native land; helpless to offer comfort to his far-off wife in her loneliness; feeling that he should never more see the faces of wife and children, although he felt and had said, "This world hath indeed nothing in it more Desirable than such faces"; with a growing realization or fear of being a heavy, and perhaps unwelcome burden; the proud spirit of the old soldier humbled and humiliated in a vain attempt to win even the pity of Mather; with a price set upon his head and an ever-haunting fear of discovery, bringing ruin to his protectors. Was it not indeed time to die! and we seem to see the once lion heart of the hunted exile slowly breaking.

General Goffe had played his high part before the eyes of watching nations. He had been a star of the first magnitude in the Lord Protector Cromwell's Councils, and acquitted himself bravely and well, as one having the courage of his convictions. Words fail to tell of the sadness and pathos of such a close to such a life.

Did Goffe return to die in Hadley? Shall we attempt to follow the fugitive from Hartford in 1680? No blazed path is found,

but we do find a faint trail leading back to Hadley. What little evidence there is points that way. Nothing is found opposing, but the case is not proven. So far as we know there had been no leak in the secret of Mr. Russell. Goffe had been driven away in the stress of war. It would still be a safe retreat and to all appearances a natural one. The diary of Goffe and his papers, including the letters written to him at Hartford by Tilton and Nowell given above, are found among the effects left by Mr. John Russell. How did they get there? Would they not have been destroyed as a matter of precaution, had Goffe died elsewhere? Again, we have the untainted tradition found by Hutchinson at Hadley in 1763, "Two persons unknown were buried in the minister's cellar." It was the sum of all knowledge of the Judges, which Hutchinson could obtain in Hadley, or the vicinity; let that stand for what it is worth. Then there is the general probability, that after getting the consent of Mr. Russell he was transported back to Hadley; there was time enough for this between the opening act and the closing of the Hartford drama.

It is pleasant, and is it not best, to follow these leadings and our wishes so far as to think that the worn wanderer came back to breathe out his life on the bosom of faithful John Russell; and that he rested at last beside his companion in exile, under the sheltering elms of Old Hadley.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

As the author of this History passed away before completing the work, and as it is now presented as a posthumous publication, it may not seem amiss, in connection with some account of its production, to insert a brief notice of his life.

Sylvester Judd was born in Westhampton, Mass., April 23, 1789. He was a descendant of Dea. Thomas Judd, who came to this country from England, in 1633 or '34, and who resided the last part of his life in Northampton. His grandfather, Rev. Jonathan Judd, was the first minister of Southampton, and, after a ministry of sixty years over the same church, died in 1803. His father, Sylvester Judd, settled in Westhampton, in 1774, where he was prominent in the affairs of the town, and was a member of the Convention for framing a Constitution for Massachusetts, in 1779. The mother of Mr. Judd was Hannah Burt, daughter of Samuel Burt of Southampton.

At the age of thirteen, with only such education as the common school in those times afforded, he was placed as a clerk in the store owned by his father and Doct. Hooker of Westhampton. After remaining there about two years, he went to Boston, where he passed not far from six months, a part of the time serving as merchant's clerk. Here he fell in with persons of intelligence, whose influence was to stimulate him to an appreciation of knowledge, and to a determination to cultivate his own mind, so that his return to his former occupation in Westhampton, after leaving Boston, marks an epoch in his mental history. Whatever money he could now get was invested in books, and all the leisure moments intervening between the calls of customers, were given to their perusal. Yet this ill sufficed to gratify the thirst for knowledge that had arisen in his mind, and for many succeeding years, he was in the habit of sitting up until twelve, one, and two o'clock, engaged with his books. And here, in this little country town, with no stimulus from libraries, reading rooms, or literary companionship, and with no assistance in his studies, save a little aid he received from the Rev. Mr. Hale for about six weeks only, and under all the hindrances from business he had to encounter, Mr. Judd mastered the Latin language so far as to read Virgil; learned enough of Greek to understand the New Testament in the original; acquired a very thorough knowledge of French as a written language, and gained some acquaintance of Spanish. He went through a full course of the higher mathematics, penetrated deeply into History and Political Economy, and made himself quite extensively acquainted with general literature. During this time, he exercised himself also in Composition, and contributed some articles to the Hampshire Gazette.

Soon after attaining the age of twenty-one, he formed a partnership in mercantile business with Wm. Hooker, Jr. and H. T. Hooker, whose places of business were Norwich, Northampton, and Westhampton, Mr. Judd remaining at the latter place. In January, 1811, he married Apphia Hall, eldest daughter of Aaron Hall of Norwich. In 1813, the above partnership was dissolved, and Mr. Judd carried on the business of the store in which he had been employed, by himself, and also engaged, to some extent, in farming operations. But

his mind being always more bent upon the acquisition of knowledge than the accumulation of Property, the matter of dealing with dollars and cents was irksome to him, and from a variety of causes, his pecuniary gains were small, and all his business operations proved very discouraging. The year 1816, he devoted mostly to the gratuitous superintendence of building a new meeting-house in Westhampton. In 1817, he was chosen representative to the General Court, which he attended, contrary to his inclination, as he had a great distaste for public office.

In March, 1822, Mr. Judd purchased the Hampshire Gazette, one-fourth of which had been owned by his deceased brother, Hophni Judd, Esq., and was then in the hands of his father. He took up his residence in Northampton, in April of this year. All his energies were now concentrated upon making the Gazette, not only an interesting, but an instructive, paper. It was far from his idea of a newspaper, that it should be filled with stories, anecdotes, and other matter, fitted only to amuse for the passing moment. He regarded it as an educator of the people, and occupied its columns with matter calculated to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge, and promote aspirations for further information concerning men and things. To enable him to do this, he expended money largely, in proportion to his means, in the purchase of books, from which he could furnish abstracts and extracts. The whole of the ponderous Edinborough Encyclopædia, together with numerous books of Travel, History, Agricultural works, etc., were thus added to his library. His attention now began to turn to the early history of the Connecticut Valley, and he occasionally published leading articles upon Northampton, Hadley, and the neighboring towns. He early enlisted the paper in behalf of Temperance, and, it is believed, was the first who excluded liquor advertisements. The Gazette was highly esteemed by exchange papers, and doubled its number of subscribers, in his hands. Although, in the main, he had embraced Whig principles, yet, he had nothing of the partisan in his nature, and his mind was ever open to the influx of what he believed to be the truth, coming from what quarter it might. In the party strife attending the administration of Gen. Jackson as President, he found himself, as editor of what had been a Whig paper, in a position so embarrassing as to result in his selling the Gazette in 1834. In reference to the subject, he wrote at the time: "The truth is, I have become too skeptical in politics to be the conductor of a public press. I have but little confidence in politics, parties, and politicians. I dislike high whiggism and high Jacksonism, and cannot go with either."

On laying aside his engagements as editor and proprietor of the Hampshire Gazette, Mr. Judd felt no inclination for entering into any new active business that offered, although his pecuniary resources were very limited. He therefore made up his mind to live on, in a humble way, upon such means as he had, thus leaving himself free for such mental occupations as he might be drawn to. At the age of seventeen, he had commenced filling manuscript volumes with copious abstracts of Chronology, Biography, History, etc., with occasional entries by way of Private Journal, which had been kept up, with more or less continuity, until this time. He now gave himself largely to Miscellaneous Collections, to a minute Diary, and to Genealogical, Historical, and Antiquarian Researches, particularly with reference to the towns of Hampshire County, but extending also to the whole state of Massachusetts, and that of Connecticut. As the fruit of these labors, he has left about twenty manuscript volumes, entitled "Miscellanies," filled with an immense variety of little known, but curious matters, drawn from divers times and divers peoples, and gleaned from a wide range of miscellaneous reading. Here are found copious notices of our Indian tribes, vocabularies of their languages, and facts touching their domestic life; the varied experiences

of the early settlers of this country; English and Scotch social life and manners, dress, furniture, etc.; prices of labor and merchandise, at different periods; religious dogmas, contentions, modes of worship, showing, among other things, the great strife that arose in New England, at one time, respecting the use of *books* of psalms and hymns, instead of getting the words for singing by a process known as "deaconing;" the history of woman in regard to social position, education, etc.; opinions concerning marriage, divorce, and the relations of man to woman generally; snatches of old song and quaint poetry, as well as the higher inspirations of the poet. The above citations furnish but a mere *hint*, as to the multifarious and rare matter contained in these volumes. In his Diary of eight or ten volumes, which was continued with regularity from 1833 to within a week of his death, besides much that serves as auto-biography, and an exponent of his feelings, principles, and opinions, he recorded, with scrupulous regard to exactness, the tri-daily state of the thermometer; the changes of wind and weather; the different stages of vegetation; the appearance and disappearance of birds, frogs, and different kinds of insects, their habits, and so forth. There are volumes of Collections labeled "Massachusetts" and "Connecticut." As a genealogist, it is stated by one well qualified to judge, that he "knew of no one who was his equal in New England." His labors in manuscript collections, amount to not far from seventy-five, closely filled, volumes.

In the years 1842 and 1843, Mr. Judd was employed, for some months, by the State of Connecticut, in putting in a state of preservation, arranging, and indexing, old and valuable State documents. He was made an Honorary Member of the Connecticut and Massachusetts Historical Societies, and of the American Antiquarian Society. In 1856, he published a pamphlet, entitled, "Thomas Judd and his Descendants."

From the early part of his residence in Northampton, Mr. Judd had entertained the idea of writing a History of Northampton and the neighboring towns. But, from various causes, this was deferred, from year to year, until 1857, when, at the earnest solicitations of persons interested in the subject, particularly Maj. Sylvester Smith of Hadley, he commenced the present History, with a list of five hundred subscribers. But, his physical strength had now become impaired, so that he was subject to many interruptions from ill health, and this, added to his extreme caution in endeavoring to verify all his statements, caused the work to progress very slowly. Yet he labored on, with an assiduity ill proportioned to his strength, and thus cut short his days before his proposed task was done. Paralysis seized upon a system, enfeebled by general debility, and accomplished its fatal work in a few days. The 18th of April, 1860, witnessed his departure. He had lived within a few days of seventy-one years, and his mind had retained its vigor while his bodily powers were enfeebled. He left a wife and five children. Three had already gone before, among whom was the Rev. Sylvester Judd, the author of "Margaret" and some other works.

He had printed about 430 pages of the 600 promised, and, it is believed, had little more to add to the work, except the Genealogical Tables, for which he had extensive materials in manuscript. His last conscious efforts of a business kind were expended in trying to send some directions to his printers. Immediately after his death, application was made to Hon. Lucius M. Boltwood of Amherst, for whose qualifications as a genealogist, it was known Mr. Judd had a high respect, to take in charge the finishing of the work, so suddenly bereft of the hand that should have carried it to its completion, and, much to the gratification of the family of the author, this request was complied with. It is regretted that so long time has elapsed in getting the book ready for presentation, but the delays seem to have been unavoidable. With all due confidence in him who so kindly consented to take the incomplete

work in hand, Mr. Judd's own family cannot but experience some pain in giving the work to the public, without its final supervision by the author's own, careful hand.

Did space allow, it would be pleasant to delineate, in full, the personal character of Mr. Judd; but a brief summary of salient traits is all that can be attempted. And first, it is obvious to remark, that he was eminently a self-made man, having relied very little upon others for his knowledge or opinions. He was also a progressive man, never wedded to the old, because it had been established by authority in some former period, but ever ready to believe that the *whole* of *truth* might not yet have been found out, and not frightened lest new discoveries should conflict with received opinions. In this spirit, the efforts at reform in education and morals met with cordial sympathy from him. While religion, consisting of duties to God and man, was always a cardinal element of his being, he was no dogmatist, and willingly accorded to all the right of private judgment. A strong sense of justice and truth pervaded his whole nature, and led him often to err on the side of right, rather than run any hazard on the side of wrong. In business transactions, he was so lenient to creditors as to lose much that was justly his due, and in bargains of buying and selling, he was quite as careful of the interests of others as of his own. He could hardly be said to have a proper estimate of money, even for its uses, and not until compelled by necessity did he reckon closely his expenditures. For the present History, in collecting materials for which so large a portion of his life was expended, he did not expect to receive, and his family will not realize, any return, save the money actually expended in paper, printing and binding. In answer to hundreds of letters, asking for information, which he spent years in acquiring, compensation was seldom demanded, and not often offered. His memory was exact and strong, and his mental powers of application seemed hardly to know a limit. His original physical constitution must have been strong, to bear such a life-long draft upon it as was made by his habits of study. His eyesight continued unimpaired, long beyond the usual period. He was cheerful in temperament, and remarkably genial in social intercourse, being a cherished companion for the young, as well as for the more advanced. Although little demonstrative in the inner feelings of the heart, his affections were deep and tender as those of woman, and the ties existing between him and his family were too strong for death to sever.

A. H.

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HISTORY *of* HADLEY

"The Perils of Our Forefathers" *From an Old Engraving*

HISTORY OF HADLEY

CHAPTER I

Early settlements on Connecticut River—Controversies in the church at Hartford—Decision of the council of 1659—Difficulties at Wethersfield.

The first English settlement in New England was made at Plymouth in 1620. This was the beginning of the Plymouth Colony, which was united to Massachusetts in 1692. The oldest town in the colony of Massachusetts is Salem, which was planted in 1628. Charlestown was begun in 1629, and the foundations of Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury and Watertown were lain in 1630, and a beginning was made at Cambridge in 1631. In a few years, many towns were planted in Massachusetts.

Previous to the settlement at Plymouth, some Dutch traders visited Hudson's River and Long Island Sound, and in 1614, they built a small fort on the island of Manhattan, now New York, and in the next year, began a settlement near Albany. These Dutch adventurers discovered Connecticut River, which they named Fresh River, and in 1614, Adrian Block sailed up the river as far as Windsor. A commercial intercourse began between the Dutch and the Plymouth colonists in 1627. The Dutch gave the Plymouth people intimations respecting the fertile lands upon Connecticut River.

The Indians on Connecticut River were harassed and terrified by the more powerful Pequots; and some of their sachems and others who had been driven out, made a journey to Plymouth and Boston in 1631, and urgently solicited the English to form a settlement on the river, but the English governors declined the invitation. The Plymouth colonists, whose vessels had visited the river, determined in 1633 to build a trading house there. They were anticipated by the Dutch, who, in 1633, built a light fort near the mouth of Little River in Hartford, having purchased some

land of the conquering Pequots in June of that year. They intended to exclude the English from the Connecticut. But in October, 1633, William Holmes of Plymouth, ascended the river, with the materials for a house on board his vessel, and disregarding the menaces of the Dutch, he passed by their fort, and erected a trading house a little below the mouth of Windsor River, on a meadow that still bears the name of Plymouth Meadow. Holmes carried to the Connecticut some of the sachems, whom the Pequots had driven out.

In September, 1633, John Oldham and three others went overland to Connecticut River, to trade. These were doubtless the first Europeans, that passed by land from the seacoast of Massachusetts, to Connecticut River. In November, 1633, Samuel Hall and two others travelled through the woods to the river, and returned in January. In 1634, men were sent from "the towns in the Bay," to examine the country on the river. Those who took a view of the borders of the Connecticut, found fine lands and good situations for plantations, and their accounts of the fertility of the soil were spread among the people; and many of the planters in the towns around Boston, and some new-comers, resolved to take possession of these desirable places. In 1635, some of the Watertown people began a plantation at Wethersfield; those from Cambridge (then called Newtown) settled at Hartford, and those from Dorchester at Windsor. In October, about 60 men, women and children from Dorchester, with their horses, cattle and swine, were 14 days in removing through the wilderness to Windsor. The ensuing winter was unusually severe, and the privations and sufferings of the inhabitants were extreme. The country about Springfield was examined in 1635, but William Pynchon and his small company from Roxbury did not establish themselves there until May, 1636. In June, 1636, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone and about 100 men, women and children, with 160 cattle, traversed the forests from Cambridge to Hartford. They left Cambridge on the last day of May.

The war with the Pequots occurred in 1637, and resulted in the destruction of many of that tribe, and in the subjection of the rest.

The inhabitants of the new towns soon recovered from the distresses attending their first settlement, and from the effects of the Indian war, and many years of prosperity and happiness succeeded. They were industrious and frugal and their lands were productive. As early as December, 1644, the General Court were endeavoring to find a market for their surplus produce. They say, "Massachusetts and Plymouth complain of our over-

filling their markets." They built good houses and barns, made additions to their furniture and implements, and multiplied their conveniences and enjoyments.

The first emigrants to Connecticut River, knowing that their productions must be sent to market by the river, and their supplies be received from abroad through the same channel, selected places where the river was navigable. Even Mr. Pynchon and his associates did not plant themselves above boat navigation. But the great Falls above Springfield, now at South Hadley, were an obstacle sufficient to prevent any settlement north of them for many years. At length, in May, 1653, seventeen years after Springfield was begun, a number of men residing at Windsor, Hartford and other places, petitioned the General Court to grant them a plantation at Nonotuck, above Springfield; and their petition was aided by three of the principal men in Springfield, who were very desirous of having neighbors in the colony to which they belonged. The General Court in the same month appointed three men of Springfield, John Pynchon, Elizur Holyoke and Samuel Chapin, to divide the land into two plantations, and the petitioners were to have one of them. In 1654, the Committee reported to the General Court, that they had laid out the bounds of one plantation, on the west side of the river, extending "from the little meadow called Capawonk or Mattaomet, down to the head of the falls;" reserving the lands on the east side of the river for another plantation. The Indian title was purchased by John Pynchon for the planters, Sept. 24, 1653. The settlement of Northampton began in 1654. The planters purchased Capawonk meadow (now in Hatfield) of the Indian owner in 1657, this tract not being included in the purchase made in 1653. Hadley, the second plantation in the valley of Nonotuck, or Norwotuck, was commenced in 1659, five years later than Northampton.*

Differences in the churches at Hartford and Wethersfield were the principal cause of the settlement of Hadley in 1659; but if these disputes had not occurred, such desirable tracts of interval would not long have remained without cultivators. The church at Hartford was one of the largest and most eminent in New Eng-

*Hubbard says the differences in the churches in the years 1656, 1657 and 1658, "ended in the removal of one part of the churches and towns of Hartford, Wethersfield and Windsor to another plantation or two up higher, upon Connecticut River, the one of which was called Hadley, and the other Northampton." These partial errors of Hubbard are copied by Holmes, who fixes the settlement of both towns in 1658, which is not correct in regard to either. Religious differences had no concern in the first planting of Northampton.

land, and the two ministers, Mr. Thomas Hooker and Mr. Samuel Stone, though unlike in some respects, were both great and good men, whose praise was in all the churches. Mr. Hooker was firm and decided, yet prudent and conciliatory, and there was no serious trouble or discord in the church while he lived. In a few years after his death, which happened July 7, 1647, a contention arose, having Mr. Stone and a majority of the church on one side, and a strong minority on the other. Several on each side, were men of distinction in the town and colony. The origin of the difficulty has not been clearly stated by any writer. Hubbard alludes to different opinions concerning the extension of the privileges of those not church-members; and says, "the first appearance of disturbance which on that account happened among them, was occasioned on a call of a person to supply the place of Mr. Hooker." He does not tell when this occurred, nor who was the person to whom a call was given. In another place, he says, the differences at first were "about the enlarging of baptism and such like accounts." Mather says, the misunderstanding began between Mr. Stone and the ruling elder, (William Goodwin,) but its origin was obscure. Trumbull supposes, "that some member had been admitted, or baptism administered, which Elder Goodwin conceived to be inconsistent with the rights of the brotherhood and the strict principles of the Congregational churches."

The minority were attached to the Congregational way of church order as professed and practiced under Mr. Hooker; they seemed to adhere to the Cambridge Platform, and were opposed to all important changes. They were sometimes called "strict Congregationalists." On the other hand, Mr. Stone was endeavoring to introduce some new practices into the church; to effect some innovations that were displeasing to the minority; and he seems to have been sustained by a majority of the church. Trumbull is of opinion that his changes related to three subjects, and that the whole controversy respected them, viz., the qualifications for baptism, church membership, and the rights of the brotherhood. These three points require some explanation.

1. Baptism. Hitherto, only the members of churches in full communion, had their children baptized. Now, many ministers and others desired to enlarge the subjects of baptism, and a council or synod from Massachusetts and Connecticut met at Boston in June, 1657, and decided that baptism might be extended to the children of such baptized parents as were not scandalous, and would own the covenant, though not members of the church in

full communion. Mr. Stone was one of this council, and is supposed to have advocated the introduction of this new measure, this "half-way covenant," as it was subsequently called. Another synod met in Boston in 1662 and recommended the same practice. This alteration met with much opposition in both colonies, and was but slowly introduced.*

2. Church membership. From the first settlement of New England, only those who gave some evidence of their faith and repentance, were admitted to communion by the churches. There were individuals, perhaps many, who desired to have all admitted to the Lord's Supper who had competent knowledge, and whose conduct was not immoral, though not professing to be regenerate. No evidence has been adduced to show that Mr. Stone, or any other minister, or the majority of any church, at the time of the Hartford contentions, were in favor of such a latitude in admitting members to communion. The council at Boston in 1657, which approved of "owning the covenant," was decisive against receiving any to full communion, except those who manifested faith and repentance. It may be doubted whether Mr. Stone differed much from Elder Goodwin and the minority on the question of full church membership.

3. The rights of the brotherhood. Trumbull says, "Mr. Stone's ideas of Congregationalism appear to have bordered more on Presbyterianism, and less on independence, than those of the first ministers in the country in general." These ideas of Mr. Stone, with actions in some degree corresponding, will account for much of the controversy at Hartford. He was probably considered by the minority as claiming too much power, and encroaching upon the rights of the brethren.†

The papers containing the chief points upon which the parties differed, their grievances and complaints, and the decisions of the councils that were called to compose their differences, have not been preserved, except the account of the proceedings of the

*Trumbull is mistaken in supposing that "owning the covenant" was not practiced in Connecticut until 1696. There is an old record in Windsor, relating to church matters, which states that Mr. Warham first began this practice, January 31, 1657-8, and continued it until March 19, 1664-5, when he forbore, owing to scruples of conscience. Mr. Chauncey "set it on again," June 21, 1668, the church assenting to it.

†In 1670, the second church in Hartford was formed by "strict Congregationalists" who had been members of the first church. Their sentiments were apparently similar to those of the planters of Hadley. They complained of opposition by preaching and practice to the Congregational way. This is now the South Church in Hartford. The first church is that under the pastoral care of Rev. Dr. Hawes.

last council in 1659. Indeed, the progress of the controversy is nearly as obscure as its origin.

Councils from the neighboring churches convened about 1654 and 1655, to reconcile the parties, but without effect. In June, 1656, a council from the churches about Boston met at Hartford and gave their advice. The aggrieved minority seemed willing to comply, but the church did not submit to the advice given. The same council from Massachusetts was again invited to Hartford, and they went the latter part of April, 1657, and succeeded in effecting an agreement which was called a "Pacification," on the 3d of May. For reasons which do not appear, there soon followed what was called a relapse—a breach of the pacification, and each party accused the other of violating it. The parties became more embittered and alienated than before. Mr. Stone and the church undertook to deal with some of the principal men in the minority, viz., Governor Webster Andrew Bacon and William Lewis. After this, the minority formally withdrew from the church, and were about forming a union with the church at Wethersfield under Mr. John Russell. This withdrawal appears to have taken place in the latter part of 1657 or in the early part of 1658. Mr. Stone and the church were proceeding with the withdrawers in a course of discipline, when the General Court interfered, in March, 1658, and prohibited the church from proceeding, and forbid the withdrawers to prosecute their object.

It was apparently in the early part of 1658, that the minority of the church began to think seriously of removing to the colony of Massachusetts. They sent men up the river to view the lands east and north of Northampton. Others applied to the General Court of Massachusetts for a grant of land; they were favorably received, and obtained what they desired. In the spring of 1659, an agreement was formed, and it was determined to begin the plantation that season. In their grant from Massachusetts was a condition, that they should submit to an orderly hearing of the differences between themselves and their brethren.

The former council from Massachusetts, with an addition from two more churches, were invited to meet at Hartford on the 19th of August, 1659. The church at Dorchester declined sending their minister, Mr. Richard Mather, "in regard to his age and the difficulties of the journey," but intimated that they would afford their help if the meeting were somewhere in the Bay. It was finally agreed that the council should meet in Boston, on the 26th of September. They heard the grievances, blamed both parties, and proposed terms of reconciliation, which were accepted.

After this, the churches of Hartford and Hadley held communion with each other. Their grievances presented to this council had all happened since the pacification of May, 1657; there was no allusion to the earlier subjects of controversy.*

The General Court of Connecticut, in appointing the annual Thanksgiving in November, 1659, mention as one reason for thanks, "the success of the endeavors of the reverend elders of the last council, for composing the sad differences at Hartford."

This reconciliation caused much joy in many churches. On the 23d of October, 1654, Mr. Mather recited to the church in Dorchester, the determination of the council, "and the loving acceptance thereof by both parties, with their readiness to make confession of the failings of each to the other, for which we ought to give God the praise."†

The Council of 1659. The result of this council is among the papers of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is a long document, and not easily read. What follows is only an abstract, containing the substance of the decision.

"A Council held at Boston, Sept. 26, 1659, concerning the long, sad, and afflicting controversy between the Rev. Teacher, Mr. Samuel Stone, and the brethren of the church at Hartford, on one part, and the brethren, the withdrawers from said church, on the other part, since the relapse, after the pacification of May, 3 1657."

Six GRIEVANCES presented by the withdrawing brethren and answers of the council.

1. Mr. Stone's non-administration of the sacrament.
Council. They think Mr. Stone's conduct irregular.

2. His sending for a dismission.
Council. His desire of dismission, so soon after consenting to the pacification, was unseasonable.

3. His propositions.
Council. His proposals of engagements to the church at such a time, were unseasonable and inexpedient.

4. Rigid handling of divers brethren.
Council. The dealing with honored Mr. Webster was unnecessary and should have been spared. The dealing with brother Bacon for his first speech was of the hardest. His second speech was more censurable, but might have been passed with a rebuke. We dare not censure the proceedings in brother Lewis's case, as rigid.

5. Mr. Stone's nullifying the instrument of pacification.
Council. Mr. Stone's expressions, candidly interpreted, did not nullify the pacification.

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*Trumbull supposes that three councils from Massachusetts met at Hartford, viz., one in 1656, one June 3, 1659, and one Aug. 19, 1659; he omits the council that made the pacification in May, 1657, or perhaps he transfers its transactions to the supposed council of June 3, 1659. There was no council at Hartford, Aug. 19, 1659, but there was one at Boston, Sept. 26, 1659, whose proceedings in which are mentioned the other councils, Trumbull had not seen. These proceedings make no allusion to a council in June, 1659.

†Dorchester church records.

6. "Concerning the church's separating carriages, not taking congnizance of our complaints, and owning Mr. Stone in his offensive practices."

Council. Affairs seem not to have been managed with such impartiality, and encouragement of the dissenters, as the state of things required. When Mr. Stone was blameworthy, the brethren who upheld him, were blameworthy.

Breach of pacification is the principal point. Mr. Stone was guilty of actions which tended to unsettle the pacification, but not guilty of a breach of it.

Six GRIEVANCES presented by Mr. Stone and the brethren of the church, and answers of the council.

1. The withdrawers offered violence to the pacification.

Council. They did break it by their actual withdrawing.

2 and 3. The withdrawers transgressed in separating in a schismatical way, and their sin is scandalous.

Council. The separation of the withdrawers was irregular, as there was no just cause for separation; and if there had been, council might have been had, and the dismission been orderly. Though their act was irregular, yet we look not on them as schismatics, because they were led thereto by a mistake concerning the act of the council of 1656. They have all along desired a council.

4. The withdrawers are still members of the church at Hartford.

Council. We admit that they are still members.

5. The withdrawers transgressed in publishing their papers.

Council. The offensive or accusatory part, we judge to be irregular, in respect to exact verity, and in respect to order.

6. Their joining another church.

Council. They cannot be members of two churches at once. We bear witness against such of the withdrawers as have joined another church, as being irregular.

We desire that in case of mutual satisfaction given and taken, between all parties, that then there might be a returning of the dissenters into communion with the Hartford church. But if any of them, after satisfaction, shall choose to dispose of themselves elsewhere, and to remove their habitations, then our advice is that the church give them dismission on their request, and that such as have joined another church, do renew their covenant. We expect they will hold communion with the church at Hartford, and the church with them.

The council closed with strong exhortations to the parties; and mentioned the great labor of the council at Hartford in 1656; the services of the messengers from Massachusetts, and the pacification of May 3d, 1657, and the relapse; and the labors of the present assembly.

Signed at Boston, Oct. 7, 1659, by 14 ministers, viz., John Wilson, Charles Chauncey, Richard Mather, John Allin, Zech. Symmes, John Norton, John Eliot, Edm. Browne, Thos. Cobbet, John Sherman, William Hubbard, Samuel Danforth, Jonathan Mitchell, Thos. Shepard; and 3 delegates, viz., Richard Russel, Edward Tyng, Isaac Heath.

Wethersfield experienced various vicissitudes, and most of the early settlers removed to other towns, and their places were supplied by new comers. After a few years, the inhabitants became more stable and prosperous, and the village contained many intelligent and thriving men. Mr. Henry Smith, their minister, died in 1648, after preaching there eight or ten years. Mr. John Russell succeeded him in 1649. He and a number of the church entertained opinions in unison with those of the minority at Hartford, while others seemed to sympathize with the majority. There was some difficulty at Wethersfield in 1658, and a complaint was presented to the General Court against Mr. Russell in August.

A few months after this, Lieut. John Hollister* was excommunicated by the church. In March, 1659, he complained that the charges against him had not been presented to him. The General Court required Mr. Russell and the church to deliver to him a copy of the charges; and they desired the church to consider the matter and conclude upon some way to issue their sad differences.

The town voted, December, 1658, that they had no settled minister among them; and on the 24th of March, 1659, they chose a committee "to procure a solid and approved minister." The committee were to consult Governor Wells, who resided in Wethersfield, and Mr. Stone of Hartford. On the 2d of May, 1659, the town chose another committee to engage a minister, prefacing the vote with these words:—"seeing it is commonly reported that Mr. Russell hath sent for his church to Norwottuck, to do some church act, whereby the town is wholly destitute." In June, 1659, the General Court judged it to be the duty of the inhabitants of Wethersfield to provide a minister.

It appears from these proceedings that Mr. Russell preached in Wethersfield until some time in April, 1659, though the town voted that they had no settled minister, some months previous. A majority of the town were opposed to him, but a majority of the church seem to have adhered to him. In October, 1659, the General Court, referring to the long and tedious differences and troubles betwixt Mr. Russell and several members of Wethersfield church, particularly betwixt Mr. Russell and the lieutenant, desired the churches of Hartford and Windsor to send messengers to Wethersfield to give advice and counsel. "And the whole church belonging to Mr. Russell's charge, lately of Wethersfield, is to be acquainted herewith." The meeting was to be on the first Tuesday in November. The result of this council is not known. In March, 1661, the General Court remarked that divers members of the church at Wethersfield had removed from thence without notice to, or allowance from the court, magistrates or churches of that colony; those still remaining there were declared by the court to be the true and acknowledged church at Wethersfield.

It may be concluded from expressions in the records and other circumstances, that a majority of the Wethersfield church-members settled at Norwottuck with Mr. Russell. The church was

*John Hollister, usually called "the lieutenant," was an influential man in Wethersfield. His daughter Sarah married Rev. Hope Atherton, the first minister of Hatfield; and after his death, she married Timothy Baker of Northampton.

not large. Goodwin, in his Foote Genealogy, states that early in the spring of 1659, all the members of the church, except six, voted for a removal. The General Court of Massachusetts, so careful to have the Hartford men separate from the church in an orderly manner, never suggested that there was any irregularity in the conduct of the Wethersfield members who settled in Hadley.

Farmer's Genealogical Register says Mr. Russell was installed in Hadley. The correctness of this remark may be doubted. It is believed that the "church act" at Hadley, whatever it may have been, was not an act in which the aid or concurrence of any other church was sought. When a minister and a majority of his church changed their residence, no installing act was deemed necessary.

Disputes in the church at Hartford and elsewhere continued long after Hadley was settled, but became less vehement. Mr. Bradstreet of New London, in his Journal in 1667, mentions that a synod was called at Hartford, to discuss some points concerning baptism and church discipline, and he expressly names the two parties, Congregational and Presbyterian. The Saybrook Platform of 1708 seems to have been the result of a compromise between similar parties.

CHAPTER II

Application to Massachusetts for land—Engagement at Hartford to remove to Massachusetts—Committee to lay out a town at Norwottuck; their return, not accepted—Proceedings of the first settlers in 1659 and 1660—Settlers on the west side of the river—Courts of Justice—The new town named Hadley—Contest with Mr. Bradstreet.

Capt. John Cullick and Elder William Goodwin, two prominent men among the withdrawers, (as they were then denominated,) went to Boston and presented the following petition to the General Court, May 20, 1658:

"Whereas your most humble servants, the subscribers, with several others of the colony of Connecticut, do conceive that it may be most for the comfort of them and theirs to remove themselves and families from thence, and to come under your pious and godly government, if the Lord shall please so to order it, and yourselves to accept it. We do presume to present this our humble motion to your wisdom's consideration, whether we may, without offence, view any tract of land unpossessed within your colony, in order to such an end, and in case we can present any thing that may be to the encouraging of a considerable company to take up a plantation, either at Nonotuck or elsewhere, we may have your gracious allowance to dispose ourselves there; or in case that be not, then within any of your settled plantations, as the wise God shall direct us and show unto us; we being first of you, presume to tender ourselves first to you, which if you shall please to grant, we hope through the grace of

Christ, our conversations among you shall be without offence; so committing you and all your weighty affairs to the guidance and blessing of the Lord, we rest,

yours in all due observance,

Boston, 20th, 3d, 1658. JOHN CULLICK,
[May 20, 1658.] WILL. GOODWIN."

Their request was granted in the following terms:—

"In answer to the petition of Capt. Cullick and Mr. Wm. Goodwin, in behalf of themselves and others, the Court judgeth meet to grant their request, in reference to lands not already granted, and further gives them liberty to inhabit in any part of our jurisdiction already planted, provided they submit themselves to a due and orderly hearing of the differences between themselves and their brethren."

Consented to by both Magistrates and Deputies, May 25, 1658.

In the same year, 1658, some of the withdrawers desired propositions from Northampton in regard to Capawonk meadow, which belonged to that town. In October, 1658, the town of Northampton voted to "give away" Capawonk, on four conditions:—1st. The Hartford men are to settle two plantations; one on each side of the river. 2d. They are to maintain a sufficient fence against hogs and cattle. 3d. They are to pay 10 pounds, in wheat and peas. 4th. They are to inhabit here by next May.

The Agreement or Engagement of those who intended to remove from Connecticut to Massachusetts, is dated at Hartford, April 18, 1659, and is recorded on the first book of Hadley records. The following is a copy of that Agreement and of some proceedings of a later date recorded with the other:

"At a meeting at Goodman Ward's house, in Hartford, April 18th, 1659, the company there met engaged themselves under their own hands, or by their deputies, whom they had chosen, to remove themselves and their families out of the jurisdiction of Connecticut into the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, as may appear in a paper dated the day and year abovesaid. The names of the engagers are these:—

John Webster
William Goodwin
John Crow
Nathaniel Ward
John White
John Barnard
Andrew Bacon
William Lewis
William Westwood
Richard Goodman
John Arnold*
William Partrigg
Gregory Wilterton*
Thomas Standley
Samuel Porter
Richard Church
Ozias Goodwin*
Francis Barnard
James Ensign*
George Steele*
John Marsh
Robert Webster*
William Lewis Jr.*
Nathaniel Standley
Samuel Church
William Markum
Samuel Moody
Zechariah Field
Widow Westly*
Widow Watson*
Andrew Warner
Mr. John Russell Junior
Nathaniel Dickinson
Samuel Smith
Thomas Coleman
John Russell, senior
John Dickinson
Philip Smith
John Coleman
Thomas Wells
James Northam
Samuel Gardner
Thomas Edwards*
John Hubbard
Thomas Dickinson
Robert Boltwood
Samuel Smith Jr*
William Gull
Luke Hitchcock*
Richard Montague
John Latimer*
Peter Tilton
John Hawkes
Richard Billings
Benj. Harbert*
Edward Benton*
John Catling*
Mr. Samuel Hooker*
Capt. John Cullick*
not fully engaged
Daniel Warner

1st. We whose names are above written do engage ourselves mutually one to another, that we will, if God permit, transplant ourselves and families to the plantation purchased, on the east side of the river of Connecticut, beside Northampton, therein to inhabit and dwell by the 29th of September come twelve months, which will be in the year 1660. [Meaning Sept. 29th, 1660.]

2d. That each of us shall pay the charges of the land purchased according to his proportion, as also for the purchase of Hockanum.

3d. That we will raise all common charges, of what sort soever, for the present, upon the land that men take up: mow, plow land and house lot, according to the proportion of land that each man takes of all sorts; and all charges shall be paid as they shall arise and be due, from the date hereof.

4th. That if any persons so engaging be not inhabiting there by the time aforesaid, then, notwithstanding their payment of charges, their lands and what is laid out in rates shall return to the town: and yet this article doth not free men from their promise of going and inhabiting.

5th. That no man shall have liberty to sell any of his land till he shall inhabit and dwell in the town three years; and also to sell it to no person, but such as the town shall approve on.

Agreed that all those persons that will go up within three weeks shall give in their names by this day fortnight, and then those that are so agreed shall take up a quarter together, and so those that follow shall take up another quarter, so they do it together, or so far as their numbers run.

Agreed also that no persons shall fell any trees upon any lot of ground lotted out, or to be lotted out, but upon his own ground or lot, or against his own lot within ten rods of the same in the highway. The land to be lotted is either what is for the homelots, or between the homelots and the meadow.

It is agreed also by the said company, upon the 25th of April, 1659, that they will purchase the lands on the west side of the great river, above Napanset, if it can be bought, and that each of the said engagers will pay their several proportions to the said purchase, according to what they have put in to take up lands by, at the time of their said engagement: witness their hands, dated April the 18th 1659.

At the said meeting William Westwood, Richard Goodman, William Lewis, John White and Nathaniel Dickinson were chosen by the whole company, to go up to the foresaid plantation, on the east side of Northampton, and to lay out the number 59 homelots, and to allow eight acres for every homelot, and to leave a street 20 rods broad betwixt the two westermost rows of homelots; and to divide the said rows of homelots into quarters by highways. Those men, being willing to answer the desire of the said company, did undertake the work. They desiring to make some beginning there for themselves, the company granted them liberty, according to a former agreement, that they might choose in any of the quarters to lay out their own homelots, provided they took them together at one side of any of the said quarters.

The plantation being begun by them and some other of the engagers, the rest of the engagers that remained at Hartford and Wethersfield, with those that were come up to inhabit at the said plantation, did upon the ninth of November (1659) at Hartford, and about the said time at Wethersfield, and at the said plantation, choose by vote, William Westwood, Nathaniel Dickinson, Samuel Smith, Thomas Standley, John White, Richard Goodman, and Nathaniel Ward, to order all public occasions, that concern the good of that plantation for the year ensuing.

The said Townsmen made a rate upon the 22d of November, 1659, for the paying of the purchase of the said plantation, and for the minister's maintenance, levying it at 50 shillings the 100 pounds, which in the whole sum came to 180 pounds; for the speedy gathering of this rate, we sent the rate down to the two towns Hartford and Wethersfield, that the charges might be truly paid and satisfied, by every man according to his engagement, as is visible in the engagement itself, that is dated the 18th of April 1659."

There are 59 names to the Agreement, and one not fully engaged. Of these, 31 first named, from John Webster to Andrew Warner, inclusive, belonged to Hartford, except Samuel Porter, who was

from Windsor, but may have resided in Hartford in 1659. The next 20, from Mr. John Russell, Jr. to John Latimer, inclusive, belonged to Wethersfield; the next two, Peter Tilton and John Hawks, were of Windsor, and 5 or 6 of the 7 below Hawks, were of Hartford. Those with this mark, * 18 in number, did not remove to Hadley, or remained there but a short time.

The General Court, on the 28th of May, 1659, appointed a committee of five, viz., three from Springfield and two from Northampton, to lay out the bounds of a town, according to the grant made May 25, 1658. The order follows, copied from the printed records of the Colony, and retaining the orignial orthography, except a few contractions.

"Whereas it hath appeared to this Court, that according to a former graunt to Capt. John Cullicke & Mr Williams Goodwyn, in behalfe of themselves and ffreinds that desired to remoove into our colony, they haue begunne to remoove to Norwoottucke with seuerall familjes, and made some begining on the east side the riuer in order to a plantacion, and that there are many desirable persons hauing a pastor with his church engaged to goe along with them, with another who may in tjme be joyned to that church for theire further helpe in the worke of the ministry, whereby they are enabled not only to carry on a toune, but church worke also,—this Court, being willing to remoove all obstacles out of theire way, and finding the people so many and considerable that haue engaged, with seuerall others that would engage if there might be encouragement found there for them, doe order, that these persons ffollowing, viz., Capt. Pinchon, Left. Holyhoke, Deacon Chapin, Willjam Holton, and Richard Lyman, shall be a committee fully impowered by this Court to lay out the bounds of the toune at Norwottocke, on either or both sides the riuer as they shall see cause, so as shall be most suitable for the chohabitation and full supply of those people, that this wildernes may be populated and the majne ends of our coming into these parts may be promoted. Voted by the whole Court mett together. 28, 3, 1659."

The preamble of the order shows clearly that the Court deemed these emigrants from Connecticut to be estimable men, and a valuable acquisition to the colony. It also shows that the church at Wethersfield, (that is, a majority of its members) were about to remove with their pastor. The other minister alluded to, was Mr. Samuel Hooker, son of Mr. Thomas Hooker, of Hartford. He was then preaching at Springfield. In the agitation at Hartford, he appears to have harmonized in opinion with the minority of the church.

The Committee appointed to lay out a new plantation at Norwottuck, made the following report, Sept. 30, 1659:—

"In obedience to an order of the much Honored General Court in May last, appointing us whose names are subscribed, to lay out the bounds of the new plantation at Norwottuck on the river Connecticutt for the supply of those people that are to settle there; considering what people are to remove thither and the quality of the lands thereabouts, we have thought good to lay out their bounds on both sides of said River, viz. on the East side of said river their southerly bounds to be from the head of the Falls above Springfield and so to run east and by north the length of nine miles from the said river: And their Northerly bounds to be a little brook called by the Indians Nepasoaneage up to a mountain called Quunkwattchu, and so running eastward from the river the same length of nine miles: from their southerly bounds to the northerly bounds on the east side of the river is about 11 or 12 miles, And on

the west side of the river their bounds on the south are to join or meet with Northampton bounds, (which said bounds of Northampton come to a little riverett running betwixt two pieces of land called Capawonk and Wequittayyagg) And on the north their bounds to be a great mountain, called Wequomps; and the North and South bounds are to run west two miles from the great river; And from North to South on that side the river is about 6 or 7 miles.

JOHN PYNCHON
ELIZUR HOLYOKE
SAMUEL CHAPIN
WILLIAM HOLTON
RICHARD LYMAN

Sept 30 1659.

A postscript. Whereas it's said above that their north and south bounds are to run two miles west from the great river; it is intended that the south bounds are the riverett above mentioned upon what point soever it run, and the two miles west respects the straight line.

The deputies approve of the return of this committee desiring the consent of the honored magistrates. WILLIAM TORREY, Clerk.

Respited till next court. [by the magistrates.]

EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.

The report, it will be seen, was not accepted by the magistrates. Some of them had received grants of land, within the bounds laid out by the committee; and if they gave up these, they intended to take up other lands in the same valley.

Hadley was never able to extend her bounds as far eastward as this committee proposed. Nepasoaneag brook, at its mouth, continued to be the northern limit. On the west side of the Capawonk meadow, then owned by Northampton, came up to the riverett, now Hatfield Mill river. Wequomps mountain was Sugar Loaf, now in Deerfield.

All the transactions of 1659 that are recorded, may be found on pages 11 and 12. It may be presumed that the broad street and homelots were laid out in 1659; that a number of the engagers "came up to inhabit at the said plantation," in 1659, and built rude dwellings, where they lived during the next winter. Who, or how many, passed the winter there, cannot be known. The seven men, chosen Nov. 9, 1659, "to order all public occasions," and called Townsmen, were at the new plantation and made a rate, Nov. 22, 1659, and they, or a majority of them, probably wintered there with others. One of these Townsmen, Thomas Stanley, made his will, Jan. 29, 1659-60, in which he disposed of his house and land, "that are *here* at the new plantation," proving conclusively that he then lived in the new town.

No record whatever remains of their doings in 1660, previous to the 8th of October, and it may be concluded that no public business was performed that required a register.

On the 8th of October, 1660, a Town-meeting, so called, was held at the house of Andrew Warner, and it was voted:—That no person should be owned for an inhabitant, or have liberty to vote

or act in town affairs, until he should be legally received as an inhabitant—That all who sit down on the west side of the river, shall be one with those on the east side, in both ecclesiastical and civil matters, that are common to the whole; they paying all charges from their engagement, and all purchase-charges from the beginning. Those admitted for inhabitants on the west side of the river, are to be "inhabiting there in houses of their own by Michaelmas next," (Sept. 29, 1661,) and to sign an engagement by themselves, or some others for them. The votes or agreement at this meeting were signed by 28 persons, viz., John Webster, William Goodwin, John Crow, Nathaniel Ward, John White, Andrew Bacon, William Lewis, William Westwood, Richard Goodman, Thomas Standley, Samuel Porter, Ozias Goodwin, John Marsh, William Markum, Samuel Moody, Zechariah Field, Andrew Warner, Mr. John Russell, Junr., Nathaniel Dickinson, Samuel Smith, Thomas Coleman, John Dickinson, Philip Smith, Thomas Wells, Thomas Dickinson, Richard Montague, Peter Tilton, Richard Billing.

These 28 persons were perhaps all the engagers then in the new town, and included some who had not removed their families from Connecticut.

Most of those who wished to settle on the west side of the river, signed an engagement for themselves, or their friends for them, to be dwellers there before Sept. 29, 1661. Some signed at the meeting, Oct. 8th, others Nov. 1st, and some in January, February or March, 1661. Twenty-five persons manifested an intention before March 25, 1661, to establish themselves on that side of the river, in the new town, viz., Aaron Cook, Thomas Meekins, William Allis, Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr., John Coleman, Isaac Graves (with his father, Thomas Graves,) John Graves, Samuel Belding, Stephen Taylor, John White, Jr., Daniel Warner, Richard Fellows, Richard Billing, Edward Benton, Mr. Ritchell (with his son,) Ozias Goodwin, Zechariah Field, Lieut. Thomas Bull, Gregory Wilterton, Nathaniel Porter, Daniel White, William Pitkin, John Cole, Samuel Church, Samuel Dickinson. Of these 25 persons, Aaron Cook and Samuel Church did not remove to the west side of the river; Ozias Goodwin, Lt. Bull, Gregory Wilterton and William Pitkin continued to reside at Hartford, Nathaniel Porter at Windsor, and Mr. Ritchell or Richall and Edward Benton lived at Wethersfield. Sixteen were permanent residents on the west side.

Two of these signers, Thomas Meekins and William Allis, belonged to the Massachusetts Colony, and lived at Braintree.

During the years 1659 and 1660, no permanent distribution of lands was made in the intervals or meadows. Men tilled parcels of the common lands, temporarily assigned to them. It was uncertain how many of the engagers would become actual settlers. The grants to Mr. Bradstreet and others, may have discouraged some; various things operated to dissuade others from the undertaking, and in the course of two years, many had changed their minds. New applicants appeared to supply their places, and there was no lack of settlers.

Courts similar to County courts were ordered, by the General Court, in May, 1658, to be kept yearly, the last Tuesday of March and the last Tuesday of September, one at Springfield and one at Northampton. They were held by the Springfield Commissioners. In Oct. 1659, it was ordered as follows, concerning freemen and the new town:—

"Those made freemen here, and who removed to Connecticut, and have now returned to this colony, are still freemen here, without any further oath. Those in the plantations on Connecticut River, who are not freemen, but capable by law to become so, are to be sworn by the Springfield Commissioners. The new town is to be under the power of the Springfield Commissioners in regard to County Courts, till further order."

"May 31, 1660. Mr. John Webster of the new town at Norwottuck, is by this Court commissionated with magistratical power for the year ensuing, to act in all civil and criminal cases as one magistrate may do. He is to join the Commissioners in keeping the courts."

Mr. John Webster, and the three Springfield Commissioners, viz., Capt. John Pynchon, Mr. Samuel Chapin and Elizur Holyoke, held a court at Springfield, Sept. 25, 1660 and another at Northampton, March 26, 1661. On the same 26th of March, the Springfield Commissioners were at "Newtown or Norwotuck," (so they call the place) and the following persons took the freeman's oath before them, viz., Mr. John Webster, Mr. John Russell, Nathaniel Ward, William Markham, Thomas Dickinson, Andrew Bacon, Thomas Wells, John Hubbard, Nathaniel Dickinson, Philip Smith, Thomas Coleman, Robert Boltwood, Samuel Gardner, Peter Tilton. There were others who had been made freemen in Massachusetts before they removed to Connecticut.

Jurors from the New Town attended the Court for the first time, March, 1661, viz., Andrew Warner, William Lewis, John White, Samuel Smith.

Mr. Webster, an eminent man, died on the 5th of April, a few days after this court.

At a meeting, May 11, 1661, it was voted that all the freemen should meet at the house of Goodman Lewis "upon the next 2d day," (meaning the second day, or Monday, of the next week)

with a committee, to consider of some things to present to the General Court, this month.

Some things agreed upon at that meeting, may be inferred from the following order of the General Court, May 22, 1661, copied from the printed records:—

"On the motion of the inhabitants of the new plantation nere Northampton, relating to sundry particculars, it is ordered by this Court, that the sd toune shall be called Hadley, and that for the better gouernment of the people, & suppressing of sinns there, some meete persons, annually presented by the freemen vnto this, shall be commissioned and empowred to act in seuerall services as followeth: first, the sajd commissioners, together with the commissioners of Springfeild and Northampton, or the greater part of them, shall haue liberty & be impowred to keepe ye Courts appointed at Springfeild & Northampton; secondly, that the said commissioners for Hadley shall and are hereby empowred, without a jury, to heare & determine all ciuil actions not exceeding fiue pounds; 3dly, that the sajd commissioners for Hadley shall & are hereby empowred to deale in all criminall cases according to laue, where the penalty shall not exceed tenn stripes for one offence; provided, that it shall be lawfull for any person sentenced by the sajd commissioners, either in ciuil or criminall cases, to appeale to the Court at Springfeild or Northampton; fourthly, that the persons for the yeare ensuing, & till others be nominated & chosen, for the toune of Hadley, appointed & authorized as aforesajd, are, Andrew Bacon, Mr. Samuell Smith, & Mr Wm Westwood; 5thly, that the commissioners hereby appointed shall take theire oathes before Capt. Pinchon for the faithfull discharge of theire duty therein, who is hereby authorized to administer the same vnto them. It is also ordered by this Court, that the jurymen freemen for trialls at Springfeild & Northampton Courts shall take information & make presentments to ye Court of misdemeanors, as grand jurymen vsually doe, or ought to doe, and that the clarke of the Court for Springfeild & Northampton send forth warrants to the three tounes for jurymen, with respect to the ease of travill to each Court, & yt Mr John Russell, Sen, be clarke of ye writts for Hadley, and yt Mr Westwood, or, in his absence, one of the other commissioners, are hereby authorized to joyne persons in marriage at Hadley."

This place, previously denominated the new town, the new plantation, or Norwottuck, was by the preceding act named Hadley, and the incorporation of the town is commonly dated from the same act. The old towns in Massachusetts were not made legal bodies by any regular act of incorporation. A few words, declaring a place to be a town, and giving it a name, conferred all the powers and privileges of a town; and in some instances, the mere naming of a place seems to have been equivalent to an act of incorporation. In regard to Springfield and Northampton, no transaction of the General Court is recorded, which can be called an incorporation.

Hadley, when it was named in 1661, had no established boundaries, on either side of the river. The first purchases of the Indians had been made, viz., one on the east side, Dec. 25, 1658, and two on the west side in 1660. The three purchases cost the inhabitants 150 pounds.

Hadley was named from Hadleigh or Hadley, a town in England, in the county of Suffolk, situated on the small river Berton, a branch of the Stour, a few miles west of Ipswich and east of

Sudbury. It is not far from the northern boundary of Essex, a county from which came many of the early settlers of Hartford. The Saxon name of Hadleigh was Headlege, according to Camden. When he wrote, about 1600, it was famous for making woolen cloths. In 1811, the population was 2592, and it had a handsome church.

It may be conjectured that some of the first planters of Hadley came from the town of the same name in England. No record remains to show who they were. The name in the town and county records is sometimes written Hadleigh.

Hadley chose five townsmen in December, 1660, and these men held the office 13 months, though what is deemed an act of incorporation took place about 5 months after they were chosen. Others continued in office without a new choice.

The judicial power conferred upon the Hadley commissioners under the 2d and 3d heads, in the order of May, 1661, was unusual and it was abrogated and made null in 1663. The commissioners of the three towns were empowered, in 1661, to hold courts at Springfield and Northampton, but the Northampton and Hadley commissioners do not appear as judges of these courts until March 31, 1663.

The General Court in 1653, when they appointed a committee to divide the land at Nonotuck into *two* plantations, evidently contemplated a plantation on the eastern, as well as one on the western side of the river. Yet through forgetfulness, inattention or ignorance of this part of the colony, the General Court in May, 1657, permitted Mr. Simon Bradstreet, to whom they had previously granted 700 acres, to take up his grant on the eastern side of Connecticut River, in the vicinity of Northampton. They also granted to Maj. Daniel Denison, 500 acres, and to Mr. Samuel Symonds, 300 acres, near Mr. Bradstreet's. Gen. Humphrey Atherton also had a grant of 500 acres "at Nonotucke beyond Springfield," May 26, 1658.

There were no deputies present from Springfield and Northampton in 1657 and 1658, and those from the eastern towns knew very little about this remote region of "Nonotucke beyond Springfield." But those individuals who obtained grants of land upon the river, were not ignorant of their value, and not unmindful of their own interests.

On the 27th of May, 1659, after it was ascertained that the Connecticut people were about to remove to Norwottuck, the Deputies passed the following vote, and the Magistrates consented:—

The Court have granted to Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Symonds, Maj. Gen. Denison and Maj. Atherton, each of them, a farm, which they intended to take upon Connecticut River, above Springfield; but as the taking it there will be very prejudicial to the new plantation, now going on there, which this Court is very willing to encourage, the Deputies desire the four Magistrates to find out some other place to take their farms in, and if it shall not be equal in respect to quality, it may be made up in quantity.

In November, 1659, the Court added 200 acres to Maj. Atherton's grant, and he took the 700 acres at Waranoke; on the 31st of May, 1660, the Court added to Mr. Bradstreet's grant, 300 acres, to Mr. Symond's, 100 acres, and to Maj. Gen. Denison's, 300 acres, in consideration of their having resigned their former grants, for the accommodation of the new town. And they had liberty to take up their lands in any place on the west side of the river, "provided it be full six miles from the place now intended for Northampton meeting house, upon a straight line;" or they might take their grants elsewhere in unappropriated lands. Mr. Bradstreet was to have the first choice.

Mr. Symonds took his land elsewhere; but Mr. Bradstreet determined to take 500 of his 1000 acres on the west side of the river; and Maj. Gen. Denison, 500 of his 800 acres, near Mr. Bradstreet's.

Hadley did not complain of the decision of the General Court, and Mr. Bradstreet did not apparently manifest any dissatisfaction for about two years, but after he was sent to England as an agent of the colony, his son Samuel Bradstreet sent a petition to the General Court at the May session, 1662, stating that his father had chosen 500 acres on the west side of Connecticut River, betwixt 5 and 6 miles in a straight line from Northampton meeting house, "being for the most part compassed about with a great brook, a long pond or ponds and Connecticut River." He requested a confirmation of this land for his father, and used some flimsy arguments to show that his father ought to have it, though he had not gone 6 miles from Northampton meeting house.

It is hardly to be supposed that the Magistrates were much influenced by his arguments; yet they wished to do Mr. Bradstreet a favor, and were willing that he should have the land petitioned for. The Deputies did not consent, but said the grant must begin full 6 miles from Northampton meeting house, as before ordered.

The subject was again presented to the Court at the October session, 1662, and the Deputies again gave Mr. Bradstreet his 500 acres north of the 6 miles. The Magistrates did not consent to this, but gave Mr. Bradstreet the land where he desired it, south of the 6 miles line, and the Deputies finally agreed with them. The Deputies did not manifest as much perseverance as in some

other cases, when contending with the Magistrates or Upper House; and thus was consummated an act which Hadley people judged to be one of great injustice towards them; it was directly contrary to the order of May 31, 1660.

This decision produced much excitement in Hadley. The land now granted to Mr. Bradstreet was an important interval or meadow, from which the settlers on the west side of the river had received, or were to receive, a large portion of their interval land. It was called the Higher Meadow, the North Meadow, and the Great Meadow. Its boundaries still are brooks, ponds and the river, and the southern part is within about a mile of Hatfield meeting house. It included near a fourth part of all the interval on both sides of the river.

At the next General Court, May, 1663, earnest petitions were sent from the church and town of Hadley, and one from Northampton in behalf of Hadley. They all believed that the act giving the Great Meadow to Mr. Bradstreet was not equitable.

"The church of Christ in Hadley," in their petition, say, "we ask only what we have a right unto, derived from yourselves." They refer to the encouragement at first given by the court for them to settle at Hadley, and to the subsequent order requiring the gentlemen who had grants not to come within six miles of Northampton Meeting House. They request that this order may stand sure and steadfast. They estimate the interval given to Mr. Bradstreet, at "about one-fourth part of their serviceable land." They conclude with these words:—"the thing is likely to leave the house of God unfurnished amongst us as well as our civil society." The petition is signed by John Russell, Pastor; Will. Goodwin, Ruling Elder; Nathaniel Dickinson and Peter Tilton, Deacons, in the name of the church.

Henry Clarke, Andrew Bacon and William Westwood signed the petition in the name of the town of Hadley, May 25, 1663. This petition is much longer than that of the church and would fill two or three pages of this book. Some extracts and abstracts follow.

They request the General Court—"to lend a listening ear to our cry, occasioned by our present necessity and distress. Having viewed this place, although we found it bare and mean enough, in itself to answer our ends, and accompanied with many inconveniences besides the great one of its remoteness, yet considering the court's encouraging answer to our motion, we doubted not of enjoying what the place would afford." They then refer to the committee, appointed in May, 1659, to lay out the bounds of the plantation, who allotted to them the land they were pleading for, as appears by their return. "All the land here would not be sufficient for such a competency as was thought not too much for our neighbors in the next plantation; [Northampton] yet they think their neighbors will find their place hard and the work heavy enough. They complain because so much land was given to Mr. Bradstreet and Maj. Gen. Denison "which discouraged some of our company, and several fell off, and among others, our dear and precious help in the ministry, Mr. Hooker." "As to our engrossing too much land, ten of the greatest men amongst us have not so much interval land as this farm Mr. Bradstreet pleads for, and that within three-fourths of a mile of our houses, and the furtherest part of it within one mile and three-fourths of our houses." —"The place (Hadley) has proved far worse for wintering cattle than was expected; and the transportation of other things is tedious. We have purchased of the Indians at such rates as we believe never any plantation in New England was purchased."

Northampton was interested in the prosperity of these new settlements, being very desirous of neighbors on both sides of the river. A petition was therefore signed by 35 of the inhabitants of Northampton, in favor of the people of Hadley, May 19, 1663. Some extracts follow:—

> Our brethren profess themselves to have set down there confiding in the honored court's grant. The accommodations they have there, if they have all they expected, are but mean and very inconvenient for such a company, the uplands here being of inconsiderable value to what they are in other places. What is raised here is at small price, foreign commodities are dear, and the charge and trouble in transporting by land near 50 miles, will be more felt by those that do it than others can readily conceive of. Should they fail of a supply of food and clothing for their families, and many remove elsewhere, and the plantation be scattered, how much should we be disappointed who have hoped for the comfort and refreshing of Christian neighborhood. May it please the honored court, to take such order in the case as that the worthy gentlemen concerned may be no losers, and yet our societies not broken, nor our beginnings routed, nor the work of the Lord hindered.

On the 11th of June, 1663, Mr. Bradstreet sent to the General Court, a protest against the claims of Hadley, and referred to the decision in his favor in October, 1662. The Court adhered to that decision, and the petitions in favor of Hadley were unavailing.

At the October session, 1663, the south line of Maj. Denison's farm was fixed at an oak tree, at the side of a great plain, near a swamp, about six miles from Northampton meeting house; the line to run east and west from the oak tree; and to extend to the north one mile on the river, and then west from the river far enough to make 500 acres.

The south line of this farm seems to have been then considered the north line of Hadley on the west side of the river, Mr. Bradstreet's farm being included in the township.

The lands had been so allotted on both sides of the river, that it became necessary to purchase Mr. Bradstreet's farm, even at a high price, in order to give the planters on the west side, their proportion of meadow land. In April, 1664, Lieut. Samuel Smith was empowered by the town to purchase this farm, but he was not to exceed 200 pounds. Mr. Bradstreet would not sell for this sum. At length it was agreed that he should have 200 pounds, and 1000 acres of land lying north of Denison's farm, if it could be obtained. Lieut. Smith was under the necessity of petitioning the General Court, at the May session, 1664, for a gift of 1000 acres to Hadley, to enable the town to pay Mr. Bradstreet. The Court granted the petition and Hadley paid the 200 pounds in 1664 and 1665. Mr. Bradstreet, for his original grant of 700 acres, received 200 pounds, in money, a large sum in those days, 1000 acres of land upon Connecticut River, some of it valu-

able, and 500 acres elsewhere in the colony. The 1000 acres are now in Whately.

The Denison Farm and this second Bradstreet Farm are well known to the people of Hatfield and Whately. A tract of land called Bashan, lying south of the Denison Farm, was not included in Bradstreet's Interval.

CHAPTER III

Division of lands in New England—Hadley Homelots and Street—Manner of distributing Hadley Intervals—East side and west side Intervals—Hatfield Homelots—Measuring Land—Common Fields and Fences—Gates.

The fathers of New England evidently intended that every industrious man should have the means of obtaining a competent share of the comforts of life; and for this end, land was distributed to all, and the cultivators were also proprietors of the soil. A distribution of land was a distribution of power. This was a wide departure from the system of Europe, where the land was owned by a few, and working men were poor, dependent and despised.

The General Court granted lands in townships, but seldom prescribed the manner in which they were to be apportioned among the inhabitants. In making allotments, no uniform rule was observed; lands were variously distributed in different towns, and even in the same town. In making divisions, persons and property were considered. The head of the family and the sons, and sometimes the wife and all the children, were taken into account. Ministers, and some besides them, received land from other considerations.

In many towns in Massachusetts and Connecticut, some tracts were distributed equally to all the proprietors. Homelots were sometimes nearly equal. In a few towns, the least share was half as much as the greatest, or the poorest man received half as much land as the richest. In others, the smallest share was only one-third, one-fourth, one-sixth or one-tenth as much as the largest. In some, the inequality was much greater, a few individuals receiving very large allotments on account of large estates and disbursements.

A much greater proportion of the people of the old towns in Massachusetts and Connecticut were freeholders and independent proprietors soon after their settlement than at any subsequent

period. Church-members and freemen had no advantage over others in the distribution of lands.—The later divisions of large tracts of woodland in Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield were far more unequal than the early apportionments of intervals.

Hadley Homelots on the east side of the river.—By the agreement at Hartford in 1659, every planter was to have a homelot of 8 acres. This equal division did not extend to other lands. The deficiency in a few of the homelots, which were less than 8 acres, was made up in the meadows.

The spacious street, 20 rods wide, and the homelots on each side, 80 rods in length, must have been partially laid out in 1659. The town plot was laid out into four quarters, two on each side of the street, divided by a highway. It was voted Jan. 21, 1661, that the homelots should be well fenced by the middle of April next, each man doing his proportion. The ends of the street, and the west end of the middle lane into the woods, were to be fenced by the town, with posts and rails and gates. The homelots required about 16 miles of fence.

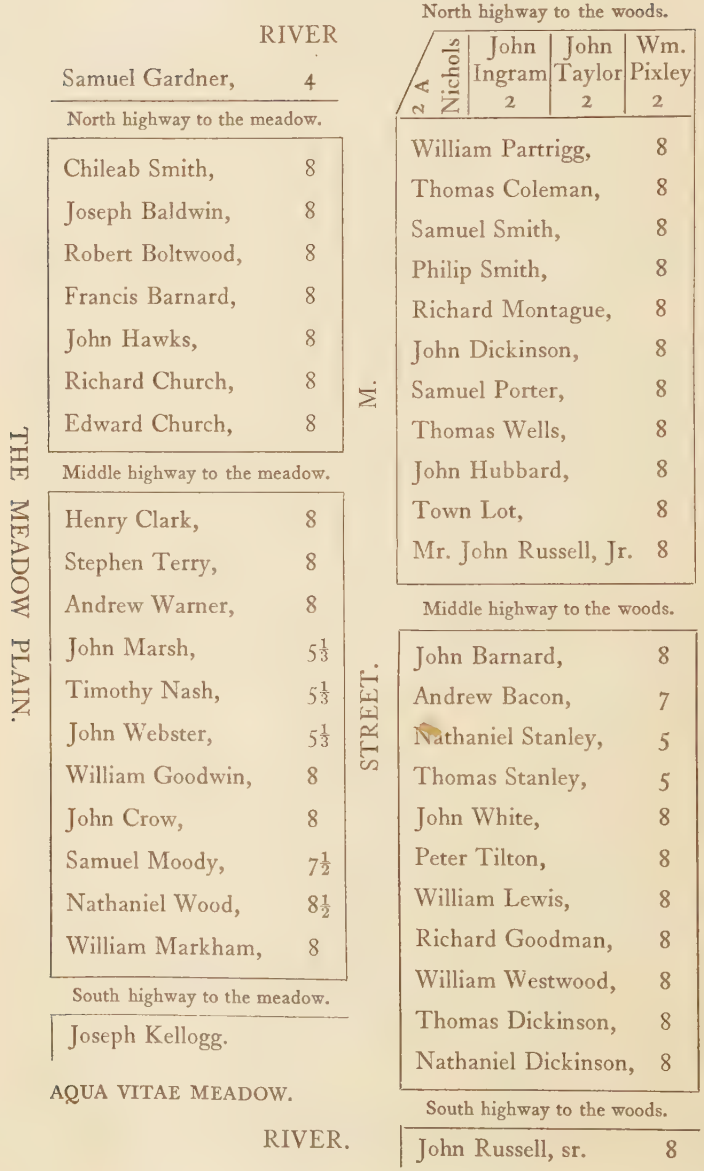
The street extended across the neck* or peninsula, near its junction with the main land, and had the river at each end. The length of the street on the west side was not far from a mile or 320 rods; the distance on the east side was considerably more. At the north end, the street turned easterly. The idea of a street so wide, may have been suggested by the Broad-street at Wethersfield. In forming it, they appear to have regarded both utility and beauty. Besides other uses, this enclosure of about 40 acres was very convenient for grazing ground, when they had but few fenced pastures.

In 1663, there were 47 houselots. Samuel Church lived with his father and had no houselot. Aaron Cooke lived with his father-in-law, William Westwood, and had no houselot.

The plan of the village on the next page, exhibits the street and highways, the 47 houselots, and the names of the proprietors in 1663. The figures denote the number of acres in each lot. A full lot of 8 acres was 16 rods wide. There was a broad space between the small lots at the north end and the river, and some years later, several small houselots were granted next to the river, and men built houses on these lots and lived there many years. M. in the street is the place where the first meeting-house stood. It was built after 1663.

*Neck was the appellation which our fathers often gave to a peninsula and isthmus, as well as to other projections or points of land. The whole of Boston was sometimes called a neck of land.

VILLAGE OF HADLEY IN 1663.



Manner of distributing Intervals or Meadows in Hadley.—Those who intended to remove to Hadley, had put in a sum "to take up lands by," in April, 1659. When the lands were divided, each proprietor received allotments according to a sum annexed to his name, called estate. These sums varied from 50 to 200 pounds, and must have been the result of friendly consultation and agreement. How persons and property were considered, cannot be known. Some of the engagers were worth three times the sum set against their names, and some were worth less than the sum so affixed.—Hartford had divided lands according to sums set against the names of proprietors.

In June, 1662, three young, single men applied for land, viz., John Taylor, John Ingram and William Pixley, and in December, a small houselot was granted to each at the north end of the east houselots, and 40£ allotments in the meadows. One of them had been a servant, and it is believed that all had. Yet these unmarried men, without property, received one-fifth as much land as the most wealthy head of a family.

Among the original proprietors of Hadley, the largest share of land was only four times greater than the smallest, and after the addition of the three in 1662, five times larger. The distributions of land seem to have been satisfactory to all, and their equity was never called in question.

It is supposed that when a tract of land was to be divided, there were as many tickets, numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. as there were persons to whom it was to be distributed; and that a ticket was drawn for each man, the number determining where his lot was to be in the tract.

There were 48 proprietors (not including Aaron Cooke) on the east side of Connecticut River, who had the whole of the interval land on that side, below Mill River, and about 360 acres on the west side. The town reserved a lot in each division, and is one of the 48. These 48 proprietors all received their lands according to the sums affixed to their names in the following list. They are arranged by house-row, (as they sometimes are in the records) beginning at the lower or south houselot, on the east side of the street, and proceeding to the north end, and then coming down on the west side. The numbers in the second column of figures, exhibit the order of the 48 lots in Hockanum meadow, as they were drawn in March, 1663, and the other figures show the quantity of land in each lot. Aaron Cooke's estate and lands were not separate from Mr. Westwood's.

	Pounds.	No.	Acres.	qrs.	rods.
Mr. John Russell, senr,	150	18	6	2	29
Nathaniel Dickinson,	200	31	8	3	27
Thomas Dickinson,	80	19	3	2	9
Mr. Wm. Westwood,	200	11	8	3	26
Richard Goodman,	140	48	6	2	23
William Lewis,	150	10	6	2	29
Peter Tilton,	100	3	4	1	33
John White,	150	5	6	2	29
Thomas Stanley,	125	16	5	2	11
Nathaniel Stanley,	125	1	5	2	11
Andrew Bacon,	125	42	5	2	11
John Barnard,	150	36	6	2	29
Mr. John Russell, Jr.	150	6	6	2	29
The Town,	150	4	6	2	29
John Hubbard,	150	39	6	2	29
Thomas Wells,	150	45	6	2	29
Samuel Porter,	100	17	4	1	33
John Dickinson,	150	43	6	2	29
Richard Montague,	80	23	3	2	9
Philip Smith,	150	9	6	2	29
Samuel Smith,	200	44	8	3	27
Thomas Coleman,	200	20	8	3	26
William Partrigg,	100	15	4	1	33
Adam Nicholls,	50	29	2	0	36
John Taylor,	40	12	2	1	31
John Ingram,	40	30	1	1	32
William Pixley,	40	2	1	1	32
Samuel Gardner,	70	46	3	0	9
Chileab Smith,	100	32	4	1	33
Joseph Baldwin,	150	34	6	2	29
Robert Boltwood,	100	7	4	1	33
Francis Barnard,	100	35	4	1	33
John Hawks,	150	14	6	2	29
Richard Church,	100	27	4	1	33
Samuel Church,	50	26	2	0	36
Edward Church,	80	28	3	2	9
Mr. Henry Clarke,	200	25	8	3	26
Stephen Terry,	200	8	8	3	26
Andrew Warner,	200	21	8	3	26
John Marsh,	100	41	4	1	33
Timothy Nash,	100	33	4	1	33
Wm. & Thos. Webster, sons of John,	150	38	6	2	29
Mr. Wm. Goodwin,	200	37	8	3	26
John Crow,	200	40	8	3	26
Samuel Moody,	100	13	6	2	29
Nathaniel Ward,	200	47	8	3	20
William Markham,	50	24	2	0	36
Joseph Kellogg,	100	22	4	1	33
	6145 pounds.				

There are some errors in the acres of the 40 £ proprietors; and Samuel Moody has too many acres.

Change of Proprietors.—In February, 1661, there were 46 east side proprietors, when the Meadow Plain was divided. Nine of these ceased to be proprietors in 1661 and 1662, viz., John Webster died in 1661, Robert Webster lived at Hartford, Elizabeth, widow of Luke Hitchcock, married in Springfield, James Northam

died in 1661, Capt. Cullick removed to Boston, Mr. Samuel Hooker was ordained at Farmington, 1661, Richard Weller removed to Northampton, John Arnold lived at Hartford. John Kellogg was perhaps a mistake for Joseph Kellogg. (John Hawks died 1662; left a family.)

Eleven new proprietors were added before March, 1663, making 48, viz., the Town, which took Mr. Hooker's lots, Wm. and Thos. Webster as one, Henry Clarke from Windsor, Joseph Baldwin from Milford, who married the widow of James Northam, Timothy Nash from Hartford, Chileab Smith, Samuel Church, Joseph Kellogg from Farmington and last from Boston, John Ingram, John Taylor,* William Pixley.

Meadows on the East side of the River.—The alluvial meadows adjoining the Connecticut, induced men to settle at Hadley; for some years, grants of upland were not asked for. There were four meadows besides the School meadows, upon the east side of the river, that contained about 1200 acres; and these were allotted to the proprietors in 1661, 1662 and 1663, viz.

I. Forty Acre Meadow, or Forty Acres, was north of the village towards Mill River. Hartford had a parcel of meadow so named. When distributed, it was estimated at about 67 acres, but contained considerably more. Those who lived in the north half of the village had the Forty Acres, and the Forlorn and some east of it, in the Great Meadow, as an equivalent for Fort Meadow, which the southern half of the village possessed.

II. The Great Meadow included all the land upon the peninsula or neck, west and south of the homelots. It was divided into 177 pieces or lots, containing according to the town measurers, about 710 acres, and averaging 4 acres each. Highways running westerly divided the meadow into oblong parcels denominated furlongs in the records. It is not far from two miles from the street to the extreme north-western point of the meadow; and more than a mile from the street to the river where Northampton bridge is. The north-west part of the meadow was called the Forlorn,† and sometimes Honeypot, from the name of a place in the river.

The Great Meadow was formed into three divisions for distribution, besides the Forlorn. One division adjoining the homelots, was called the Meadow Plain. Excepting the homelots, this Plain was the first land divided among the settlers. The lots were drawn the last of February, 1661.

*John Taylor's lot on 24th page should be next to that of A. Nicholls.

†A tract in Northampton, where deficiencies in other lands were made up, was called Forlorn.

Below the south highway, now the old road to Northampton, a tract of mowing was called Maple Swamp and Aquavitae.* The latter name was at first Aquavitae Bottle, from a fancied resemblance in the shape to a case-bottle.

III. Fort Meadow, south of the village, and most of it north and west of Fort River, was estimated to contain 147 acres, besides some south of the river and some low swamps. Those who lived in the southern part of the village had this meadow at the rate of 5 acres to the 100 pounds. Those in the northern part of the village had as an offset 5 acres and 143 rods to the 100 pounds in Forty Acres, and in and near Forlorn.

IV. Hockanum Meadow, below Fort Meadow, was a long point or neck of land, containing about 293 acres, but reduced to 276 in the records, by the process of equalizing. A tract called swamp in the south-eastern part, was not included. The meadow extended from the eastern lot south-westerly about 467 rods, or almost one mile and a half. The width of the neck, or length of the lots, was generally from 80 to 140 rods; a few were shorter near the south-west end. That part of the meadow which had become quite narrow, 25 or 30 rods wide, by the long-continued wearing of the river, and through which the river formed a new channel, on the 25th of February, 1840, was not less than 100 rods wide in 1663.

The Hockanum lots were drawn in March, 1663, and 100 pounds drew 4 acres, 73 rods. The number and quantity of each man's lot may be found on page 26. Lot No. 1 was at the south-west end, and lot No. 48, at the north-east end.

Equalizing Land.—This was done in some of the Hadley meadows. A committee valued the various parts of a tract, and decided that some should be received at more and some at less than 160 rods to an acre, though most at 160 rods. Two acres were given for one in some places; and in one instance, 120 rods were accounted an acre.

School Meadows, north of Mill River, will be noticed in another place.

Four Meadows on the West side of the river.—It is difficult to ascertain the quantity of land in two or three of these, as the lands of several proprietors are not recorded. The four meadows may have contained as many acres as the four on the east side, or above 1200. Considerable allowance was made for ponds, swamps and light lands.

*This valuable grass meadow is still named Aquavitae, but the word is commonly written Aquavita, which is not good Latin.

Swamps that produced hay which cattle would eat, however coarse, were deemed valuable, but some were too spongy and wet, and yielded only worthless aquatic herbs and shrubs.

I. The Great, North, or Upper Meadow, which was purchased of Mr. Bradstreet, including a swamp adjoining, was separated into six divisions, and each west side proprietor had a lot in each division, and some was reserved.

II. Little Meadow was at the north end of the street, and part of it east of the North Meadow. It was in two divisions.

III. The South Meadow, or "the Meadow adjoining to the street," at the south end, was called Wequettayag by the Indians, and commonly Great Pansett in the records of Peter Tilton. It contained about 430 acres, with little or no waste land. The east side proprietors had the west part, called 205 acres, and the west side had the east part, about 225 acres, including Indian Bottom.

Indian Bottom was the name of a tract of land adjoining the Connecticut in the South meadow, north of Hadley village. When Umpanchala sold this meadow and other lands, June 10, 1660, he reserved the Indian planting ground. He sold a part of this soon after, and the whole in a few years. From this reservation of Indian planting ground, the whole bottom has been called Indian Bottom or Indian Hollow. Most of it is productive and valuable mowing ground.

The accession to Indian Bottom by the action of the river, has been extensive, but the original bottom is not yet doubled by the increase of 185 years. Hadley has lost more than Hatfield has gained. By the aid of the old records, the curved line of the river bank in 1662 can be nearly ascertained. The old bottom varied from 19 to 40 rods in width, exclusive of the western point. The new bottom nowhere exceeds 40 rods in breadth, and in some places is much narrower than the old. [This was written in 1847.]

Opposite to this grass meadow, the inroads of the river upon Hadley have been destructive. The homesteads where some of the early settlers lived and died, the lands which they cultivated, and the highways which they traveled, have been carried away, and more serious consequences have been threatened.*

IV. The south-west Meadow, which Northampton sold to Hadley, was then called Capawonk, and subsequently, Amponchus, Little Pansett, Little Pontius, &c. It is separated from Great Pansett by Mill River. The west side inhabitants had the upper part, denominated the Plain, at two acres for one. The

*The action of the river upon Hadley lands will be noticed elsewhere.

east side had all Capawonk, except the Plain; after being equalized and ponds and worthless swamps rejected, the number of acres was about 157.*

RECAPITULATION of the Distributions of Lands to East side Proprietors:—

East side land.	
Forty Acre Meadow,	67 acres.
Great Meadow,	710 "
Fort Meadow,	147 "
Below Fort River,	16 "
Hockanum Meadow,	276 "
	1216 "
West side land.	
Little Pansett,	157 "
Great Pansett,	205 "
Total,	1578 "

100£ drew as follows in each of the seven divisions:—

	Acres.	rods.
1. In Fort Meadow, Forty Acres and Forlorn, half had 5 acres and half 5 acres and 143 rods,—average,	5	72
2. In Hockanum Meadow,	4	73
3. In the Plain, in Great Meadow,	2	55
4. In Ploughland in do.	3	00
5. In Last Division in do.	4	00
6. In Little Pansett, West side,	2	120
7. In Great Pansett, "	3	40
	25	40

Each 100 pounds drew 25¼ acres of meadow land; 200£ drew 50½ acres; 150£ drew 37⅞ acres; 50£ drew 12⅝ acres; 40£ drew 10 acres, 16 rods. £6145 drew at this rate, 1552 acres; and 26 acres allowed for deficiencies in homelots, make 1578 acres.

About one-half of the proprietors had seven lots each, and the other half, who drew in Forty Acres, 8 lots. There were some deviations, a few receiving in one division, their shares in two.

RECAPITULATION of the Distributions of Land to West side Proprietors:—

The number of proprietors who drew lots in the South Meadow and Little Meadow, was 22, and the amount of estates, 2500 pounds; 23 drew in the North Meadow, and some land was reserved for others.

100£ drew as follows:—

	Acres.	rods.
In 3 divisions in South Meadow,	8	144
In the Meadow Plain,	2	55
In 2 divisions in Little Meadow,	2	22
In 6 divisions in North Meadow,	13	159
	27	60

Each 100 pounds drew 27 acres, 60 rods, or 2 acres and 20 rods more than the east side proprietors had. This difference is not explained. The 23 proprietors drew about 700 acres.

After the township was divided, it was estimated that Hadley had two-thirds of the improvable or interval land, and Hatfield one-third. Hadley had not far from 1600 acres, and Hatfield about 800 acres.

"So they made an end of dividing the country," as in the days of Joshua. This important business was performed harmoniously. No man claimed or received a great estate—no one had above 50½ acres of interval. The vast extent of upland was open to all equally for wood, timber and pasturage.

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*Pres. Dwight (Travels in N. E., Vol. 1, p. 343,) estimates Capawonk at "eight or nine hundred acres of rich interval." He supposed, perhaps, that Capawonk included Great Pansett. The real Capawonk did not exceed 275 acres.

VILLAGE ON THE WEST SIDE OF THE RIVER IN 1668,

With the houselots granted by Hatfield, 1670 to 1672.

		Rods wide.
	Wm. King, later Samuel Field,	16
	Benjamin Wait,	16
	John Graves, Jr.	16
	Samuel Foote,	16
	Robert Danks,	16
	Deerfield Lane.	
	Isaac Graves, Jr.	16
	Samuel Northam,	16
	Richard Morton,	20
	Town lot,	16
		Acres.
	John Hawks,	4
	Mill Lane.	
	Samuel Kellogg,	4
	Obadiah Dickinson,	4
Estate.	John Allis,	8
£100	Daniel White,	8
200	William Allis,	8
200	1Thomas Meekins, 2Thomas Meekins, Jr.	8
50	Eleazar Frary,	4
100	John Graves,	8
150	Isaac Graves,	8
50	1Stephen Taylor, 2Barnabas Hinsdale,	8
100	1Ozias Goodwin, 2Mr. Hope Atherton,	8
125	1Zechariah Field, 2John Field,	8
	Highway to Northampton.	
150	1John Cowles, 2John Cowles, Jr.	8
100	1Richard Fellows, 2Widow Fellows,	8

STREET.

		Rods wide.
	Highway to the river.	
	Thomas Bracy,	
	Hezekiah Dickinson,	20
	William Scott,	20
	Daniel Belden,	16
	Samuel Allis,	16
	Samuel Marsh,	16
	Nathaniel Foote,	16
		Acres.
	Philip Russell,	4
Estate.	Samuel Gillet,	4
£100	John Wells,	4½
100	John Coleman, (16 rods wide)	
100	Samuel Belden,	8
100	William Gull,	8
100	Samuel Dickinson,	8
100	1Edward Benton, 2Nathaniel Dickinson, sr.	6
100	1John White, Jr. 2Nicholas Worthington,	8
150	Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr.	8
100	Richard Billing, Samuel Billing,	8
100	Daniel Warner,	8
125	1Thomas Bull, 2Town to Mr. Atherton,	8

SOUTH MEADOW.

A committee was appointed, Jan. 21, 1661, to lay out houselots on the west side of the river. Richard Fellows is supposed to have been the first settler on that side. A few families planted themselves there in 1661, and more in succeeding years, and the whole number in 1668 may have been from 25 to 28. The Hill, so called, west of Mill River, was not settled till after Philip's war.

The houselots of John Hawks and Philip Russell, and all below them, on the plan of the village, were granted by Hadley. Those above or north of them were granted by Hatfield, of which some were forfeited and given to others. Hatfield re-granted the lots of Goodwin, Benton and Bull. Mr. Atherton, the first minister, lived on the Goodwin lot, as did his successor, Mr. Chauncey. Barnabas Hinsdale married the widow of Stephen Taylor, and lived in her house. Nicholas Worthington married the widow of John White, Jr. and lived in her house. Thomas Meekins, sr. removed from the street and lived near his mill. John Coleman, about 1678, changed his residence, and lived on the Benton lot, and Samuel Belden resided on Coleman's first lot. No one lived on the Bull lot for many years. The greater part of the lots were of 8 acres; some were only 4. Those on the east side were short in the upper part, the 4 acre lots being 16 rods wide. The length of the street on the west side, from the highway to Northampton to the north end, was about 340 rods. The street formerly extended farther south than now, against the houselots of Cowles and Fellows.

Almost all the lands in the towns upon Connecticut River, were laid out without the aid of a surveyor's compass. The Town measurers commonly had a measuring chain, and perhaps a square to form right angles. Their calculations were in general sufficiently accurate, though not exact. The north star was sometimes regarded in establishing important lines.

Town measurers were first chosen in Hadley, Dec. 31, 1660, and were Samuel Smith and Peter Tilton. They were to lay out all the lands and keep a record of the length and breadth of every man's lot, and put stakes in the front and rear of every lot, with the initials of the man on his stake, "in some distinguishing letters." They were to receive three pence per acre for their trouble.

Peter Tilton was the first recorder of lands in Hadley, chosen Feb. 9, 1663. With a few exceptions, he recorded all the homelots and allotments in the intervals, with their bounds, width and number of acres, in a peculiar but legible hand. The lands of John Barnard, Frances Barnard, the town lots, and the lands of some proprietors on the west side, are not recorded.

The first regular surveyor with a compass, that resided in any town upon the Connecticut, was Caleb Stanley, Jr. of Hartford. He bought a surveyor's compass a few years before 1700. Timothy Dwight, born in 1694, the grandfather of President Dwight, was the first surveyor and owner of surveying instruments that

lived in Northampton. Nathaniel Kellogg, Jr., born in 1693, was the first surveyor that resided in Hadley.

The surveyor's compass was used at Pocomtuck, (Deerfield) in 1665, by Joshua Fisher, of Dedham.

The early settlers of New England were acquainted with common fields in England, occupied by the tenantry of a parish or village; and they established common fields here, owned by freeholders. They could not have done otherwise in the intervals of the Connecticut. Where every man has his share of land in each division, the lots must be small; and if they were larger, partition fences could not be maintained against the river floods.

A common field was necessarily surrounded by a common fence, except in places where a river, mountain, or fence about other land, served for a barrier against domestic animals. Each proprietor of a common field was to fence according to the number of acres he held in the field, and the place of his fence, like that of his land, was fixed by lot. A quantity of upland was sometimes included within the meadow fence.

The Great Meadow was secured by the homelot fences. Hockanum Meadow was protected by Mount Holyoke for a long distance; a fence was necessary in some places near the south-west end of the mountain, and at the north, a fence was made in 1663, from Fort Meadow fence "to the mountain where it is impassable," above 200 rods. At a later period, the fences of both meadows were united, making in all 700 rods, of which, near 500 rods were on Lawrence's Plain and the lower part of Mount Holyoke.

Great and Little Pansett, on the west side, were fenced in 1662, from the Connecticut at the lower end, round to the Connecticut east of the village. The east side proprietors made about 500 rods of the southern part of the fence, and the west side proprietors made the rest.

Hadley ordered, in 1669, that Little Pansett fence should be made "with ditch, posts and two or three rails on the same," or as expressed in another vote, "with ditch and two poles or three rails on the same." The broad ditch and high bank of earth thrown out of the ditch, were an important part of the old common fence; they may still be seen on both sides of the river. The ditch was on the outside of the bank and rails, for the main object of the fence was to secure the meadows from domestic animals that roved in the woods on the outside.—Some of the meadow fences and perhaps most of the homelot fences were made of posts and rails without a ditch. Fences 5 rails high, and 4 feet

4 inches high, are mentioned on the west side. All fences were to be sufficient against horses, cattle, hogs and sheep.

Gates in common fences that crossed public highways, were necessary appendages of the common field system, and were rather troublesome to travelers. Hadley had at first two such gates in the county road to Springfield, one called the mountain gate, near the end of the mountain, and the other, near the northwest corner of Fort Meadow. There were gates or bars in all highways into common fields, in the village and elsewhere. Bars were not common. If a person left open the gate or bars of a meadow, he was to pay 2s. 6d. Some meadow gates in county roads, continued down to the present century.

In 1663, every man was ordered to bound his land with meer-stones; and those whose land adjoined, were to be called, to see the meer-stones set down betwixt them.

CHAPTER IV

Highways—Bridges—Ferries—Grist-mills—Bolting-mills—Saw-mills and sawing boards by hand.

The early settlers of Hadley first designated the street and highways, and then laid out the lots of land contiguous to them. The supposition that the ways in this and other old towns were laid over the land of individuals is without the least foundation.

In 1665, Peter Tilton recorded the street and eleven other highways in Hadley, all in the village and meadows. He seems to have considered the north highway into the woods, as a continuation of the broad street. In 1667, the town ordered a passable cart-way to be made along the Forty Acres to Mill Brook,—the first road ordered by the town on the uplands.

Before Hadley was begun, the Northampton people had a way to Windsor and Hartford through Waranoke, (afterwards Westfield;) and they also had a way to Springfield on the east side. Mount Tom was an obstruction on the west side. They crossed the river to Hockanum meadow, and perhaps higher also. The people of Hadley made use of both of these roads; and they continued the Springfield road up to their plantation. They selected a route along the side of Mount Holyoke, below the steep part of the acclivity, some distance above the present road, and this was

traveled more than 80 years. Some of the ground at the foot of the mountain was considered too wet and queachy for a highway.

There were complaints of bad and dangerous places in the highways, and the County Court appointed a committee, in March 1664, to lay out highways on both sides of the river between Hadley and Windsor, and to determine by whom they should be repaired. The men were George Colton and Benjamin Cooley of Springfield, Henry Woodward and Capt. Aaron Cooke of Northampton, and Andrew Warner and William Allis of Hadley. Five made their return, a copy of which follows, from the records of the county court:—

Northampton, May ye 21st 1664. Wee doe agree and determine that ye highway from Hadley towne's end, on ye east side of ye great river, to ye Fort meddow gate, running as it now lyes, bee in breadth six rodds, and from thence to ye lower end of ye sd meddow in breadth two rods, and from thence (ye way lying still as it doth,) to ye end of Mount Holyoke* in breadth ten rodds, and from thence to Scanunganunk as ye cartway now runs in breadth twenty rodds, and from thence to Springfeild to the upper end of the causey going down into ye towne, six rodds, and from ye lower end of Springfeild to Longmeddow gate, running where it now doth, in breadth foure rods, and from ye Longmeddow gate to the bridge at ye lower end by the river's bank shall be in breadth two rods, and from ye lower end of the said meddow unto Freshwater river soe called, as the way now runs foure rodds, and from thence to Namerick where John Bissell had a barne standinge, as now the way runs, twenty rods, and from thence to Namerick brook where will best suite for a bridge, two rods, and from thence to the dividing lyne betweene the Collonyes, where ye horseway now lyes two rods. And from the said dividing lyne on the west side of ye river towards Waranoak, in the way that is now improved, comonly called ye new way, that is to say, to two miles brooke fourty rods, and from thence to Waranoak hill where the trading house stood, twenty rods, and from thence to ye passage of ye river where ye way now lies six rods, and from thence through ye other meddow to ye great hill as the way now lyes six rodds, and from thence to Munhan river forty rods, and from Munhan river to ye lotts now laid out neere ye Mill river fourty rods, and from thence to the town of Northampton ffoure rods, and from Northampton along by the comon fence side unto ye great river six rods in breadth, & from ye river side just opposite on ye east side, to run cross to the middle way that leades to ye centre of Hadley towne two rods, and soe to Hadley towne two rodds, allowing for the conveniency of landing places, an acre of land on each side of the river, to be in length twenty rods and in breadth eight rods, viz on Northampton side upp ye river from ye fence and on ye other side up & down the river, each towne to make its own landing place. The ferry to be appoynted by the next county Courte, and in ye meanetyme yt the way through Northampton may be improved as formerly. And further we judge and determine that the towne of Hadley shall make and maintayne all ye highwayes and bridges from their towne to Scanunganunk, and Springfeild shall make & maintayne ye bridges & wayes from Scanunganunk to the foote of the [falls,] and in case it appeares to be our collonyes right, over Namerick brooke, that the way be made and mayntayned by this county. And the wayes and bridges from the landing place at the great river [in Northampton] unto the top of Waranoak hill to be made and mayntayned by North Hampton, and from thence unto Windsor to be made and mayntayned by Hadley & Northampton mutually. And further wee determine yt if Hadley & Northampton eyther or both of them shall at any tyme hereafter see cause to desert the highway they now use and shall make the way through Springfield their comon roade to Windsor for carting, then eyther or both shall contribute to ye mending the bridge at Long meddow. And for these several wayes & bridges to be made and repaired sufficient for travell with carts, wee determine that they be done by the severall townes

*The mountain undoubtedly bore this name some years before 1664.

respectively at or before ye sixth day of June next, as also yt such stones as are moveable in Scanunganunk river be turned aside out of the cartway and ye charge thereof to be paid by the County Treasurer.

AARON COOKE
HENRY WOODWARD
ANDREW WARNER
GEORGE COLTON
BENJAMIN COOLEY

These were the first county roads in Hampshire. They followed the ways previously used by the early settlers. These three towns maintained for some years two roads near 40 miles each, from Hadley and Northampton to Connecticut line, which was then supposed to be south of the present north line of Windsor. Northampton and Hadley sent men and perhaps teams, to repair roads where Suffield now is. They were complained of in September, 1668, for defective way between Waranoke and Windsor. They amended the defects, and were discharged in March, 1669, on paying the recorder's fees. The large streams, Chickopee, Manhan, Waranoke and others had no bridges. It was hard carting on such roads.*

Scanunganunk, where the road crossed the Chickopee, was not far from the present Chickopee Factories. Hadley made some efforts in 1665 and after, for a road near the Connecticut, through the low land. Such a road was laid in 1673, crossing Chickopee river at the Islands near Japhet Chapin's. Hadley thus gained access to the Connecticut near the head of boat navigation, below the Willimanset Rapids, and carted produce down to the boats.

The passing between Hadley and Northampton was by the ferry at the lower end of Hadley street, and Northampton meadow. The road across Hadley meadow, proposed by the committee of 1664, was opposed by the town, and never made. The two towns agreed in 1665, to have the road continue in Northampton meadow.—The travel between Springfield and Northampton, for a number of years, was chiefly through Hadley village.

The Bay Road, or road towards Boston, has been in different places in Hadley. In early days, there was a "Nashaway Path" north of Fort River, which still bears the old name. In 1674 and many years after, the Bay Road crossed Fort River, near the south end of Spruce Hill. The road was laid out where it now is after 1688, but no record of the change is found.

The Bay Road, which was used by Hadley and Northampton, met the Springfield Bay Road at Quabaug (Brookfield,) where a few English families settled about 1664, and where travelers

*The complaint about transportation, on the 21st page, was well founded.

often lodged. The Hadley road at a later period, and probably in early days, crossed Ware River and Coy's Hill north of the present Ware Village. East of Quabaug, there were at least three ways leading from the Bay towards the Connecticut—through Nashua (Lancaster,) Quinsigamond (Worcester,) and Hassanamesit (Grafton.)

In December, 1661, Hadley voted 45 shillings, "towards laying out a commodious way to the Bay by Nashaway." In September, 1681, some men came from Lancaster to Hadley, to treat about laying out a way "from thence hither." A committee was chosen to confer with them, and with the committees of Northampton and Hatfield.

The fires of the Indians had destroyed most of the underbrush, the woods were open, and forests were crossed without much difficulty. Streams, hills and swamps impeded the traveler. The Indians had paths between their villages and tribes, which were sometimes followed by the English. They were only a foot wide, according to Johnson, and "seldom broader than a cart's rut," according to Wood, referring to the beaten path made by their feet. They traveled in "Indian file."

The old ways to Quabaug and Nashua were only paths for men and horses. In 1692, Hatfield chose a man to join with some of Northampton and Hadley, "to lay out a way to the Bay for horses and carts, if feasible." It was not feasible, and wheels and runners did not pass from Hadley to Boston for many years after 1692.

The first bridge built in Hadley for horses, oxen and carts, was over Fort River, on the Springfield road. A committee was chosen to build it, Sept. 4, 1661. The second bridge over this stream, on the road to Hockanum meadow as well as to Springfield, was ordered Aug. 28, 1667, and was to be lower down than the old one. The third bridge over the same stream, on the same road, was voted Sept. 16, 1681, and was to be below the old one, "in the highest and most advantageous place." It cost £44.15.3.

The County Court in March, 1674, blamed Hadley for not joining Northampton in laying out a way to Quabaug, and required Hadley to build "at least a foot bridge," over Fort River, on the way to Quabaug. On the 12th of February, 1675, the town voted to build a cart-bridge, and this was the first bridge on the Bay road. It was near the south end of Spruce Hill, and was much used by the troops in Philip's war. In January, 1688, a committee was chosen to consider whether it was best to build a new bridge or repair the old one. Between 1688 and 1699, a new

Bay road was laid, where it has since remained, and a new bridge was built near where the bridge and Smith's mills now are, about half a mile below Spruce Hill. There is no record of the laying out of this road, nor of the building of the bridge. Most of the records are missing from April 10, 1688 to January, 1690. This bridge was called Lawrence's bridge.

On the 14th of January, 1684, the town voted to build a bridge over Mill River at the mill, "by tressels or otherwise as the selectmen and Samuel Porter, senior, shall judge best." It cost only £11.17.9.

These bridges were built by calling out the people to labor, every man according to his estate. Other public works were done in the same manner. The price of labor was from 2s. to 2s, 6d. per day. Those who did not labor, paid in grain, &c.

In 1672, John Smith of Hadley, was directed by the Court, "to fell a tree across Swift River, for a foot bridge, if any such be near at hand." Such foot bridges were not uncommon.

In October, 1686, one of the Fort River bridges was partly burnt in a time of drouth, apparently by fire from the woods. The Selectmen prohibited the firing of woods and fields.

A small homelot in Hadley, below the south highway into the meadow, was reserved as a ferry lot, and in 1661, the town made an agreement with Joseph Kellogg to keep the ferry between Hadley and Northampton, and he built on the ferry lot. The attempt in 1664 to have a ferry on the Northampton side, in connection with a road in Hadley meadow, did not succeed.

In January, 1675, a committee appointed by the Court made an agreement with Joseph Kellogg. He was to have a boat for horses and a canoe for persons, and to receive for man and horse, 8 pence in wheat or other pay, or 6 pence in money; for single persons, 3 pence, and when more than one, two pence each. On Lecture* days, people passing to and from Lecture were to pay only one penny each, if 6 or more went over together. Troopers passing to and from trooping exercises, were to pay only 3 pence for man and horse. Kellogg might entertain travelers.

In 1687, another agreement was made with Joseph Kellogg. The fare for horses, men and troops was the same as in 1675. Lectures not mentioned. After day-light till 9 o'clock, he might take double price. At later hours, and in storms and floods, those who would cross, must agree with the ferryman. Kellogg was still allowed to entertain strangers. Others might not carry

*Circular weekly Lectures were probably commenced in these towns some years before.

over persons within 50 rods of the ferry place, except men to their day-labor.—Joseph Kellogg, and his son John Kellogg, and his grandson James Kellogg kept this ferry until 1758, almost a century; and Stephen Goodman, who married a daughter of James Kellogg, kept it still later, and from him it received its last name, "Goodman's Ferry."

The river was formerly near the lower end of the street, and the landing was not far from Kellogg's house. Aquavitae meadow has received a great addition from Northampton meadow, and the enlargement continues against and below the end of the street, and the river is now 45 or 50 rods south of the old landing place.

There is no record of a regular ferry at the north end of the street, between Hadley and Hatfield, until 1692. Many on the east side owned and cultivated land on the west side, and canoes and boats were frequently passing. There were more lively scenes on the Connecticut in those days than now. John Ingram appears as ferryman at the north end in 1692, and the ferriage in 1696 was 4 pence for a man and horse, 3 pence for a horse or horned beast, and one penny for a man, if paid down in money. If not so paid, Ingram might demand double, or do as they could agree. John Preston succeeded Ingram.

A Grist-mill, (more often called by the English and our fathers, a Corn-mill,) was built in Hadley, in 1661, west of the Connecticut, upon Mill River. The stream in Hatfield, Hadley and many other towns, upon which the first mill was built, was named Mill River or Mill Brook. Hadley chose a committee to treat with Goodman Meekins about building a mill, on the first of April, 1661, and in December, the town voted that they would have all their grain ground at his mill, "provided he make good meal," and they gave him 20 acres of land near the mill for building it. Thomas Meekins was a mill-wright and assisted to build mills in other towns.—On the 8th of November, 1662, the east side inhabitants agreed with Thomas Wells and John Hubbard to carry their grain over the river to the mill, on certain days of the week, and bring back the meal, at three pence per bushel, to be paid in wheat at 3s. 6d., and Indian corn at 2s. 3d. per bushel.

In 1665 and 1667, the people of Hadley, on the east side, thought of building a corn-mill upon their own Mill River, about three miles north of the village. About 1670, William Goodwin, one of the trustees of the Hopkins donation, conceiving that a corn-mill would yield a good income to the Hadley Grammar School, invested a portion of the donation in building a mill at

Mill River. In October, 1671, the town gave a piece of land near the mill as a houselot for the miller. In Philip's war, the mill was garrisoned at times, and was preserved until September, 1677, when it was burnt by the Indians, who had made an attack upon Hatfield. The people of Hadley again resorted to Hatfield mill.

The committee or trustees of the Grammar School, declining to rebuild the mill, it was rebuilt by Robert Boltwood, encouraged by the town, about 1678 or 1679. The committee of the Grammar School obtained it in 1683; Samuel Boltwood had it in 1685; and it was again delivered up to the trustees of the Hopkins School in 1687, in whose possession it remained.

The mill and dam were rebuilt in 1692, after the great February flood of that year; a new mill became necessary in 1706, and another in 1721.

Some of the mill-stones used in this valley in early days were of the red sandstone, called pudding stone, judging from fragments that remain. Other kinds of stone may have been used. When the School Mill was rebuilt in 1692, several days were spent in "looking for mill-stones," and one stone was purchased of John Webb of Northampton, for 8 pounds. It was probably sandstone from Mount Tom. In 1666, John Pynchon gave John Webb of Northampton, 20 pounds for a pair of mill-stones delivered at Springfield.

The School trustees employed John Clary as miller in 1683. In November, 1687, Joseph Smith, the cooper, began to attend the mill, and had the care of it until old age, alone or with his sons. He had one-half the toll, and the use of a house and some land, and pay for his labor on the mill, excepting small repairs. The whole toll for 6 or 7 years, averaged only 26 pounds a year, chiefly wheat and Indian corn. Joseph Smith was the first permanent resident at Mill River.

Bolting-mills moved by water were hardly known in England, when our fathers emigrated about 1630. They were moved by hand. Families sifted or bolted their own meal, or used it unbolted. In New England, for 100 years after 1630, there were no bolters carried by water. The separation of bran from flour was the work of the family, and of the baker, and of those who sent flour to market. In Hadley, much flour was packed in barrels and sent down the river, and the meal was all brought from the mill to the village and bolted. Several persons had what was called a bolting-mill, as John Smith, William Partrigg, Philip Smith, Richard Montague, Mr. John Russell, Jr. and

Timothy Nash. It required a frame and 10 or 12 yards of narrow bolting cloth for one of these domestic bolting-mills. Richard Montague is said to have been a baker, and his bolting-mill was valued at 60 shillings in 1680. His widow sometimes bolted flour for others, by the barrel. Most housewives were satisfied with hair sieves; some had bolting-cloth sieves. Lawn sieves are mentioned after 1700.—Flour was sold in large barrels by the 112 lbs.

Boards had always been sawed by hand in England and not by saw-mills. There was no saw-mill in Virginia, when that colony had been settled 40 years. There were no saw-mills in the old towns in the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Haven, for some years after their settlement. Boards, plank and slit-work were sawed by hand. The wages of sawyers were regulated by the colonies, for a few years, and also by Hartford, Springfield and other towns. In New Haven, the "top-man" who was on the top of the log and guided the work, had a little higher wages than the "pit-man" who was in the saw-pit below. Two men were expected to saw about 100 feet of boards in a day, when the logs were squared and brought to the pit. The first saw-mill in Springfield was built by John Pynchon, in 1667, after the town had been settled 31 years. He had previously paid to hand-sawyers two shillings per day for sawing many thousands of boards.

The early settlers of Hadley built houses and some commodious ones before they had the aid of any saw-mill. As Northampton had sawyers and saw-pits, it may be concluded that Hadley had them also, though they are not noticed in the records. The clapboards of those days, which were split out like staves, helped to supply the deficiency of sawn boards.

Hadley gave to Thomas Meekins and Robert Boltwood, liberty to set a saw-mill on Mill River, on the east side, Jan. 27, 1662, and they might fall pine and oak timber, except rift timber, in the Great Swamp beyond this river, and within 80 rods of the mill, on this side. The mill seems to have been built about 1664 or 1665, and the town probably had to depend on pit-saws only 5 or 6 years. Thomas Meekins had a saw-mill on the west side, about 1669.

Boltwood's saw-mill did not continue many years, and he sold his right to the place to three men in 1674. If they built a mill, it did not long remain. On the 12th of February, 1684, when they were destitute of a saw-mill, the town granted liberty for

three, in one day, viz., one on Mill River, one south of Mount Holyoke, and one on Fort River, above where Dickinson's tannery now is.

The first saw-mill erected in New England, was on a branch of the Piscataqua, about 1633. The workmen were Danes.

CHAPTER V

First Meeting-house—Bells—Mr. Russell, the first Minister—Salaries of ministers—Hadley Church.

A house where the people might meet for public worship and religious instruction, was an early object of attention in Hadley, as in most other places in New England. On the 12th of December, 1661, the town ordered as follows:—

"The town have ordered that they will build and erect a meeting-house, to be a place of public worship, whose figure is, (in length and breadth,) 45 feet in length and 24 feet in breadth, with Leantors [Leantos] on both sides, which shall enlarge the whole to 36 in breadth.

The town have ordered that the meeting-house abovesaid, when prepared, shall be situated and set up in the common street, betwixt Mr. Terry's house and Richard Montague's, in the most convenient place, as the committee chosen by the town shall determine.

The town have ordered Mr. Russell, Mr. Goodwin, Goodman Lewis, Goodman Warner, Goodman Dickinson, Goodman Meekins and Goodman Allis, a committee for the aforesaid occasions."

Leanto is a significant English word, indicating a part of a building that seems to *lean to*, or upon a higher part. It was often used in reference to private buildings.—The house was to be erected in the northern part of the street, to accommodate the west side inhabitants. It was not built for several years. The work may have been delayed by the difficulties with Mr. Bradstreet and the payment of 200 pounds to him. On the 27th of August, 1663, the town voted to set about building the meeting-house, and chose a new committee, viz., Mr. Clarke, Lieut. Smith, Mr. Westwood, John Barnard, Nathaniel Dickinson, Thomas Meekins and Isaac Graves. They were to manage the work, order the form, call out men, and set the wages of men and teams. Meanwhile, the people did not neglect to meet on the first day of the week. A house was hired, and Dec. 10, 1663, Mr. Goodwin and John Barnard were chosen to seat persons in it "in a more comely order," and it was voted to hire the house another year. About two years later, Nov. 7, 1665, the meeting-

house was said to be framed, but not raised. After it was raised and covered, the inside work was delayed, probably in consequence of the west side inhabitants desiring to be a separate parish, and seats were not voted till Feb. 21, 1668. The building seems not to have been completed till Jan. 12, 1670, when the town chose the two deacons, the two elders and Mr. Henry Clarke, to order the seating of persons in the meeting-house. Every person seated was to pay a part of the expense for making his seat. 128 seats for 128 persons, male and female, were paid for, at 3s. 3d. each. These 128 persons were heads of families or at least adults.

The form and dimensions of this house cannot be known from records nor tradition. The second committee had power to model it as they pleased, and they deviated considerably from the vote of Dec. 12, 1661. They appear to have rejected the leantos and to have made the upper part as wide as the lower. There was doubtless a turret, or place for a bell, rising from the center of the roof, as in most early New England meeting-houses. Galleries on the north and south sides of the house were voted Jan. 9, 1699, and a gallery, which must have been on one end, is referred to as partly built. This vote shows that the ends of the house were east and west and that the pulpit was at one end, apparently at the west end. There is no reason to suppose that the length of the house much exceeded the breadth. Some seats had to be altered, to make "a more commodious passage up into the galleries." The seats were probably long seats, like others of that age, holding 5 or 6 persons each. They were to be built "with boards and rails." In those days a few pews, square or oblong, were built against the walls of some meeting-houses, but pews in general were of later introduction. For a long time, men and women occupied different seats* in Hadley, as elsewhere in New England. In nearly all meeting-houses, when the minister faced the congregation, the males were on his right, and the females on his left, on the lower floor, and in the galleries. The singers were mingled with the others, and all singing was congregational.

The town voted, Jan. 11, 1672, "that there shall be some sticks set up in the meeting-house in several places, with some fit persons placed by them, and to use them as occasion shall require, to keep the youth from disorder." The youth were often troublesome in the old meeting-houses.

*This old custom of separating the sexes, I have noticed in Methodist churches within 15 or 20 years.

A few months after the meeting-house was finished, Sept. 3, 1670, the town voted to buy the bell brought up by Lieut. Smith and others, and to pay for it by a rate, in winter wheat, at 3 shillings per bushel. "If Lieut. Smith gets 4s. 3d. for the wheat in Boston, he is paid; if less, the town is to make it up; if more, he is to repay." The freight of wheat to Boston was estimated at 1s. 3d. per bushel. The debt for the bell was £7.10, or about 25 dollars, indicating that the bell was small. Henry Clarke, who died in 1675, gave by his will "40 shillings besides 40 shillings formerly given, for a bigger bell that may be heard generally by the inhabitants." If a new bell was obtained, it was paid for by individuals and not by the town. The town voted, Dec. 21, 1676, "that the bell in the meeting-house shall be rung at 9 o'clock at night, throughout the year, winter and summer." Jan. 13, 1690, Mr. Partrigg was chosen to secure such a bell as is at Northampton; the selectmen to make the best they can of the old one.

Hartford began to ring the bell at 9 o'clock, in 1665, "to prevent disorderly meetings," &c. This is the first notice of a nine o'clock bell upon the Connecticut River.—In Springfield, in 1653, Richard Sikes was to have one shilling for ringing the bell for marriages and funerals. The records of the other old towns upon the river, do not notice the ringing of a bell at marriages or funerals.

In the old towns in Hampshire county and elsewhere, the turret for the bell was in the center of the four sided roof, and the bell rope hung down in the broad isle, where the ringer stood. It must have been so at Hadley. The minister always had the bell rope before him.*

Mr. John Russell, Jr., the first minister of Hadley, was born in England. He graduated at Harvard College in 1645. There had been only thirteen graduates, previous to his class. He began to preach at Wethersfield, about 1649, and removed to Hadley in 1659 or 1660, where he died Dec. 10, 1692, in his 66th year.

The engagers at first, and the people of Hadley afterwards, paid Mr. Russell 80 pounds per annum, but the records of Wethersfield and Hadley contain no agreement with him in regard to his salary. It was apparently 80 pounds, and he received allotments of land in Hadley, according to a 150£ estate, or a home-lot of 8 acres, and about 38 acres of interval land. After some

*Rev. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, is said to have used few gestures in the pulpit, and to have looked much before him. After the rope was broken in the old meeting-house, one of his people observed, "Mr. Edwards has *looked off* the bell rope." A bell rope formerly came down in an aisle of some country churches in England.

years, the town gave him, in addition, the use of the town allotment, so called, which was estimated at 10 pounds, and he thus received annually 90 pounds. He and the people lived in peace and harmony, with mutual kindness and confidence until the latter part of his life, when a difference between him and a majority of the town, in regard to the Hopkins School, produced unpleasant feelings, and alienated some of his friends. After the final decision against the town, and in favor of the school trustees, in 1687, the town voted only 70 pounds per annum during the rest of his life, but he may have retained the use of the town's land and if so, he received annually 80 pounds. After the reduction, no complaint from Mr. Russell, and no bickerings and contentions between him and the town, appear in the records. After his decease, his widow and sons claimed 40 pounds "for what was abated in the rate bills, several years, without Mr. Russell's consent," and the town voted 35 pounds, and the matter was adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties.

There is no intimation in the records, that the town aided Mr. Russell in building his dwelling-house; nor does it appear that the people ever furnished him with fire-wood. The town assisted him to build an addition to his house in 1662.

Mr. Russell at Wethersfield was ardent and resolute, and sometimes indiscreet, and he had warm friends and powerful opposers. At Hadley, he appears to have been an active and faithful pastor. As a preacher, there is little known respecting him. He preached the Election Sermon at Boston, in May, 1665, from Psalms CXXII: 6. Most of his letters in this History were written in the time of the Indian war, and some in great haste. His firmness and decision of character are seen in his persevering efforts in favor of the Hopkins School. His fearlessness and constancy were manifested in his protection and concealment for many years, of two of the judges of King Charles I., Whalley and Goffe, whom he truly viewed as sufferers in the cause of civil liberty. New England people generally were friendly to the judges, and believed that Charles I. was justly sentenced to death, but not many would have been willing to hazard life and property by placing themselves in the dangerous situation of Mr. Russell.

An inventory of the estate of Rev. John Russell was taken at Hadley, Jan. 10, 1693. His son, Rev. Jonathan Russell, of Barnstable, was admitted as administrator, in Suffolk county, Jan. 17, and a summary of the inventory, and a settlement of the estate, were recorded in the Boston Probate Office. After

paying the debts, funeral charges, expense of tomb-stones for Mr. Russell and a former wife, and delivering to his widow, Phebe Russell, 106£, most of which she brought with her, there remained for the two sons, Jonathan and Samuel, £830, of which, 305£ in real estate was subject to the widow's dower. The appraisement was considerably above money prices. Mr. Russell's kindness to the judges did not diminish his estate. In the inventory, are three negroes,—a man, woman and child, valued at 60£.*

Salary of Mr. Russell and others.—The salary of Mr. Russell was paid in winter wheat at 3s. 3d., peas at 2s. 6d., Indian corn at 2s., and other things proportionally. The cash price of wheat did not exceed 2s. 6d., peas 2s., and corn 1s. 6d. per bushel at Hadley. Yet the sum of 90£, or even 80£, as Mr. Russell received it, was an adequate and honorable salary, and so esteemed. He educated two sons and left a good estate.

The salaries of ministers in the agricultural towns of New England, in the 17th century, were paid in produce, or "provision pay," at prices much above money prices, and nearly all debts were paid in the same manner. Gold and silver were uncommon in country towns, money contracts were seldom made, and cash prices were not often mentioned. The salaries of ministers did not average 60 pounds or 200 dollars, if estimated in money at 6 shillings to a dollar; and in small towns, they did not exceed 150 dollars. But ministers commonly had from their people a farm or other lands, a house and fire-wood, and with the frugal, economical habits of those days, they had usually a good support. Mr. Chauncey, the successor of Mr. Russell, had a salary of 80£ in "provision pay," which he exchanged in 1713 for 60£, or 200 dollars in money, and the money was province bills. The salary of the first two ministers of Hatfield was 60£ in produce, equal to about 150 dollars in money.†

Several of the early churches of New England had two ministers, one ordained as pastor, and the other as teacher. Northampton procured Mr. Joseph Eliot as teacher, but the people soon grew weary of the expense of supporting two ministers, and he removed to Guilford. The first settlers of Hadley intended to have as a second minister, Mr. Samuel Hooker, and he signed

*Mr. Russell and some other good men were interested in the detestable system of slavery, in an age when its injustice and wickedness had not been properly considered.

†Northampton gave to Rev. Eleazar Mather a salary of 80£ in 1658, and Pres. Dwight, who had not examined the old currency of New England, represents this as 80 pounds sterling. (Travels in N. E., Vol. I., p. 344.) This is a mistake. It was paid in grain and the value was not more than 60£ in Massachusetts pine tree money. There never was a sterling currency in these towns.

the engagement to remove. He changed his mind, and was ordained at Farmington, Nov. 6, 1661. He acted wisely for himself and for the people of Hadley. On the 26th of April, 1662, Hadley voted to give a teaching elder 80 pounds a year. This is the last notice about a second minister.

The church of Hadley is the oldest in the old county of Hampshire, except that of Springfield. It is not known when the church of Hadley began, but it is a year or more older than that of Northampton. The church of Northampton was formed and Mr. Mather ordained, June 4, 1661; and there were present, as messengers from the church of "Hadleigh," Mr. John Russell, the pastor, Mr. Goodwin and Goodman White.

Those who had withdrawn from the Hartford church, could not orderly unite with the Wethersfield members, till some time after the council in Boston in October, 1659. Perhaps there was no regular church at Hadley till 1660. The Hartford members were the most numerous.

The first Ruling Elder of the church of Hadley was William Goodwin, who had previously held the same office at Hartford. He was an able and efficient man. He died at Farmington, March 11, 1673. No successor is noticed in the Hadley records. Nathaniel Dickinson and Peter Tilton were the first deacons of Hadley church. They were intelligent and influential men. A large portion of the heads of families on the east side of the river were members of the church, and there is reason to believe that they were generally pious and excellent men and women. Many of the men were qualified for public business.

The recorders of Hadley and of some other towns were sparing of religious titles in the 17th century. Mr. Russell has not the title of Rev. during his life in the Hadley records. Mr. always precedes his name. The elders and deacons are seldom distinguished as such. When a man had a military and religious title, the former was commonly used.

The dwelling-house of the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, the fourth minister of Hadley, was burnt in the night of March 20-21, 1766, and all the church records were destroyed. They must have contained a great deal of information in regard to ecclesiastical affairs.

CHAPTER VI

The Grammar School or Hopkins School*—Schools of New England—Grammar Schools—Free Schools—Instruction of Females—Schools and Scholars in Hadley—School Houses—School-masters—School Books.

Edward Hopkins, Esq., after residing some years at Hartford, returned to England, and died in March, 1657. By his will, made March 17th, he gave a portion of his estate in New England to Theophilus Eaton, Esq., and Mr. John Davenport of New Haven, and Mr. John Cullick and Mr. William Goodwin of Hartford, to be disposed of by them "to give some encouragement in those foreign plantations for the breeding up of hopeful youths, in a way of learning, both at the Grammar School and College, for the public service of the country in future times." He also ordered that 500£ more should be made over into the hands of the trustees, in six months after the death of his wife.

Rev. John Davenport of New Haven and Mr. William Goodwin of Hadley, the only surviving trustees, made a distribution of Mr. Hopkins's donation in April, 1664. They gave 400 pounds to the town of Hartford, for a Grammar School; and all the rest was to be equally divided between the towns of New Haven and Hadley, to be improved in maintaining a Grammar School in each, but they provided that 100 pounds of that half which Hadley had, should be given to Harvard College. When the money was received, New Haven had 412, Hartford, 400, Hadley, 308, and Harvard College, 100 pounds—in all, 1220 pounds. Mrs. Hopkins lived until 1699, and the gift of 500 pounds was obtained, not by the schools of New Haven and Hadley, to which it belonged, but by Harvard College and Cambridge Grammar School, in 1710.

On the 14th of January, 1667, the town made the following grant of land and, on the 14th of March, appointed a committee to let it.

"The town have granted to and for the use of a Grammar School in this town of Hadley and to be and remain perpetually to and for the use of the said school, the two little meadows, next beyond the brook commonly called the Mill brook, and as much upland to be laid to the same as the committee chosen by the town, shall in their discretion see meet and needful; provided withal, that it be left to the judgment of said committee, that so much of the second meadow shall be excepted from the said grant, as that there may be a feasible and convenient passage for cattle to their feed." Committee chosen: Mr. Clarke, Lt. Smith,

*The History of the Hadley Grammar School was written in 1847, but is now, 1857, reduced more than half. I found many of the original papers of the school in a lawyer's office in Northampton.

Wm. Allis, Nathaniel Dickinson, sr. and Andrew Warner.—Note on the margin by Peter Tilton:—"These two meadows, are one the round neck of land; and [the other] the little long meadow that was reserved by the Indians in the first sale and afterwards purchased by itself."

These two School Meadows adjoin the Connecticut and are separated by high upland which becomes narrow in the northern part. On this elevated ridge, the Indians had a fort and burying-place. One meadow is east of the ridge; the other is west of it in a bend of the river, and is greatly enlarged by the encroachment of the river upon Hatfield. Both were estimated at 60 acres in 1682. They now (1847) contain with the upland, more than 140 acres.

On the 20th of March, 1669, Mr. Goodwin proposed to the town, that he would choose three persons, and the town should choose "two more able and pious men;" and that these five with himself as long as he lived, should have the full dispose and management of the estate given by the trustees of Mr. Hopkins, and of all other estate given by any donor, or that may be given, to the town of Hadley for the promotion of literature and learning; the five persons to remain in the work till death or the Providence of God remove any of them, and then the survivors shall choose others in their place. Mr. Goodwin desired that the school might be called Hopkins School. On the 26th of March, he informed the town that he had chosen Mr. John Russell, Jr., Lieut. Samuel Smith and Aaron Cooke; and the town voted as follows: —

The Town voted their approbation of Mr. Goodwin's choice. The town also voted Nathaniel Dickinson, sr. & Peter Tilton to join with the three persons beforementioned, as a joint Committee who together with Mr. Goodwin while he lives, and after his death, shall jointly & together have the ordering & full dispose of the estate or estates given by Mr. Davenport and Mr. Goodwin, (as trustees as aforesaid to Mr. Edward Hopkins) to this town of Hadley, or any other estate or estates that are or may be given either by the town itself or any other donor or donors, for the use, benefit, maintenance & promoting of a Grammar School to & for the use & in this town of Hadley; as also jointly & together to act, do, conclude, execute & finish any thing respecting the premises faithfully & according to their best discretion.

Voted also by the town that as to the five persons before expressed, if any decease or be otherwise disabled through the Providence of God, the rest surviving shall have the sole choice of any other in the room and place of those surceasing, to the full number of five persons, provided they be known, discreet, pious, faithful persons.

Mr. Goodwin, with the consent of the other trustees, built from the Hopkins donation, a grist-mill upon Mill River, a little south of the school lands. No record is found of the year in which the mill is built, nor of any grant by the town of the use of the stream. A houselot for the miller was granted Oct. 16, 1671. Perhaps the mill was built that year. It was burnt by

the Indians in September, 1677, with the miller's house, the farm barn, fences and other property. The trustees of the school declined to rebuild, not having sufficient means, and apprehending danger from the Indians. The town needed a mill, and as Robert Boltwood was not afraid of Indians, a majority of the trustees were induced to dispose of the right belonging to the school, to the town for 10 pounds; and the town, to encourage Boltwood to build a mill, granted to him the mill-place and the remains of the dam, Nov. 6, 1677, and they granted four acres as a houselot for the miller, June 3, 1678. The mill was rebuilt by Boltwood, in 1678 or 1679.

Mr. Russell, always solicitous for the prosperity of the Grammar School, did not consent to the sale of the mill-place and dam; and on the 30th of March, 1680, he presented to the County Court at Northampton, the state of the school, and what had been done by the other trustees, the town and Boltwood. The Court decided that the sale by the trustees was illegal. "We may not allow so great a wrong." They judged that Goodman Boltwood should be repaid what he had expended, and that the mill should belong to the school.

At the September Court, 1682, the committee of the Hopkins School rendered an account of the school estate. Mr. Goodwin, before his death, received from the Hopkins donation 308£, from Thomas Coleman 5£, Mr. Westwood 13£ and Widow Barnard 2£, making 328£. He and others expended £172.14.4, for a house for the miller, a barn for the farm, fencing the farm or meadows before and after the war, loss on a house bought by Mr. G., paying a debt of Mr. Hopkins, &c., and the remainder of the 328£ was expended in building the mill and dam, repairing, maintaining the school-master, &c.

The school estate that remained, consisted of the school meadows, given by the town, estimated at 60 acres; 12 or 14 acres of meadow, (5 acres of it in Northampton meadow,) and his dwelling-house and one acre and a half from his homelot, given by Nathaniel Ward; 12 acres of meadow given by John Barnard; and 11½ acres of meadow given by Henry Clarke.

The Boltwoods, father and son, were resolute men and tenacious of their rights, but they did not like contention, and on the 8th of August, 1683, Robert Boltwood agreed to surrender the mill and appurtenances to the school committee, and they were to pay him 138 pounds in grain and pork. They took possession about Nov. 1, 1683. In the year 1684, they found that the town challenged some right to the stream and land, and there were

other difficulties, and they refused to consummate the bargain. The committee and Samuel Boltwood (his father Robert died in April, 1684,) referred the matter to John Pynchon and John Allis, and in consequence of their decision, March 30, 1685, the mill was delivered up to Samuel Boltwood, about May 1, 1685.

Serious troubles to Mr. Russell and the promoters of the Grammar School next arose from another quarter. As the donation of Mr. Hopkins was almost all dissipated, and the mill was in the hands of Boltwood, and the estate that remained was nearly all given by Hadley and by individuals of that town, the people concluded that the estate might as well be managed by the town for the use of an English School. Some of the most influential men were in favor of this course, especially Peter Tilton, who had resigned his office as trustee, and Samuel Partrigg, who still remained a trustee, and on the 23d of August, 1686, the following votes were adopted by the town:—

"Voted by the town that all that estate of houses & lands bequeathed & given by any donor or donors in their last wills and testaments to this town of Hadley, or to a school in said town or to the promoting and furtherance of learning in said town, as the legacy of Nathaniel Ward, John Barnard, Henry Clark, gent. they look on said estate and donations to belong nextly to the town to be improved according to the will of the testators; and therefore take it into their hands to manage, order & dispose to the use of a school in this town of Hadley. —They had a full vote in the affirmative.

"Voted by the town that Ens. Nash, Francis Barnard, Neh. Dickinson, Thos. Hovey & Samuel Barnard are a committee from the town to make demand of the school committee of all the produce, increase & rents of lands & estates abovesaid, and accruing thereto, which are at present in their hands undisposed."

After these votes of the town, four of the school committee, viz., Mr. John Russell, Aaron Cooke, Joseph Kellogg and Samuel Porter, presented to the County Court at Springfield, Sept. 28, 1686, the declining state of the Grammar School, and complained of some persons in Hadley who obstructed the management of the school. The Court ordered that the lands given by Hadley, and the donations of Hopkins, Ward, Barnard and Clarke, should be improved for the Grammar School, and not for an English School separate from the Grammar School. Mr. Pynchon sent a copy of the order to Mr. Russell, and wrote to him a letter, dated Oct. 2, 1686, in which he mentioned the difficulties he had to encounter in getting the order passed. The Court was composed of himself, William Clark of Northampton, and Peter Tilton. Mr. Partrigg was present and spoke in favor of Hadley.

"I am heartily sorry, says Mr. Pynchon, that Mr. Partrigg is so cross in the business of the school: nothing will be done as it ought to be till he be removed, which I suppose the President and Council may do. It is too hard for the County Court to do anything. Mr. Tilton, fully falling in with him, is as full and strong in all his notions as Mr. Partrigg himself, and it is wonderful that any thing passed. Mr. Clark, though a friend in the business

yet wanted courage.* Mr. Tilton said it would kindle such a flame as would not be quenched. But if to do right, & secure the public welfare, kindle a flame, the will of the Lord be done.† To get the order passed, I was forced to declare that if Mr. Clark did not assent, I would [give leave to record it myself.‡] But he concurred, the order being a little mollified. If Mr. Partrigg will obstruct, it is necessary that he be removed by the President and Council, who must do this business; we are too weak in the county court. I am full for it to leave all with the President,§ and glad it is like to be in the hands of them who will powerfully order. I pray God the school may stand upon its right basis, and all may run in the old channel."

After the decision of the Court, Sept. 28, 1686, a paper was signed by those in Hadley who adhered to Mr. Russell and the Grammar School, and accepted the order of the Court. The signers were Samuel Gardner, John Ingram, Chileab Smith, John Preston, Joseph Kellogg, Samuel ———, Samuel Porter, senior, Aaron Cooke, William Marcum, Hezekiah Porter and widow Mary Goodman. These with Mr. Russell, made 12 persons in the minority. All the rest seem to have gone for the English School.

Mr. Russell wrote to President Dudley, and he gave his opinion decidedly in favor of the Grammar School. Mr. Pynchon received an order from the President and Council, dated Oct. 21, 1686, requiring him to examine the school affairs at Hadley and report. Mr. Pynchon came to Hadley, Nov. 18, and sent to Northampton for Capt. Aaron Cooke and Mr. Joseph Hawley. He desired a town meeting the next morning, that the town might depute some persons to give an account of the school affairs. A town meeting was ordered at sun a quarter of an hour high the next morning.‖ Capt. Cooke and Mr. Hawley came over. Mr. Tilton, Mr. Partrigg and others came as a committee from the town meeting, and were willing to discourse as friends, but not in obedience to the Council's order. The school committee were present and gave their reasons,** and the town's committee††

*Mr. Clark was in favor of the Grammar School, and at the same time, a friend of Tilton and Partrigg.

†This is a noble sentiment of Pynchon; nearly equivalent to the old Latin, *fiat justitia, ruat coelum.*

‡This seems to be the meaning, but it is difficult to read this part of the letter.

§The despotic government of President Dudley, (soon followed by that of Andros,) was detested by most people in this part of the colony, yet some were willing to make use of it, to accomplish what they considered to be a good object. Doubtless the decision of the old Court of Assistants would have been similar to that of the President and Council.

‖ It must have been a lively time in Hadley, when a town meeting was held at sun a quarter of an hour high in the morning.

**The reasons why this estate should remain to support the Grammar School, are preserved. They were drawn up by Mr. Russell, with many scripture references and quotations.

††The town's committee were Mr. Tilton, Mr. Partrigg, Ens. Timothy Nash, Nehemiah Dickinson, Daniel Marsh and Thomas Hovey.

read two or three long papers in reply. These things and many more are stated in a letter to the President and Council, dated at Hadley, Nov. 20, 1686, and signed by Pynchon, Cooke and Hawley. They request that some speedy course may be taken by the Council, "for quieting the hot and raised spirit of the people of Hadley."

The letter of Pynchon, Cooke and Hawley to the President and Council, had the effect intended, and the following order was issued:—

"By the Honorable, the President & Council of His Majesty's Territory & Dominion of New England, in America:

Upon perusal of the return made by Major Pynchon & the committee for the affair of the Hadley school. The President & Council do order that the committee for Hopkins School be and remain the feofees of the Grammar School in the said town, and that Mr. Partrigg be, and is hereby dismissed from any further service in that matter. And that the said committee make report of the present estate of said Mr. Hopkins and other donations to the school (which having been orderly annexed to the Grammar School, are hereby continued to that service,) unto the next county court of Hampshire, who are hereby empowered to supply the place of Mr. Partrigg with some other meet person in Hadley, And that the said court do find out and order some method for the payment of Boltwood's expenses upon the mill, that the mill, farm and other lands given to the School may return to that public use. The President and Council hereby declaring it to be beyond the power of the town of Hadley or any other whatsoever to divert any of the lands or estate or the said mill stream, & the privileges thereof (which are legally determined to the said Grammar School,) to any other use whatsover. The President and Council judging the particular gifts in the town a good foundation for a Grammar School both for themselves and the whole country, and that the Grammar School can be no otherwise interrupted, but to be a school holden by a master capable to instruct children & fit them for the university—

By order,

ED. RANDOLPH, Secretary.

Council House, Boston, December the 8th, 1686.

At a new County Court, appointed by Andros, and held at Northampton, June 7, 1687, the order of the President and Council was read, and a petition and statement from the trustees of the school. Samuel Boltwood was summoned to appear and show cause why he detained the mill. He presented a paper giving a regular account of his father's building and selling the mill and of the award of Pynchon and Allis, which put the mill into his (Samuel Boltwood's) hands. Referring to the award, he says, "it seems rational, especially by those who profess religion, to stand by what was done" or make good their bond. "What is my just right I plead for, and no other."

The next day, June 8, the Court, after referring to the order of the President and Council, —Ordered those persons in Hadley who had taken the school estate into their hands for an English School, to return it speedily to the former committee, the feofees of the Grammar School, viz. Mr. John Russell, Aaron Cook, Joseph Kellogg, and Samuel Porter, to whom they added Chileab Smith, in the room of Samuel Partrigg, removed. They also ordered that Samuel Boltwood should deliver up the school mill and appurtenances to the same feofees, for the maintenance of the school. If the feofees and Boltwood could not agree as

to what had been expended on the mill, by him and his father, the toll being considered, then Mr. John Allis and a man chosen by the feofees and another chosen by Boltwood were to give in their award & determine what Boltwood should have for the mill.

The town yielded so far as to pass the following vote, Aug. 29, 1687, which did not please the Court:—

"Voted by the town that the lands seized and taken into their own hands with reference to an English School by their vote Aug. 23, 1686, wanting that formality in the seizure as might have been—the town do now let fall the said seizure, leaving said lands in the hands of the Committee called the School Committee as formerly, withall reserving a liberty to themselves and successors to make claim & plea according to law at any time for the future, for what may appear to be their right in the premises."

The Court of Sessions sent the following letter to the Selectmen of Hadley, March 7, 1688, to be communicated to the town. The members of the court were John Pynchon, John Holyoke, Joseph Hawley, Capt. Aaron Cooke of Hadley, Lieut. John Allis.

Honored Friends

Having had a sight of the vote of the town of Hadley of August 29, 1687, in way of compliance (as we suppose) with the advice of the Court of Sessions, held at Northampton, June 7, 1687, we judge meet to let you understand our sense of it, that it is far short of what we expected and advised to, being at best lean in itself, if not a justifying of yourselves in your former precipitant, illegal entering upon the school estate, rather than a delivering it up to the committee as you were directed actually to do, and forthwith to declare it under the hands of those that had acted in entering thereon; and presuming upon your readiness so to do it, we proposed it to the committee or feofees, if they saw cause to allow one half of the 16£ that was engaged toward a school master. But what you have done being so short of that directed to, & so worded as speaks your unsubjection to authority, especially in conjunction with your other actings, we must declare it no ways convenient the committee should allow any part of the said 16£ & that you are accountable for your perverseness towards the school affairs, & for your slighting of such who have more regard to your own good & interest than yourselves. Such a spirit we see breathing forth from you as will necessarily call for some further animadverting thereon, if you do not retract some of your actings which we earnestly desire you to overlook and rectify. We would not particularize, and yet in way of caution to amendment, might mention your unkindness and crossness in not granting the use of a house that stands empty and your illegal rating of the school estate, contrary to the declared direction in all our books, of colleges, schools, hospitals, &c. are not to be taxed, which we do particularly insist on, for your speedy rectification of what you have disorderly done (that we may not have occasion to lay it before his excellency.) Several other things are before our consideration, which we do not mention, hoping and expecting you will revise your own actings & amend, which is the [scope] of these lines to prevent any thing that may prove uncomfortable to yourselves, being assured that a sense of your own crossness, perverseness, unsubjection to order, & repentance for what is done amiss, will but become yourselves, and is the plainest path to your own comfort, which we pray God to direct you in, and are

Your assured friends.

We let you know & hereby declare that we forbid the constables and all officers from levying or collecting any particular tax toward any town affair, upon the school estate.

Springfield March 7, 1687-8.

By order of this Session,
JAMES CORNISH.

[Cornish was Clerk under Andros.]

The selectmen of Hadley replied to this letter, and in June, 1688 the Court sent another to Hadley, "enjoining them to seek their own peace."

Samuel Boltwood gave up the mill to the trustees of the school in 1687, and arbitrators decided April 26, 1688, that he should be allowed 71£ 10s. for what his father and he had expended about the mill, of which sum he had received all but nine pounds.

The bitter controversy was now at an end, and in a few years, a good degree of harmony prevailed in the town. Peter Tilton and Samuel Partrigg were restored to public favor as soon as the arbitrary government of President Andros and Council at Boston was overthrown. Samuel Partrigg removed to Hatfield in 1687. He had been conspicuous in the English School party, and his conduct had been very offensive to Mr. Pynchon, and to Mr. Russell and those who acted with him. He was a powerful man, and his sway in the county of Hampshire, after Mr. Pynchon's death, was greater than that of any other man, for many years.

There is no reason to condemn the motives of those concerned in these unpleasant contentions. The Grammar School was a favorite object with Mr. Russell, and he probably looked forward to a more elevated literary institution. His efforts for the school were constant and untiring. The people of Hadley are not censurable, because they judged it inexpedient to sustain a Grammar School after the Hopkins donation was almost all consumed or scattered. They had not families enough to require such a school under the law.

When the people of the town accepted the propositions of Mr. Goodwin, March 26, 1669, and used the expression, "a grammar school to and for the use and in this town of Hadley," they seem not to have intended to give up their land to support a school for other towns.

Schools of New England.—By a law of Massachusetts, passed in November, 1647, it was ordered that every town with fifty families should provide a school where children might be taught to read and write; and that every town with a hundred families or householders, should provide a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct so far as to fit young men for college. Connecticut adopted this school law in nearly the same words. There were previously many schools in these colonies, but this was the first law requiring them. By a law of 1642, selectmen were to look after the children of parents and masters who neglected to train them up "in learning and labor." The

Puritans, before 1647, meant that every child should be taught to read, at home or at school, and be able to read the Bible.

Grammar Schools.—In England, the distinct object of a grammar school was instruction in Greek and Latin, especially in Latin. All the scholars were expected to learn Lily's Latin Grammar. The custom of forcing all to learn the rudiments of Latin, was strongly opposed by John Locke.

New England grammar schools, with few exceptions, were Latin and English schools united. Some scholars were fitted for college, but perhaps nine-tenths were confined to English studies. Children were generally taught to read, at least in the primer, before they were sent to these schools. English Grammar was not taught in the grammar schools of Old or New England.

Free Schools.—The law of 1647 did not direct that schools should be free. In the towns upon Connecticut River and elsewhere, schools were commonly supported partly by the parents of the scholars and partly by the town. Schools were not maintained wholly by towns, till after much discussion and agitation. Those in moderate circumstances, with large families, desired free schools. Some of the wealthy and of those with no children to send, were opposed to them. Few towns were willing to vote for schools entirely free to the scholars, till after 1700, and it was many years after 1700, before free schools became general in Massachusetts.

Instruction of females.—The laws of the colony, and the votes of towns, relating to schools, used the word "children," and did not exclude females, yet it is abundantly evident that girls did not ordinarily continue to attend the town schools, many years, in the old towns. There was no controversy on the subject; it seems to have been considered unnecessary that girls should be instructed in public schools; and it may have been deemed improper for boys and girls to attend the same school, as it still is in England, except among the poor.

There were many cheap, private schools in Massachusetts and Connecticut, in the 17th and 18th centuries, kept by "dames" in their own rooms where girls were instructed to read and sew, and in some, small boys were taught to read. Children who did not attend school, were taught to read at home, and nearly all could read, females as well as males. Writing was considered much less important, and it was not judged necessary that females in common life should learn to write; and indeed the ability to write, would have been of little use to them, in former days.

Probably not one woman in a dozen could write her name, 150 years ago; and much later, at the time of the revolution, very many of those wives and mothers whose patriotism is so justly praised, could not write, but they could read. Some men of several generations made their mark.

A few girls were sent to the public schools in Northampton and Hatfield before 1680, and undoubtedly in most other towns. Records do not show why or when they ceased to attend. Perhaps they did not cease in all places. Some of the newer towns, settled in the last century, were more liberal in schooling the girls than the old ones. School dames were sometimes paid by the town. Many of the old towns were long remiss. Boston did not permit females to attend the public schools till 1790, and Northampton did not admit them into the town schools till 1802! It was an unheard of thing for girls to be instructed by a master, in Ipswich, till about 1769. They learned to read and sew of school dames.

Schools and Scholars in Hadley.—The first recorded vote of Hadley respecting a school, was April 25, 1665, when the town voted "to give 20 pounds per annum for three years, towards the maintenance of a school-master, to teach the children, and to be as a help to Mr. Russell, as occasion may require." Caleb Watson seems to have been the first school-master. He was here in January, 1667, and probably came in 1666.

On the 21st of December, 1676, the town voted to give the school-master 30 pounds per annum, a part from the school estate, and the rest from the scholars and town. There being great failure in sending children to school, the selectmen were ordered to take a list of all children from 6 to 12 years old; all of these were to attend the school, and if any did not go, they were to pay the same as those that went, except some poor men's children. Jan. 10, 1678, they voted to give Mr. Younglove 30 pounds for another year, to be paid by the school estate, scholars and town; and he was to have the use of the house and homestead belonging to the school, and of twelve acres of land. Male children from 6 to 12 were to pay 10 shillings a year if they went, and five shillings if they did not go. Feb. 7, 1681, a committee was appointed to get a school-master to teach Latin and English; to give him 30 pounds a year. Latin scholars to pay 20 shillings a year, and English scholars 16 shillings. Those from 6 to 12 that did not go, were to pay 8 shillings a year.

This school was far from being a free school, and the votes indicate that the girls and some of the boys did not attend. On

the first of March, 1697, "the town voted that there should be a constant school in Hadley; the teacher to be paid wholly by the school committee and the town rate." This was a free school, but it did not continue. Men who had no children to send, were dissatisfied, and the town voted, March 30, 1699, that one-half of what the school estate did not pay, should be paid by scholars. This was to stand 20 years.

The Hopkins School was apparently the only public school in the old parish of Hadley, for more than a century, except a school for boys and girls voted in 1760 for that year. It was the common town school. The master, with rare exceptions, was a man of collegiate education, and he instructed some in Greek and Latin, but most only in reading, writing and arithmetic. When Hadley had 99 families, in 1765, there was but one town school. The number of children taught by school dames is not known.

School Houses.—Nathaniel Ward, who died in 1664, gave a piece of his homelot on the street, with his house, for the use of the school. A part of this building was used for a school-house many years. After 1688, a room was hired for the school. In 1710, the Ward house was said to be "ready to fall down," and in 1712, the school committee, having obtained leave from the Court, leased the school homelot of one acre and a half, with the buildings, to Doct. John Barnard, for 97 years, at 18 shillings a year.

The town voted, July 13, 1696, to build a school-house, 25 by 18 feet and 7 feet between joints, to be set in the "middle of the town." This was the first school-house built in Hadley. It stood in the broad street.

TEACHERS OF HADLEY GRAMMAR SCHOOL,

From 1666 to 1725.

A few of the teachers are not known.

About 1666 to 1673. Caleb Watson, a graduate of Harvard College in 1661. A native of Roxbury. He removed from Hadley to Hartford, where he was many years a distinguished teacher. Salary not known.

About 1674 to 1680. John Younglove, from Ipswich; was a preacher first at Quabaug, and after he left Hadley, at Suffield. Salary, 30£ and use of house and land.

1682 and 1683. Samuel Russell, H. C. 1681. Son of Rev. John Russell. Was minister at Branford, Conn.

1685. Samuel Partrigg of Hadley. 3 months.

1686-7. Warham Mather, H. C. 1685. Son of Rev. Eleazar Mather of Northampton. Was Judge of Probate at New Haven.

1688-9. John Younglove again. 6 months.

1689-90. Thomas Swan, H. C. 1689. From Roxbury. He was Register of Probate in Middlesex. 6 months.

1693-4. John Morse, H. C. 1692. From Dedham. Was minister at Newtown, L. I. He kept school near a year.

1694-5. Salmon Treat, H. C. 1694. Son of James T. of Wethersfield. Was minister at Preston, Conn. Kept a year. Wages, 39£.

1695-6. Joseph Smith, H. C. 1695. Son of Lieut. Philip S. of Hadley. Was minister at Upper Middletown. Kept 3 quarters, at rate of 38£.

1696-7. John Hubbard, H. C. 1695. Son of John H. of Boston. Was minister of Jamaica, L. I. Kept one year at £30 as money.

1698-9. John Smith, again. A year or more.

1700-1. Samuel Melyen, H. C. 1696. Son of Jacob M. of Boston. Was minister at Elizabethtown, N. J. Kept one year. 38£.

1701-2. Mr. Woodbridge. Either Ephraim or Samuel. Both graduated at Harvard College, 1701. Both were ministers. 1 year. 38£.

1702-3. Nathaniel Chauncey, Yale College 1702. Son of Rev. Nathaniel C. of Hatfield. Minister at Durham, Conn. 3 months.

1703-4. Samuel Ruggles, H. C. 1702. From Roxbury. Was minister at Billerica. Kept 8 months, at rate of 40£.

1705-6. Samuel Mighill, H. C. 1704. Son of Rev. Thomas M. of Scituate. A teacher in Mass. and Conn. Died in South Hadley, 1769. 1¼ year, at 40£.

1706-7. Jonathan Marsh, H. C. 1705. Son of Jonathan M. of Hadley. Was minister at Windsor, Conn. 1 year. 30£ as money.

1707-8. John Partridge, H. C. 1705. Son of Col. Samuel P. of Hatfield. Died 1717. 1 year. 40£.

1708-9. Aaron Porter, H. C. 1708. Son of Samuel Porter, Esq. of Hadley. Was minister at Medford. Kept 6 months, at the rate of 40£.

1709-10. Daniel Boardman, Y. C. 1709. Son of Daniel Boreman of Wethersfield. Was minister at New Milford, Conn. Kept 8 months, at the rate of 26⅔£ as money.

1710-11. John James. A native of England. Honorary degree at H. C. 1710. He had previously been minister at Derby, Conn. 6 months, at the rate of 26⅔£ as money.

1711-12. Elisha Williams, H. C. 1711. Son of Rev. Wm. W. of Hatfield. Was President of Yale College. 11 months, at the rate of 26⅔£ as money.

1712-13. Thomas Berry, H. C. 1712. Was a physician. Lived at Ipswich. 6 months, at the rate of 30£ in money.

1713-14. Stephen Williams, H. C. 1713. Son of Rev. John W. of Deerfield. Was minister at Longmeadow. 1¼ year, at the rate of 34£ in money.

1714-15. Ebenezer Gay, H. C. 1714. From Dedham. Was minister at Hingham. 9 months, at the rate of 26£.

1705-16. Nathaniel Mather, Y. C. 1715. Son of Rev. Samuel M. of Windsor, Conn. Minister at ——. Kept 4 months.

1716-18. "Mr. Chauncey's son." If he was son of Rev. Isaac C. of Hadley, he was only 16 to 18 years old. 1⅔ year, at the rate of 36£.

1718-19. Stephen Steel, Y. C. 1718. Son of James Steel of Hartford. Was minister of Tolland, Conn. 1 year. 40£.

1719-20. Solomon Williams, H. C. 1719. Son of Rev. Wm. W. of Hatfield. Was minister at Lebanon, Conn. 1 year. 40£.

1720-21. Hezekiah Kilburn, Y. C. 1720. He was born at Wethersfield and resided there. 1 year. 40£.

1721 to 1723. Daniel Dwight, Y. C. 1721. Son of Nathaniel D. of Northampton. Episcopal minister at Charleston, S. C. 1¼ year, at 40£ a year.

1723-24. Benjamin Dickinson, H. C. 1723. Son of Nathaniel D. of Hatfield. A preacher many years. Lived in Hadley. 1 year. 40£.

1724-25. Israel Chauncey, H. C. 1724. Son of Rev. Isaac C. of Hadley. He was an able preacher, but became deranged, and was burnt to death in a small building, near his father's, Nov. 1736. Kept ¾ of a year, at the rate of 40£.

In March, 1743, Josiah Pierce, H. C. 1735, a native of Woburn, began to keep the Grammar School. He was to instruct in reading, writing, arithmetic, Latin and Greek. He kept 12 years to 1755, and again 6 years from 1760 to 1766. His pay was 27¼£ in N. E. currency, or 91 dollars, and he had the use of 25 acres of meadow land.

These teachers were almost all educated at college, and they generally began to teach soon after they graduated. Their year or less time in the school, commonly included a part of two years.

Their yearly salary to 1709 was from 38 to 40 pounds payable in produce at the usual prices, or 30£ at money prices. After 1709, their wages were paid in province bills, commencing with 26⅔ pounds per annum, and increasing to 40 pounds, after the bills depreciated. Out of this salary or wages, they paid for their board, which was 4s. 8d. to 5s. per week when the salary was about 40£, and 3s. 6d. to 3s. 9d. when the salary was 30£ or less. After deducting the board, these young men received only 18 to 21 pounds or 60 to 70 dollars, per annum, in any thing equivalent to dollars at six shillings. Northampton gave to her Grammar School masters, who were all educated men, only 80 dollars a year and board, down to the Revolution. Almost all were single men in both towns. Mr. Pierce's compensation was greater.

If half the accounts of tyranny and cruelty of English schoolmasters, given by English writers, are to be believed, they were an entirely different class of men from the school-masters of New England. Records and traditions furnish no evidence of the cruelty or profligacy of any of the old school-masters on Connecticut River. Where can more worthy men be found than those composing the list of Hadley school-masters?

In 1682, Mr. Samuel Russell taught the school six months for 15£. About 50 scholars attended and paid 4 shillings each, except a few that paid 6 shillings. He received from the scholars £10, 14s. and from the school committee, £4, 6s.

For a few years after 1677, there was fear of Indians, and the School meadows were not fenced till 1680. They were let out in 1681. The rent from 1684 to 1700 was generally from 6 to 8£, when paid in produce at money prices. From 1704 to 1706, it was £8, 12s. as money. In 1720, the number of acres was said to be 80. The school land in other meadows, about 36 acres, was leased at 4, 5 or 6 shillings per acre, according to quality, when paid in produce at the usual prices; or from one-quarter to one-third less, if paid in any thing equivalent to money.

Hadley School Committee for 50 years.—In 1669, the first five were Mr. John Russell, Jr., Lieut. Samuel Smith, Aaron Cooke, Jr., Nathaniel Dickinson, Peter Tilton. As vacancies occurred, others were chosen, viz., Philip Smith, 1680, Samuel Partrigg, 1682, Samuel Porter, 1685, Joseph Kellogg, 1686, Chileab Smith, 1687, Thomas Hovey, Samuel Porter, Esq., Sergt. Joseph Smith, Deac. John Smith. The last five were the committee in 1720.

In new towns, where they had few families and no school, it was considered the duty of parents to teach their children to read. In September, 1677, Goodman Lancelot Granger of Suffield,

was presented to the Hampshire Court for the neglect of learning his children to read. He appeared at March Court, 1678, and declared he was using the means to learn them to read, and promised to do his best, and he was discharged. When a Hampshire town was without a school a number of months, it was presented to the Court, and two or three towns in the southern part of the county were fined for their neglect.

It was ordered by a law of 1642,* that the selectmen of every town, should see that none of their brethren and neighbors should "suffer so much barbarism, in any of their families as not to endeavor to teach by themselves or others, their children and apprentices perfectly to read the English tongue," and to have knowledge of the capital laws, upon penalty of 20 shillings. This law was ordered to be enforced in 1668.

At New Haven, in 1684, the Grammar School was to be kept 9 hours in a day in summer, (less in winter,) and 6 days in a week. Two hours in the afternoon of Saturday were to be employed in catechising the scholars,—a practice in New England schools, that came down to the present century, in the forenoon of Saturday.

School Books.—The early school books of New England were the same with those of Old England. John Locke, in his "Thoughts concerning Education," 1690, says the method of schools in England, in teaching children to read, has been to adhere to "the ordinary road of the Hornbook, Primer,† Psalter, Testament and Bible." These, he says, are the only books used "to engage the liking of children and tempt them to read." The "ordinary road" was the same in New England, and the same books were used in Hadley and other towns. Such books were sold to the people by John Pynchon of Springfield, from 1656 to 1672 and after, and by Joseph Hawley of Northampton, to his scholars, except Hornbooks, from 1674 to 1680, and both sold many Catechisms, and paper and paper books for writers. Neither sold Spelling-books, nor does John Locke refer to a Spelling-book in his treatise. They were but little used in the 17th century. Samuel Porter, of Hadley, who died in 1722, sold Primers, Psalters, Testaments and Bibles; also Catechisms, Psalm Books, &c. Spelling-books, chiefly Dilworth's, were gradually introduced; were not common on Connecticut River till after 1750. Arithmetic was taught, but the books were rare. Traders sold the Latin Accidence or Grammar.—Hornbooks do not appear in

*This law is in the printed laws of 1672.

†Our Primer differed from the English one, but the use in school was similar.

Hampshire after 1700. They contained the alphabet, with a few rudiments, on one page, covered, as Cowper says, with "thin translucent horn," to keep them from being soiled.

A book called a Primer has been used by children in schools for centuries. Our early Primers were imported from England, in 1644, 1655, &c. and were probably Puritan Primers. The New England Primer seems to have been published after the Restoration in 1660, and to have been fitted for a child's school-book. It has undergone many changes. The Catechism was formerly published by itself.

CHAPTER VII

Ordinary-keepers or Inn-keepers—Retailers of wine and liquors—Selling liquors to Indians—Trial of Dr. Westcarr—Drinks in the 17th century—Distilling—Aquavitae—Intemperance in New England.

When our fathers came from England, the people were addicted to malt liquors, the country was full of licensed ale-houses, and an alewife was a woman, and not a fish. Inns, taverns and ordinaries were plenty. Distilled spirits were used, but wine and ale were the principal intoxicating beverages. The English were excessive drinkers, or as Shakespeare says, "most potent in potting." "Drinking is the plague of our English gentry," says Peacham in 1622. "Drunkenness hath diffused itself over the nation," says Camden in 1617.

The first planters of New England were some of the best portion of this wine-bibbing, ale-guzzling nation. They abhorred drunkenness, and intended to be temperate drinkers, and they followed the English practice in licensing men to sell intoxicating drinks. As ale-houses were in bad repute in England, they avoided the appellation, and used the word ordinary, which in England signified an eating-house. Our early inns in Hampshire were all denominated ordinaries. Inns were called ordinaries in Virginia.

The people of Hadley, conscious of the evil effects of liquor houses, were in no haste to have an ordinary, and when the subject was agitated in January, 1663, they proceeded with great caution, choosing one committee of ten to consider the matter, and to report to another of seven, and the latter were to report to the town, who were to choose the most fit man to keep an ordinary. The town did not select a man, and the county book does not record the license of any one, until March, 1668, when Richard Goodman had his license "continued," showing that he was

licensed in 1667.* After 1668, there is no notice of an inn or ordinary in Hadley or Hatfield for 24 years, but in Hadley, Joseph Kellogg, the ferry-man, had liberty to entertain travelers. Springfield and Northampton had houses of entertainment, for the courts were held in those towns, and the court-rooms were always in the ordinaries or inns. In March, 1666, Samuel Porter and William Lewis of Hadley, were both presented for selling strong liquors without license, and fined. It appeared that they were induced to do this, because no one in Hadley had liberty to sell liquors.

In 1667 and 1668, Richard Goodman was licensed to sell wine and strong liquors; in 1671, Lieut. Samuel Smith was the next retailer in Hadley. In September, 1684, Deac. Philip Smith was licensed to sell wine to persons "in real need," meaning the sick. In March, 1678, Samuel Partrigg had liberty to sell liquors "to the neighbors," and in 1681, "for the helpfulness† of neighbors." In 1685, he had liberty to retail wine, and he was afterwards a retailer of strong drink in Hatfield. The ordinary keepers and retailers, in those days, were very respectable men. Selectmen would not approve, nor the Court license, any other. John Pynchon was licensed to sell wine and strong liquors in 1671; the Court seem to have expected that he would reduc ethe price!

In September, 1674, the Court that was sitting in the house of Nathaniel Ely, ordinary-keeper in Springfield, fined him 40 shillings, for not keeping beer that was according to law, viz., made with four bushels of barley malt to the hogshead, (63 gallons.) This beer which ordinaries were required to keep, was not so strong as much of the beer used in England.

The first inn-keeper in Hadley after 1668, in the county records, was Hezekiah Dickinson in 1692 and 1693. Joseph Smith, cooper, was an inn-keeper in 1696. Luke Smith was a retailer in 1700 and an inn-keeper in 1701. Westwood Cooke was an inn-keeper from 1704 to 1707. Luke Smith was an inn-keeper most or all of the time from 1711 to 1731, inclusive. No other inn-keeper or retailer in Hadley, is recorded in the county books that remain, during those 21 years.

Selling intoxicating drinks to the Indians.—In consequence of the drunkenness of the Indians, "the fruits whereof were murder

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*In 1667, John Pynchon credited to Richard Goodman, for his "account of expenses at the General Training" and for other things, £8.2.0. There was a General Training in Hadley in 1667, and the officers were entertained by Goodman.

†This kind of "helpfulness" has destroyed thousands of lives and millions of property, in Massachusetts.

and other outrages," the General Court, in May, 1657, forbid all persons to sell or give to any Indian, rum, strong water, wine, strong beer, brandy, cider, perry, or any other strong liquors, under the penalty of 40 shillings for every pint so sold or given. The Courts in Hampshire county were prompt to punish infractions of this law, and were sustained by almost all the people. There were a few persons who could not resist the temptation of exchanging spirits for wampum and beaver skins; and sometimes a farmer or his wife thought there was no great harm in selling to the Indians, a few quarts of poor cider. The Indians were sure to be drunk whenever they could get liquor enough for that purpose. The following trial of Dr. Westcarr, and some other notices, are abridged from the county records:—

In July, 1670, Doct. John Westcarr, of Hadley, was complained of by the Indians, for selling liquor to them. Capt. John Pynchon examined him and heard the witnesses. Westcarr confessed that he had two barrels of liquor in the spring, and being asked what he did with it, said he used it for his own occasions and for neighbors who desired him to procure it. He refused to tell to whom he had sold any, yet it was all gone but half a cask. He said he used four or five gallons at a time in preparing medicines.

Wequanunco testified that John Westcarr sold him two quarts of liquor in the spring when corn was so high (which, by his sign, was 2 or 3 inches.) Benjamin Wait* standing by, said in a deriding manner, may be it was 2 or 3 years ago. The Indian replied, "no, it was this spring; what I say is true; Homs (that is, an old man) will not lie. I paid for it in wampum after two fadom a quart; I paid in black wampum." The same Indian's wife testified that she saw Westcarr sell her husband two quarts of liquor.

Tackquellawant testified that John Westcarr sells liquors to the Indians; "and about a month ago, I had four quarts of him and paid him a beaver skin. This is truth, and Chabatuan and Wottellosin know it, and saw it."

Chabattan appeared and said Tackquellawant had four quarts as he testified, of J. W. "I was with him and saw it, and saw him pay a beaver skin for it."

Nuxco testified:—"I fetched liquors from John Westcarr when the Indians were drunken, and my wigwam was broken and spoiled by the drunken Indians this summer. I was before the Northampton Commissioners about it. I had six and a half quarts of liquor of J. W. and paid him a great beaver skin of my wife's. I also fetched three quarts more, and paid him six fadom of wampum." Nuxco says it is a known trade among the Indians, that it's two fadom of wampum for a quart.

Mr. Pynchon bound over Doct. Westcarr to the Sept. Court at Springfield, 1670. The preceding testimonies were read. Dr. Westcarr owned that the Indians so accused him. The Indians affirmed that Westcarr threatened to lay them in irons, if they told of him. He denied, but the Indians told him to his face that it was true and that they were afraid to speak all. Nuxco and Tackquellawant said he had feared [frightened] them so that they might not speak. Wamequam said Westcarr did so speak. Squiskhegan said Westcarr was angry with Mattawan, his son. Mattawan said J. W. told him the Indians were naughty for telling the Northampton Commissioners of his selling liquors, and J. W. took away his gun because of it. Doct. Westcarr here said he took the gun for debt. Mattawan said he owed him not a penny. Mattawan and Squiskhegan said J. W. lied, and that he took away the gun because Mattawan informed against him and he was angry.

John Westcarr tendered to take his oath for his purgation, but the Court refused, and gave their reasons. The Court adjudged him guilty of selling at least 10 quarts, and fined him 40£. He appealed to the Court of Assistants at Boston, and was bound in 80£, and Francis Barnard and John Coleman in 40£ each, as sureties.

*B. Wait had also been complained of by the Indians and fined.

In September, 1671, it appeared that there had been no issue of the case at Boston, the bench and jury not agreeing. The County Court, as he had been at considerable expense and trouble, accepted his offer of five pounds, and the matter was settled. He had been fined 30£ in 1667, for selling 15 pints of strong liquor to the Indians. In 1674, the Indians again accused him, and he was bound over by the Hadley Commissioners. At March Court, 1675, he wished to be tried by the jury, except Lt. Smith and P. Tilton who had bound him over. He was tried by the other ten. The Indians did not appear. He put in his defence in writing, and John Smith of Hadley replied to it. The jury decided that he was "not legally guilty."

In 1667, a man in Springfield was fined £16 for selling four quarts of cider to the Indians. In 1672, another Springfield man was complained of for selling cider to the Indians. He said it was water-cider. As it was such that an Indian was probably made drunk by it, and did mischief, the Court fined him 40 shillings. In 1673, a Northampton woman was presented for selling cider to the Indians. She appeared and acknowledged that she sold some sour cider mixed with beer. The Court fined her 45 shillings.

In Sept. 1670, the Court say:—"the woful drunkenness of the Indians cries aloud to use the utmost laudable means to prevent what may be of that sin among them." In Sept. 1673, they say:—"the Indians are very often found drunk, and cross to all good order and laws."

The Indians in this valley were miserable, degraded beings, when these towns were settled, and it is evident that they did not become any better. The Connecticut Indians were similar. According to the General Court of that colony in Oct. 1654, "the great and crying sin of drunkenness reigns amongst them." The Court attributed this to the sale of cider and strong beer to them, which had not been forbidden, and these were now prohibited as well as wine and spirits. Penalty, 5 pounds for every pint sold to an Indian.

In Daniel Gookin's History of the Christian Indians, in 1677, he remarked—"A very little strong drink will intoxicate their brains; for being used to drink water, they cannot bear a fourth part of what an Englishman will bear."

Drinks in the 17th century.—The early drinks in New England were wine of several sorts, comprising that called sack, beer, including ale, and strong water or aquavitae, which was of two kinds, viz., brandy distilled from wine, and a liquor made from malt or grain, and named usquebaugh. Wine and beer were the principal drinks, until rum was brought from the West Indies. Rum was called "kill-devil" by Josselyn, and the General Court of Connecticut, in 1654, termed it "Barbadoes liquor commonly called rum-kill-devil."* It was much cheaper than aquavitae from Europe, and its use became much more common. Strong beer was first made of imported malt, and in a few years, of malt from grain raised here. Much ordinary household beer was

*This liquor was strangely misnamed. Instead of killing the devil, it has greatly extended and strengthened his kingdom. Josselyn called it a "cursed liquor." Aquavitae, which signifies, water of life, had also a very wrong name.

made. Hops grew wild in the intervals of the Connecticut. After some years, cider was added to the beverages. The second Henry Wolcott, of Windsor, had an extensive nursery and orchard, and he began to sell cider in 1648, at 2s. 8d. per gallon; in 1650, the price was 1s. 8d. and in 1653, 1s. 4d. and 30 shillings a barrel. He also sold boiled cider. In 1678, cider in Northampton was 10 shillings a barrel, and before 1700, 6 or 7 shillings. It was not very abundant, and beer was a more common drink than cider in the Hampshire towns until after 1700. New England rum, distilled from molasses, was added to the list of intoxicating drinks, about 1700.

Other liquors, as mum, perry and metheglin, are noticed in New England in the 17th century. There were various preparations of wines and spirits, as mulled wine, or wine burnt or stewed, and sweetened and spiced; and cherry rum or brandy, called cherry-bounce. Flip made of beer, sugar and spirits, appears near the close of the century, and punch not long after.

Malt-houses were early established, and they continued in some of the villages on Connecticut River more than a century. John Barnard, who died in Hadley in 1664, had a malt-house in Hadley, and another in Wethersfield, and was called "maltster." Andrew Warner hired his malt-house in Hadley, and it was burnt in 1665. He then built malt-works for himself, and was the maltster of Hadley, and his son Jacob seems to have succeeded him. Francis Barnard had a malt-house.

Distilling.—Small stills, often called limbecs, were common in England more than 230 years ago, and housewives distilled cordials, sweet waters and medicinal waters, from herbs, flowers, spices, &c. The early settlers of Massachusetts, in Boston and vicinity, had many of these small stills in their houses, which appear in their inventories, valued at from 15 to 45 shillings each. There were some at Hartford and Windsor. Several ministers had one of these little stills. Andrew Warner of Hadley, had a small still valued at 10 shillings, and Doct. Hastings of Hatfield, had one valued at 40 shillings.

There were larger stills, and spirits were distilled in Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, from grain apparently, before 1662. This kind of distillation could not have been extensive, nor of long continuance. Henry Wolcott distilled something called brandy before 1680, perhaps from cider, but not much cider-brandy was made in New England till after 1750. Samuel Porter of Hadley, had a still and worm, in 1722, valued at 9 pounds. What was distilled in it, is unknown.

Aquavitae was imported into New England in small casks, and in bottles packed in cases, perhaps like the gin-cases of later days. Such cases were brought to Hadley, and these bottles, probably from their shape, gave a permanent name to Aquavitae Meadow. John Barnard, in his will, in 1664, gave to a kinsman "my piece of land that lieth in the Nook, or Aquavita Bottle." The last word was not retained. The contents of these bottles were esteemed very precious, and Mary Barnard, widow of John, in her will, in 1665, gave to four friends "one glass of strong water" each, that is, one bottle of brandy each, and reserved other glasses for the use of sick and weak persons.—"Aquavitae" and "aquavitae bottle" are found in Shakespeare.

Lechford, who wrote in 1642, says drunkenness was then rare in Massachusetts. Intemperance increased after the means of intoxication were more easily procured. There were many complaints in the 17th century, that some men spent their estates and impoverished their families, by excessive drinking. In Samuel Clough's New England Almanack for 1702, are the following lines, which doubtless give a correct description of a Boston barroom, and of some in the country, 156 years ago:—

Under December.
"The days are short, the weather's cold,
By tavern fires, tales are told,
Some ask for dram when first come in,
Others with flip or bounce begin."
Under January.
"Ill husbands now in taverns sit,
And spend more money than they get,
Calling for drink and drinking greedy,
Tho' many of them poor and needy."

Intemperance was more common in Boston and on the seaboard than in the agricultural towns, but Hampshire was not entirely free from intemperate drinking and its evil consequences. The County Court, in March, 1675, remark—"it is found by experience that there is too much idle expense of precious time and estate, in drinking strong liquors, by many of our youth and others in our towns." The Court ordered that retailers should sell only to governors of families of sober carriage, "the intent being that such persons as have liberty to sell, should use their best to prevent a trade of drinking and drunkenness."—John Pynchon retailed brandy at the rate of 12 shillings per gallon in 1653, and rum at 6s. to 6s. 8d. in 1673. He did not commonly retail wine and spirits, but when he had rum for sale, there was no lack of purchasers. Rev. Pelatiah Glover, the minister of Spring-

field, bought of him about two gallons of rum, and six quarts of wine, in a year, from 1672 to 1675. Mr. Pynchon, at the raising of his mill-dam, in 1654, furnished wine and cakes to the amount of 13s. 6d. In Hadley, in 1665, the wine and cake at the funeral of John Barnard's widow, cost 40 shillings—a bad practice derived from England. When the Hadley School mill was raised in 1706, 11 quarts of rum at 4 shillings per gallon were used. As intoxicating liquors became more plenty, their use and pernicious effects became more common.

CHAPTER VIII

Town Meetings—Townsmen's Accounts—Freemen—Town Officers—Pound—Town By-laws—Occupations of the people—Petitions of Hadley, in 1665, 1669 and 1670.

The fathers of Hadley intended to have all business done in an orderly, methodical manner. In December, 1660, they voted that a moderator should be chosen at every town meeting, and when they chose Nathaniel Dickinson, to transcribe all town orders, they directed that the orders made by the town, should be read openly in the presence of the meeting, before it broke up. When Peter Tilton was chosen to record town orders, Sept. 1661, he was to receive two pence for each order, and he was to forfeit four pence for every order not recorded before the next meeting. Mr. Tilton was a systematic, well educated man.

In January, 1662, the following regulations for town meetings were voted by the town—Warnings were to be accounted legal, when each inhabitant had had notice by telling him, or some of his family, or by leaving word at his house, at least the evening before the meeting; otherwise not legal. Every person not coming to the meeting within half an hour of the appointed time, was to forfeit 6 pence, and not coming within an hour, 12 pence, unless excused at the next meeting, after giving a rational plea for absence. If the major part of the voters did not appear within an hour, those present might go away and attend to their own occasions, but if a major part appeared, it was a legal meeting. "The townsmen before every town meeting shall choose one of themselves to be moderator, who shall have the ordering of the meeting, of speech and silence therein," and no person shall depart without leave of the moderator, under the penalty of 6 pence, "and being accounted as one that gives an evil example of disorder to others." All in the meeting were to direct their speech to the moderator, and "he to value and make answer thereto, until it be ripened for a vote; that so we may avoid personal jangling." [Abridged.]

They also voted to choose Townsmen yearly in January, who should have power to order and transact all public occasions but the following:—Admitting inhabitants, giving of land, laying out highways, alienating fences and properties, erecting common buildings, as houses,

mills, bridges, &c. of considerable value, levying of rates, and some other things. In all these, the townsmen must have the consent of the town.

In 1662, the townsmen were to meet the first Monday of every other month, to consider matters that concern the town.—The proceedings of townsmen and selectmen were seldom recorded.

There was no town Treasurer in those days, and no need of any. Rates were not levied in money, and town debts were not paid in money. The townsmen kept the accounts, and after their year was out, the new townsmen with two other persons appointed for that purpose, examined their accounts, and the result was recorded. The record of these audits for many years, may be seen in the town book. There was no Treasurer in Hadley till some years after 1700.

Richard Billings, of the west side, sued the agents of the town, in 1664, for witholding some of his land. He attended a town meeting, March 25, 1664, and offended them by his free and earnest speeches, and the town deliberately voted, "that the carriage of Richard Billings at this present meeting, is offensive." He gained his cause at the next Court, and did not trouble himself about the vote.

Freemen.—By the early laws of Massachusetts, none but church-members could be freemen; and none but freemen could hold offices or vote for rulers. These regulations were modified in 1647 and 1658, and some non-freemen were allowed to vote in town affairs generally, and might hold town offices; and in 1664, some who were not church-members could be freemen. In those days, town offices were burdensome and were avoided, and many members of churches, in order to exempt themselves from public service, would not be made freemen, and in 1647, a law was made compelling such men to serve, if chosen, or pay a fine not exceeding 20 shillings.

In Hadley, the distinction of freemen and non-freemen is seldom alluded to in the records. It is evident that town meetings were open to all, and that all came together and debated and voted freely, respecting town affairs. Only freemen voted for Magistrates or Assistants, County Commissioners and Treasurer, and they chose deputies to the General Court. Their votes and choice are not recorded in the town book.

OFFICERS CHOSEN BY THE TOWN,
And some appointed by others.

Townsmen, were called Selectmen, after a few years. There were five from the beginning. They were chosen by the engagers, in November, 1659, in three places. They were chosen at Norwottuck, Dec. 14, 1660, viz., Andrew Bacon, Andrew Warner, Nathaniel Dickinson, Samuel Smith and William Lewis. The town of Hadley chose five Jan. 27, 1662, three from the east side and two from the west side. For a century after 1663, a selectman was very rarely chosen two years in succession.

Raters or Rate-makers, viz., Samuel Smith, Nathaniel Dickinson and William Allis, were first chosen to make the rates, Dec. 16, 1661. For some years after, S. Smith, N. Dickinson and Peter Tilton were chosen. The raters were sometimes called assessors, before 1700, and commonly after 1715.

Auditors.—Two were chosen yearly, to unite with the new townsmen, in settling the accounts of the old ones. The first were William Partrigg and Peter Tilton, who were chosen Dec. 11, 1661, to audit, with the townsmen, all rates and accounts for two years past.

Constables.—They took their oath before the County Court. Thomas Coleman was the first Constable of Newtown, March, 1661, and Stephen Terry was the first Constable of Hadley, March, 1662. William Partrigg, for east side, and Isaac Graves, for west side, were chosen Jan. 27, 1663. Substantial men were elected to this office. After Hatfield became a town, only one was chosen annually in Hadley, until 1704.

The constable had many duties to perform, and in executing them, he carried a black staff, 5 feet long, tipped with brass. In Massachusetts, he was the collector of taxes or rates.

Town Recorder or Clerk.—Nathaniel Dickinson, who had before acted as recorder, was chosen to record town orders, Dec. 17, 1660; and Peter Tilton was chosen to record town orders, Sept. 4, 1661, and to record lands, Feb. 9, 1663. Mr. Tilton held the office 31 years and a half. Samuel Barnard was chosen in 1693, and is the first that is called Clerk in the record.

Sealer of Weights and Measures, was called in England, and sometimes in Massachusetts, Clerk of the Market. John Barnard of Hadley was sworn by the County Court in 1663, and William Partrigg in 1665. Joseph Smith, the cooper and miller, was chosen by the town, in 1696, and he was sealer many years, and was succeeded by his son Joseph.

Hadley and Northampton were complained of to the Court, for not having standard weights and measures, Sept. 1664. They were allowed until the next March to get standards. Hadley voted brass weights in 1707.

In England, in the time of Elizabeth, according to Holinshed, many clerks of the market contrived to leave the measures too big or too little, in order to have another fee for repairing. Some dealers had one measure to sell by, and another to buy by, yet all sealed and branded. It was the same with weights. Poor tenants that paid their rent in grain to their landlords, were often dealt with very hardly. The "golden days" of Queen Elizabeth, furnish abundant examples of all kinds of dishonesty and wickedness.

Commissioners to end small Causes.—By a law of the colony, the towns where no magistrate dwelt, might request the County Court to appoint three Commissioners, to hear and determine causes, where the debt or damage did not exceed 40 shillings. A magistrate had the same power. The General Court appointed Commissioners for Hadley, in May, 1661, when the town was named, with unusual power, viz., Andrew Bacon, Samuel Smith and William Westwood. In April, 1662, the town chose the same men. In May, 1663, the General Court allowed Henry Clarke, Samuel Smith and Andrew Bacon to be commissioners till the next September, and their extraordinary power was then to cease, and Hadley was to have commissioners to end small causes as other towns. The same three men, Clarke, Smith and Bacon, were sworn by the County Court, as commissioners for small causes, in Sept. 1663, and Bacon was continued until 1669, Clarke till 1675 and Smith till 1678. Others were John White, Nathaniel Dickinson, Peter Tilton and Philip Smith. These town Courts ended with the first charter.

Clerk of the Writs.—Every town might nominate a Clerk of the Writs, to be allowed by the shire Court, to grant summons and attachments in civil actions. They were to receive two pence for a warrant, three pence for an attachment, and four pence for a bond. The first Clerk of the Writs in Hadley, was John Russell, sr., appointed by the General Court, in May, 1661; no other is recorded until March, 1681, when Richard Montague was sworn by the County Court; Samuel Partrigg was sworn in 1682, and Samuel Barnard in 1686.

Tithing-men, in Massachusetts, were first ordered in 1677. Hadley selectmen chose four, and they were approved by the County Court, in March, 1678, viz., Timothy Nash, Samuel Moody, Samuel Church, Chileab Smith. After 1680, they were chosen by the town, four for some years, and then only two. They were to inspect the conduct of liquor-sellers, Sabbath-breakers, night-walkers, tipplers, &c. and present the names of the disorderly to a magistrate.

Surveyors of Highways were first chosen Jan. 27, 1663, viz., Edward Church and Chileab Smith, east side, and Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr., west side. After the town was divided, only two were chosen, one from the north and one from the south part of the village.

Measurers of Land.—Were not chosen annually. After Samuel Smith and Peter Tilton, 1660, none were recorded for many years. In 1696, Capt. Aaron Cooke, Nehemiah Dickinson and Samuel Porter were chosen.

A Packer was chosen to pack meat and fish intended for market. He was to inspect casks, and was called gauger of casks. The first one recorded in Hadley was Samuel Partrigg, in March, 1679. Daniel Marsh was packer, 1694-1698. Sergt. Joseph Smith, the cooper, miller, sealer, &c. was chosen packer in 1669, and many years after, and his son Joseph succeeded him.—Samuel Partrigg understood the cooper's business, and the others were coopers.

Fence Viewers.—Mr. Westwood and Brother Standley were chosen, April 24, 1661, "to view the meadow fences." Four regular fence viewers were appointed in April, 1662, two for the east side, and two for the west side. After some years, two were annually chosen for Fort Meadow and Hockanum, two for Great Meadow, two for Forty Acres and School Meadows, and one or two for Little Panset, on the west side. They were appointed by the selectmen till 1693, and afterwards chosen by the town.

Hayward.—Goodman Montague was chosen a common Hayward, May 11, 1661, and again in 1662. He was to have 12 pence each for cattle and hogs, two shillings for a horse, and 20 pence for 20 sheep, that he should find loose in the meadow, and bring out; to be paid by the owners. At a later period, these officers were called Field Drivers, and two were chosen annually. In a colony law, 1693, they are called "Haywards or Field-drivers."

Hogreeves were ordered by a law of 1720. No earlier law is found. Hadley first chose hogreeves in 1721.

Hog-ringers.—In March, 1706, the town voted to choose hog-ringers annually, and they were to ring all swine 14 inches high, found unringed on commons or fields, from March 1 to Dec. 1. To have 4 pence for each. The west side voted that hogs should be ringed in 1663 and 1664. Hogs seem to have run at large if ringed, or sometimes if yoked and ringed.

Cow-keeper.—There was a cow-keeper in Hadley, on the east side, in 1662, and long after, who had the care of the cows in their great pasture, the woods, and was paid by the owners of the cows. He is seldom noticed in the records. There was a cow-keeper on the west side, 1663. Sometimes there was a keeper of the dry herd.

A Shepherd was to be hired, April, 1686 and 1687. Pens were to be made to fold the sheep at night, 1687, and "their lodgings" would help pay the charges. Selectmen to order. A shepherd had sometimes been employed years before.

Grave Digger.—It was voted, March 9, 1663, that Richard Montague should have four shillings for every grave he makes for a grown person, and two shillings for the grave of a child under ten years.

The persons who rung the bell and swept and took care of the meeting-house, are not noticed in the record.

A Pound was ordered to be built by the "four quarters on this side," each quarter its share, Feb. 9, 1663. It was not built till Sept., 1664, after complaint to the Court. The place was not mentioned, but a few years after, the pound was in the middle highway into the meadow, which was 6 rods wide, and Thomas Webster, who had a little house in this highway, was called "pound-keeper and shepherd," 1684. A new pound was voted in 1689.

There was a Guard on the Sabbath before there was any Indian war. The town voted, April 4, 1664, that the military officers "should choose the guard for the defence of the town upon Lord's days, Lectures and public meeting days of God's worship." In 1667, it was voted that every soldier, who attended on the guard a year, should receive a pound of powder and a pound of lead. The service was light. The soldier carried his arms to the place of meeting, and sat in the seat of the guard.

By-laws and Orders of the town, voted May 3, 1693, and allowed by the County Court, Sept. 23, 1693, for directing and managing the prudential affairs of the town. Abridged.

1. Ten men, including a majority of the selectmen, having assembled, may proceed with the business of a town meeting, the meeting having been legally warned.

2. Common fences are to be made good by March 20th, yearly—to be 4½ feet high, or ditch and rails, or hedge equivalent thereto. To be so close as to keep out swine three months old.

3. Owners of defective fences, after one day's warning and nothing done, are to pay the viewers double price for mending the same.

4. Every man to have a stake 12 inches high at the end of his fence, with the two first letters of his name, facing the way the fence runs.

5. Hockanum and Fort Meadow are to be cleared yearly on Michaelmas day, (Sept. 29;) the Great Meadow a fortnight after; unless the selectmen order otherwise.

6. Those who leave open gates and bars of common fields, between March 20, and the opening of the fields, are to pay 5 shillings besides all damages.

7. No man to trespass by going over his neighbor's land with team or cart, or by baiting, without leave. Fine, 2s. 6d. and to pay damages.

8. Horses, cattle, sheep and swine found in the common fields without a keeper, within the time aforesaid, are to be pounded, and hogs at all times. Horses and cattle to pay for each poundage, one shilling, and two pence for the keeper of the pound; hogs and sheep 6 pence and a penny for the keeper, besides damages.

9. All heads over 16 years, are to work one day on the highway; and owners of meadow land at the rate of one day for 20 acres.

10. Any person refusing to work after 24 hours warning, forfeits 2s. 6d.

11. All heads over 14, when called out by the selectmen to cut brush or clear the commons, shall work one day yearly in June, or forfeit 2s. 6d.

12. All young cattle should be herded annually at some place remote from the town; the owners to pay the expense. The selectmen to expend what is necessary.

Occupation of the inhabitants of Hadley.—The early settlers were generally thrifty, substantial men. They all had lands and derived the greater part of their support from their lands and labors. Most of them were farmers, as they had been in the towns from which they came. There were some artificers, and a few that had been in trade. Several left buildings and lands in Connecticut. The estates of a number of them were worth from 800 to 1100 pounds, after their decease.

Trade must have been quite limited at Hadley in the 17th century, yet some persons connected traffic with their other employments, at times, as William Partrigg, Lieut. Samuel Smith, Philip Smith, Samuel Porter, and William Lewis. The fur-trade with the Indians was in the hands of John Pynchon, and he had agents in the towns. In Hadley, on the west side, Zechariah Field traded with Indians and whites, and failed about 1664. On the east side, Doct. John Westcarr had the Indian trade for a year or two before the Indian war of 1675. Previous to 1670, the people of Hadley bought many goods of John Pynchon at Springfield, and paid him in wheat, flour, pork and malt.—The second Samuel Porter, who died in 1722, was the most extensive trader there had been in the county of Hampshire, except John Pynchon. He left a large estate.

The artificers or mechanics were commonly farmers also. Timothy Nash was a blacksmith. John Russell, senior, was a glazier, a trade that required some skill in the days of diamond

glass. Richard Montague was a baker, but there was not much demand for his services in Hadley, except in the Indian war. William Partrigg was a cooper, as well as trader. The first Samuel Porter had a set of joiner and carpenter's tools, valued at £6, 2s. 6d., and he undoubtedly sometimes used them, and his son Hezekiah was a carpenter. Robert Boltwood may have been a carpenter; he could build a mill. The records do not make known the names of the men who built chimneys, made garments, or made shoes.

Petitions or Addresses of Hadley relating to public affairs.

I. Petition when the General Court was contending with the Commissioners of Charles II., 1665.

King Charles II. asserted his right to interfere in the domestic concerns of Massachusetts, and sent commissioners, in 1664, to regulate the affairs of New England. The inhabitants of Massachusetts, relying on their charter, resolved to resist the orders of the king, and to nullify his commission, and they succeeded. The requisitions of the king gave birth to the parties of prerogative and of freedom, which continued to divide Massachusetts till the establishment of independence. The dawning strife of the new system against the old one had begun.* In the midst of the contest between the General Court and the royal Commissioners, Hadley sent a long petition or address to the General Court, dated April 25, 1665. It was drawn up by Mr. Russell, who was a zealous opposer of the pretensions and encroachments of England. Northampton also sent a petition, dated April 19, 1665, signed by 86 persons, requesting the Court "to stand for, confirm, and maintain our former and ancient liberties and privileges, both in church and commonwealth." It was only about one-fourth as long as that of Hadley. Mr. Russell was inclined to be wordy, and was not always explicit.†

To the much honored General Court of the Massachusetts now assembled at Boston, the humble petition of the inhabitants of the town of Hadley:

Honored and worthy fathers, if we call you fathers and Gods too, we speak but after the most high one of these relative titles, bespeak the tender and natural love we confide in you for; the other tells us what power you have in your hands to help us and the end for which God hath clothed you therewith; both show us our duty of repairing to you for help (in time of danger) under him who is over all. If ever there were appearances of danger towards us, we think now more. The cry of our sins as well as the Lord's threatenings being so manifest to them that have ears to hear. Had the Lord but spoken by the meanest of his messengers, tender hearts would have trembled; but when the Lord hath seconded so many voices of his

*Bancroft's History of United States, Vol. II.

†If my minutes are correct, Mr. Russell preached the election sermon at Boston, May, 1665.

precious servants by the midnight cries of those portentous signs* in the heavens, once and again; and that in conjunction with the disastrous state-shakings among us, we would not Pharaoh like harden our hearts, or refuse to see the lifting up of the Lord's hand. Either of these might administer sad thoughts of heart; both together give us more cause to look out that with the prudent we may foresee the danger and hide ourselves, rather than with the simple, pass on and be punished.

The Good Lord our God (forever blessed be his name) hath in a day of danger in the world, bid us enter into our chambers and hath kept us safe with himself. His eyes have been upon us, his salvation for walls and bulwarks; when we nor had, nor could have any other, he hath graciously made his word to be verified to us, that he would go before us and be our rere-ward, himself creating on all our dwelling places, his cloud and smoke and flaming fire; and upon all the glory causing a defence to be; affording here a tabernacle for a shadow from the heat, and a place of refuge and covert from the storm. Have we seen the Lord assaying so to do to any other since he brought his own redeemed his son and first born out of Egypt? May we not look from one end of the earth, yea and heavens too, to the other and not see it? And in what way the Lord hath done this for us, and what statutes and judgments he hath caused us to keep; which hath been our wisdom and made us great in the sight of the nations, hath been a thing too public and glorious to be concealed or doubted of. By what shepherds the Lord hath led and fed us here, and what hath been the integrity of their hearts and skillfulness of their hands; would be wretched ingratitude if we should so soon forget, especially having so often and lately sung the Lord's praises for the same. That we have not so carried toward these as we ought we know, and desired to be humbled for. We know also that there is a dreadful difference between serving the Lord under these, and other services. That we may not know this, as fools come to understand good and evil, is our humble petition and request to yourselves; who under God are the only means to save us therefrom, and whom we have trusted with all we have for this very end. We humbly but most earnestly beseech you that the same may be kept for us and for the Lord. Nor do we herein ask any more than the Lord allows and commands us to do. We would fear God, and honor the king. Whatever royal grants of grace we have received either from the Lord in Heaven or kings on earth, the accepting, holding fast and maintaining of the same with due thankfulness, is the true magnifying of that grace, and to throw away, or cowardly to suffer ourselves to be flattered or frightened from it, is the despising and dishonoring thereof. The faster we hold the grace of God, even when he seems to be angry and thrust us away; the more we honor and please him. The king of heaven will give his poorest subject on earth, leave to challenge resolutely his right and not to let it go for frowns or threats. And why should we think that a just and gracious king on earth will not do in like manner. We have right from God and man to chuse our own governors, make and live under our own laws. Our liberty and privileges herein as men we prize and would hold as our lives; this makes us freemen and not slaves. Our privilege herein as Christians in regard of the kingdom, name, glory of our God is far more precious than our lives. Hereby we enjoy and are not without God in the world. And we must give an account of our holding and improving thereof, to the hazard of much more than the worth of our lives. We would not live so accursed as to live having betrayed our trust herein. We should then be ashamed to live and afraid to die, when now through the maintaining of the same, thro' the Lord's grace, we are neither. Nor is it our own portion only that we trade with in this case, but our children's stock also—even their advantages as men and Christians to serve the Lord and be accounted to him for a generation forevermore. Can we bear to think that they should rise up and call us cursed for betraying them in their successive generations, and to publish the same to the ends of the earth.

Honored and endeared in the Lord, you are our nail, we hope, in a sure place. On you we hang our enjoyments, houses, lands, liberties, wives, children, lives and all our sanctuary vessels. At your hands we look for them again, and the Lord will require them. True, what danger is, you are in the forefront of it, but is it not the Lord that set you there? And he that gave Joshua so many charges to be strong and very courageous knows what all his Joshuas need, and will withhold no good thing from them that walk uprightly. Your place is not worse than David's valley of the shadow of death; he that was with him will be with you and then no fear of ill. Nor is your help less than Jonathan's when the Lord wrought

*One of these signs was the comet of 1664 and 1665.

such deliverance for and by him. We with our prayers and endeavors, heads and hearts, and lands and estates and lives will be with you and subject unto you. He can deliver if he will; if not, we are not careful in this matter. We again beseech you, Let us give fear, honor, tribute, obedience to the Lord and the king, with all humility, constancy, and willingness as his due. And what is given us for ourselves and for our God, let us never bereave ourselves nor rob him of. We crave pardon for the length and plainness of our speech (which yet, we hope hath not been rude.) Our hearts have been and are full of affection. We desire to leave this testimony of it with yourselves and to pour out the remainder before the Lord in our earnest and hearty prayer for his presence with and blessing upon you and your resolves; to your own comfort, the continuance and increase of the prosperity of our Zion, and the advancement of the honor of his most glorious name. And so hoping in the Lord, we rest your humble suppliants.

Hadley, April 25th, 1665.

This petition was signed by 91 persons, who must have included almost every male in the town, above 21 years of age. About 63 belonged to the east side of the river, and 28 to the west side.

II. Petition of Hadley against the impost or customs, 1669.

On the 7th of November, 1668, the General Court of Massachusetts ordered that duties should be imposed on goods and merchandise, and on horses, cattle and grain imported into this colony, after the first of March next. Petitions against this act were sent from some towns on the sea-board, and from Springfield, Northampton and Hadley on Connecticut River. These three towns apprehended that Connecticut would retaliate, and impose a tax on their produce sent down the river. The duty was reduced in 1669, and suspended as to Connecticut and Plymouth in 1670. The Hadley petition is subjoined. It appears to be in the hand-writing of William Goodwin.

Northampton stated that it cost 1s. 8d. a bushel to transport wheat to Boston, viz., 1s. to Windsor, 2d. thence to Hartford, and 6d. from Hartford to Boston. This was the cost of transport when grain was carted to Windsor.

To the Right Worshipful Richard Bellingham, Esq., Governor, and to the rest of the Worshipful Assistants and Deputies of the General Court of the Massachusetts Colony.

The humble petition of the inhabitants of the town of Hadleigh sheweth:

That whereas we have been informed of an order made the last General Court about customs to be laid on all (unless some specials excepted) imports and exports, which order was left with some preparatives (in case) towards an execution this next ensuing March. The sense we have and fears that we are filled with of evil and danger towards the whole in general, and ourselves in special (with reference to the same) do enforce us to present these following considerations to this honored Court.

1. Liberty, liberty of the subject and commons being the great thing we have made (and we trust in sincerity) profession of, the clogging and loading of trade, the freedom whereof is the advance of a people, will it not administer matter of discouragement, sinking discouragement to our own people and occasion of evil report among others, that we who have been an example of seeking liberty should become an example of taking it away from ourselves and others?

2. The moving (that we say not commotion) of men's spirits generally at the thing, as indeed we find it which (we think) we may say of all sorts among us, demonstrates the tender sense that people have thereof, and the working of passions within. Now the general motions of spirits hath still been accounted a thing regardable in societies of all sorts, and this we find to be as of one man with us against this thing.

3. Its to us matter of no small fear lest the thing itself circumstanced with the dissentions and strivings about it, should administer occasion of drawing of an heavier yoke upon us from others and afford a plea for the expediency and necessity of the same to us, who could not live without customs nor agree in having them.

4. We cannot but suspect the product thereof will be the diversion of trade especially as to our neighbor colony in Connecticut, and then if the trade be gone the customs will be of little avail to the supply of our wants or others.

5. We ourselves in this part of the colony are like to have not only the common share in the evils and dangers likely hereupon to ensue, but also a burden even a sinking load of overplus more than we can bear, for our transport being unavoidably through Connecticut Colony we must look to have so much taken from us as will make our trading (without which we cannot subsist) intolerable. How much we may or shall suffer we know not, but words are high and that which sounds in our ears is, that its no reason they should be losers by our colony; hence they say its but equal that they should take so much again as is by our order taken from them. And so we shall bear the burden of the whole colony though we sink under it.

6. Seeing we are required (and according to righteousness joyfully do it) to bear our share of the burthens and duty belonging to the whole, we trust we shall share in the privileges proportionably and find such protection and safeguard under the government as that the laws and order thereof may not expose us (more than others of the colony) to detriment and ruin.

In respect of all these as well as of other considerations our humble request to the Honored Council is that if possible there may be no procedure to execution of this law (which passed so barely also in the General Court) until the next General Court; that so we may have liberty and opportunity to present our petitions unto and seek help from them, that either the thing may not proceed or some effectual course may be taken that we be not thereby oppressed beyond measure only because we are members of this colony.

Thus craving pardon for our so far troubling of you and beseeching your help in this our distress, we rest your suppliants ever wishing and praying for your welfare and prosperity in the Lord.

Hadley, Feb. 19, 1668-9.

EAST SIDE.—34.

Henry Clarke,
Andrew Bacon,
William Goodwin,
Samuel Smith,
Joseph Kellogg,
William Marcum,
Thomas Dickinson,
John Russell, Jr.,
John White, Sr.,
Philip Smith,
Nathaniel Dickinson, Sr.,
John Russell, Sr.,
Will. Westwood,
Aaron Cooke,
Peter Tilton,
William Lewis,
Andrew Warner,
Samuel Gardner, Sr.,
Samuel Church,
Chileab Smith,
Timothy Nash,
John Crow,
John Taylor,
Samuel Porter,
Richard Goodman,
Thomas Coleman,
Richard Mountague,
Edward Church,
John Dickinson, Sr.,
Francis Barnard,
Robert Boltwood,
Joseph Baldwin,
Thomas Wells,
John Hubbard.

EAST SIDE.—30.

Caleb Watson,
Nehemiah Dickinson,
Hezekiah Dickinson,
Azariah Dickinson,
Samuel Foote,
John Smith,
Samuel Gardner, Jr.,
Thomas Partrigg,
Daniel Marsh,
Isaac Harrison,
Noah Coleman,
Joseph Warriner,
Samuel Marsh,
Richard Lyman,
Samuel Crow,
Philip Lewis,
William Webster,
William Rooker,
Isaac Stanley,
John Abot,
Isaac Warner,
Samuel Partrigg,
Peter Mountague,
John Westcarr,
John Dickinson, Jr.,
John Warner,
John Peck,
Jonathan Baldwin,
Samuel Boltwood,
John Barnard.

West Side.—28.	Samuel Hinsdell,	Samuel Gillet,
Thomas Meekins, Sr.,	Samuel Billing,	Samuel Field,
Thomas Meekins, Jr.,	John Hawks,	James Brown,
Isaac Graves, Sr.,	John Coules, Sr.,	Barnabas Hinsdell,
John Graves, Sr.,	Daniel Warner,	Joseph Allis.
William Allis,	John Coules, Jr.,	
John Allis,	Isaac Graves, Jr.,	East side, 34 old names.
William Gull,	John Graves, Jr.,	" " 30 later names.
Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr.,	Samuel Dickinson,	West " 28 names.
Daniel White,	Obadiah Dickinson,	
Philip Russell,	Samuel Kellogg,	Total, 92 "
Richard Billing,	Samuel Allis,	A few did not sign.

III. Petition of Hadley and Northampton in reference to the provocation of the people and God's displeasure, 1670.

"To the worshipful and much honored General Court of the Massachusetts now sitting in Boston:

It being abundantly manifest to them that know the Lord and do consider the operations of his hands that his carriage towards his churches and people in this country hath not been as in former times the years of the right hand of the most high; but that instead of his wonted blessing and lifting up the light of his countenance, he hath shewed us both many signs of his displeasure against and departure from us; which if he proceed to do then is that fearful woe Hosea 9: 12 accomplished towards us. The consideration and fear whereof occasioneth us to present this our humble enquiry to this honored Court, viz. Whether the rod of God upon our churches and land has not this speaking voice to us, that there should be some public and solemn enquiry what it is that hath provoked the Lord (who doth not afflict willingly, but if need be) against us. The genuine and tender filial spirit when it sees the father angry, cannot rest without inquiry why it is; the example of that made after God's own heart 2 Samuel 21 : 1, 2 (as well as others) is a pattern to us. Our own distresses and dangers may necessitate us to faithful and diligent search if there be any Achan or Jonas that may hazard the loss and ruin of all. The finding and unanimous agreeing in what our evil is seems to be the necessary and just means and part of our turning to the Lord, whereby only we can hope for his return (in mercy) unto us, according to his wonted loving kindness, which, that we may surely and speedily [word illegible] is the earnest prayer of your humble servants.

Hadley, May 3, 1670.

HENRY CLARKE,
JOHN RUSSELL,
SAMUEL SMITH,
In behalf of the freemen of Hadley.

WILLIAM HOLTON, } of Northampton,
WILLIAM CLARKE, }
in the name of sundry of the freemen there, who have had the consideration of the above writing.

This petition or address was written by Mr. Russell, Jr. The signature of John Russell may be that of his father. Northampton had no settled pastor at that time.*

In May, 1670, the writing from Hadley and Northampton was considered by the deputies, and a committee of five including Peter Tilton, made a report, which was accepted, wherein were noticed the causes of God's displeasure, the effects of it, and the means of removing it. Among the prevailing evils were men-

*Rev. Eleazar Mather, the first minister, died July 24, 1669. Mr. Russell assisted at his ordination, June 18, 1661. The Northampton church was organized the same day, and not June 4, as stated page 47.

tioned, innovations threatening the ruin of the Congregational way. Some days after, in another paper, the deputies censured the magistrates and ministers who consented to the organization of the third church in Boston, (now the Old South,) composed of seceders from the first church, who had not been dismissed. They contended for "the liberty of every church to exercise all the ordinances of God among themselves." An altercation ensued between the magistrates and deputies. The papers of the latter are in the hand-writing of Peter Tilton. The persons censured by these deputies were justified by those of the next year.

CHAPTER IX

Separation of Hatfield from Hadley—Proceedings of Hatfield.

The settlers of Hartford, on each side of Little River, managed many of their concerns separately, in what were called side-meetings. The planters of Hadley, settled on both sides of the Connecticut, and followed the example of Hartford, each side performing many things apart. The settlers on the west side held side-meetings and kept side-records which still remain. In March, 1665, the town voted that the west side should make and maintain all their ways and bridges, and the east side all their ways and bridges, except the mill-bridge on the west side, which was to be maintained by both sides. In June, 1665, the east and west sides voted to carry on the work of town and church as one "until the Lord make it appear that one part of us have a call to make a society of themselves."

The west side people began to think of becoming a separate parish in 1665, but they did not send a petition to the General Court, to be a parish or society, till May, 1667. They were apparently too few in number to support a minister, and build a meeting-house, but they were united, active and persevering, and such men commonly perform what they undertake. Their petition, which follows, may contain a little exaggeration, but those who live near the Connecticut can readily believe the account of their trouble in crossing the river, and of the screeching of the women and children. The Latin quotation was not called for. The word "ordinances," as used in the petition, refers especially to the usual services of the Sabbath.

To the Honored Governor, Dep. Governor, Assistants and Deputies, now in General Court assembled:

The petition of us whose names are underwritten, being inhabitants of the west side of the river at Hadley, sheweth—(May 3, 1667,)—that, whereas it hath pleased God to make you the fathers of this Commonwealth, and it hath pleased the Lord, by your great care and diligence under him, to continue our peace and plenty of outward things, and in a more especial manner the chieftest and principal of all, the Gospel of peace, with the liberty of his Sabbaths, which mercies your humble petitioners desire to be thankful unto God and you for, that you are so ready and willing for to help those that stand in need of help, which hath encouraged us your humble petitioners for to make this our address, petition and request, to you for relief in this our present distressed state and condition.

First, your petitioners, together with their families within the bounds of Hadley town, upon the west side of the river, commonly called by the name of Connecticut river, where we for the most part have lived about 6 years, have attended on God's ordinances on the other side of the river, at the appointed seasons that we could or durst pass over the river, the passing being very difficult and dangerous, both in summer and winter, which thing hath proved and is an oppressive burden for us to bear, which, if by any lawful means it may be avoided, we should be glad and thankful to this honored court to ease us therein, conceiving it to be a palpable breach of the Sabbath, although it be a maxim in law: *nemo debet esse judex in propria causa*, yet, by the Word of God to us, it is evidently plain to be a breach of the Sabbath: Ex. xxxv: 2; Levit. xxiii: 3, yet many times we are forced to it; for we must come at the instant of time, be the season how it will. Sometimes we come in considerable numbers in rainy weather, and are forced to stay till we can empty our canoes that are half full of water, and before we can get to the meeting-house, are wet to the skin. At other times, in winter seasons, we are forced to cut and work them out of the ice, till our shirts be wet upon our backs. At other times, the winds are high and waters rough, the current strong and the waves ready to swallow us—our vessels tossed up and down so that our women and children do screech, and are so affrighted that they are made unfit for ordinances, and cannot hear so as to profit by them, by reason of their anguish of spirit; and when they return, some of them are more fit for their beds than for family duties and God's services, which they ought to attend.

In brevity and verity, our difficulties and dangers that we undergo are to us extreme and intolerable; oftentimes some of us have fallen into the river through the ice, and had they not had better help than themselves, they had been drowned. Sometimes we have been obliged to carry others when they have broken in, to the knees as they have carried them out, and that none hitherto hath been lost, their lives are to be attributed to the care and mercy of God.

There is about four score and ten persons on our side of the river, that are capable of receiving good by ordinances, but it is seldom that above half of them can go to attend, what through the difficulty of passage and staying at home by turns and warding, some being weak and small which, notwithstanding, if the means were on our side the river, they might have the benefit of the ordinances which now they are deprived of to the grief of us all. Further, when we do go over the river, we leave our relatives and estates lying on the outside of the colony, joining to the wilderness, to be a prey to the heathen, when they see their opportunity. Yet, notwithstanding, our greatest anxiety and pressure of spirit is that the Sabbath, which should be kept by us holy to the Lord, is spent with such unavoidable distractions, both of the mind and of the body. And for the removing of this, we unanimously have made our address to our brethren and friends on the other side of the river, by a petition that they would be pleased to grant us liberty to be a society of ourselves, and that we might call a minister to dispense the word of God to us, but this, by them, would not be granted, although, in the month of June, in the year 1665, it was agreed and voted, at a town meeting, that when the west side had a call of God thereto, they might be a society of themselves. We sent a second time to them, entreating that according to said agreement they would grant our request to put it to a hearing, but they will not, so that we, your humble petitioners, have no other way or means, that we know of, but to make our humble address to this honored court for relief, in this our distressed state, humbly praying this honored court to vouchsafe your poor petitioners that favor as to be a society of ourselves, and have liberty to settle a minister to dispense the ordinances of the Lord unto us, which we hope will be for the furtherance of the work of the Lord amongst us, and for our peace and safety.

Not that we desire to make any breach among brethren, for to attain our desires, nor yet to hinder the great work of the Lord amongst us, but that which we aim at is the contrary. Thus, committing our cause to God and this honored court, and all other your weighty affairs, we leave to the protection and guidance of the Almighty, which is the prayer of your humble petitioners.—May 3, 1667.

Thomas Meekins, Sr.,	Daniel White,	John Allis,
Wm. Allis,	John Welles,	Obadiah Dickinson,
John Coule, Sr.,	Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr.,	Samuel Gillet,
Isaac Graves,	Eleazer Frary,	John Field,
Richard Billing,	Samuel Billing,	John Coule, Jr.,
Wm. Gull,	Samuel Dickinson,	Ursula Fellows,
Samuel Belden,	Thomas Meekins, Jr.,	Mary Field.
John Graves,	Samuel Kelog,	
Daniel Warner,	Barnabas Hinsdell,	

John Coleman, Philip Russell, Samuel Allis and Benjamin Wait did not sign the petition; perhaps they did not all reside on the west side in May, 1667.

An abstract of "the Answer of the inhabitants of Hadley on the east side to the complaints made by them of the same town on the west side."

We have done our brethren and neighbors no wrong. We hold to the covenant made between us, which was done upon their desire. This covenant related to the upholding of the worship of God among us. We think that granting what they request will be the breaking and marring of them and ourselves, as we are together too weak. Should we grant their desire we should sin against the Lord, ourselves and them. We desire that nothing may be done by this Court to the making void of the agreements between us.—May 7, 1667.

This answer was signed by 44 of the inhabitants of the east side.

The General Court heard the allegations of both parties, presented by Thomas Meekins, William Allis and Isaac Graves, in behalf of the petitioners, and by Mr. John Russell, pastor, Mr. Samuel Smith and Mr. Peter Tilton in behalf of the town. They judged it not best to make a division at present; thought the best expedient would be for them jointly to settle another minister, who would accommodate those on the west side, when the passage of the river was difficult.

The petition of the west side was again presented in September, 1667, and a committee reported, but the two houses disagreed, and the report was not accepted.

The two sides had some correspondence in 1667, and in the early part of 1668, but could not agree. The east side were willing to have a second minister, but expected the west side people would attend worship on the east side, except when the passage was difficult. The west side desired to be a society by themselves, and to have a minister constantly with them.

In April, 1668, the east side inhabitants sent to the General Court another answer to the complaints of those on the west side. It was written by Mr. Russell, and is very long. Some part of it follows.

When we moved to this plantation, we engaged to each other to have two ministers. We gave to poor men liberty to suit themselves, and those who had more estate denied themselves, not taking up half as much as they might have done, no man having more than 45* acres of interval land. This was done in respect to maintaining the ministry and ordinances. When those on the west side of the river took up land there, they did it on condition that they were to be one with us and to come to the east side on the Sabbath, except in extraordinary times, one of the ministers would go over to them. The meeting-house was to be set where it is, for their sakes, to our great inconvenience. The difficulties of crossing the river were presented to them at first, and they chose to go. In some other towns, the river is crossed on the Sabbath. It is doubtful whether they can make a plantation of themselves. The place does not afford boggy meadows† or such like, that men can live upon, but their subsistence must be from their homelots and intervals. A great part of these men are in near relation to us and we would not injure them. If the Court judge that our brethren have a call of God to be by themselves, we trust we shall do our duty without disturbance. Our place is hard, remote and inconvenient. In asking that the river may be the bounds between them and us, and all the land on that side pay public charges to them, they demand what is unjust. We are about 46 or 47‡ families, and if the river be the bounds, we shall not have so much land to maintain public ordinances as they, who are a little more than half as many. Signed by Henry Clarke, John Russell, Jr., William Goodwin, Andrew Bacon and William Lewis, in the name of the rest of the inhabitants of Hadley, on the east side of the river.

April 22, 1668.

William Allis and Isaac Graves, who were in Boston, made a long reply, May, 1668, in behalf of the inhabitants on the west side, to the declaration of their brethren and neighbors on the east side.

They owned the covenant of 1660, but did not suppose such a covenant perpetual, when things should so change as to require an alteration. Thought they had a clear call of God to be a society. Mentioned the hazard of passing the river. In nine Sabbaths from Dec. 15 to Feb. 16, 1667-8, they were hindered from going over by the danger of the river. There was danger from the Indians. One of their houses was burnt on the Sabbath some time ago, and they saw the beginning, but could render no relief. They had only their proportion of the lands jointly purchased. All was equalized by a committee. "When the meeting-house was put where it is, we declared that it should be no engagement to us, and desired them to set it where they pleased."—The subject was postponed to the next session.

November 7, 1668. "In answer to the petitioners on the west side of the river at Hadley, the Court judgeth it meet that they be allowed to procure an able minister to settle with them on their side of the river, for whose maintenance they are carefully and comfortably to provide, and shall be freed from the maintenance of the minister on the east side, unless the inhabitants on the east side of the river and they shall agree together for the maintenance and allowance of both jointly; provided that the inhabitants of the west side shall not rate any of the estates or lands of the inhabitants of the east side lying on the west side of the river, towards the maintenance of their ministry."

In May, 1669, John Russell, pastor, and William Goodwin, ruling elder, in the name of the church, pointed out some diffi-

*This is nearly correct. Though some had 50½ acres of land, this included 4 or 5 acres of the Meadow Plain, that was not interval land, and was not so considered.

†They here allude to the water grass or sedge, of which much was formerly mowed.

‡According to this statement, the number of families had not increased in 5 or 6 years. The population had increased.

culties in the preceding order, and desired explanations from the General Court. The Court replied and made explanations, and judged it reasonable that the inhabitants of the west side should have the unappropriated lands on that side.

Thomas Meekins and Isaac Graves informed the Court, May, 1669, that the west side had done much towards setting up a meeting-house, and as to a minister, "we have already pitched upon a man, who is recommended to us by sundry reverend and godly persons, and hope we shall obtain his help. The man whom we have in our eye is one Mr. Atherton, a son of the late Worshipful Humphrey Atherton, of Dorchester."

In October, 1669, the east side remaining unsatisfied, the Court appointed a committee from Northampton and Springfield, but they do not appear to have met; and on the 22d of December, 1669, the following agreement ended the contest for many years.

"Articles of agreement between the inhabitants on the east side of the river in Hadley with those of the same town on the west side of the river.

1. It is covenanted and agreed that those on the east side of the river do grant and give to those on the west side, liberty to be a distinct town or township of themselves, and so of and among themselves to carry on all of their common or town occasions; and this to take place as soon as the Gen. Court shall grant their approbation or allowance thereof.

2. For the bounds of each society or town, those on the east side are to have and enjoy now and forever the free and full disposal of all the land on the east side of the river, for the maintaining of all common charges respecting things ecclesiastical or civil.

And on the west side, the bounds between the two societies or towns are to be the highway between their several furlongs of land, viz. the highway running from the river to the Widow Fellows her house; and from thence downwards, the fence to be the bounds until it comes to the Mill river, and then the river to be the bounds until it meets with Mr. Webster's lot in Little Ponsett; and from thence the fence of Little Ponsett to be the bounds unto Connecticut River, where the end of the said fence is; this to be and remain forever the bounds of each society or town, for the maintaining of the rights and privileges of each; viz. all the land on the lower or southwest side of the highway shall be unto the society or town of Hadley on the east side of Connecticut, and all every parcel thereof to pay all common charges to the said town of Hadley on the east side of the river. Except those lands within the said highway and fence which are already either given or sold to inhabitants on the west side; which land or parcells of land are the whole accommodations of Mr. Terry on the west side the river; and the whole accommodations of Nathaniel Dickinson, sen. and half of Mr. Webster's accommodations there, and John Hawks his whole accommodations, and all Joseph Kellogg's, and all Adam Nicholls his, and that which was Samuel Gardner's in Little Ponset, and Goodman Crow's in Little Ponsett, and Nathaniel Stanley's in Little Ponsett, and Richard Montague's in Great Ponsett; and Jos. Baldwin's whole accommodations, and John White's in Great Ponsett, and John Dickinson's in Little Ponsett; and except 12 acres and a half above and besides all this when it shall be given or sold to an inhabitant or inhabitants on the west side of the river; all the other land within the lower part or S. West side of the highway and the forenamed fence to be to the town on the east side of the river forever.

And the Society on the west side of the river are to have for their bounds all the lands on the west side of the river of Connecticut, except what lies within the highway from the river to the widow Fellows her house, and within the fence abovenamed. All the rest of the land not within the said highway and fence to be to the town and society on the west side of the

river and at their free and full dispose forever, for the maintaining of all common charges respecting things civil and ecclesiastical. And they also are to have all the land within the highway and fence on the south west or lower side of the river, that is already given or sold to any inhabitant on the west side, which land in all the particulars and parcels of it is above specified, with 12½ acres more, which shall be next given or sold to any inhabitants, &c.; to be to the society and town on the west side for the maintaining of all common charges forever. Only provided they shall not dispose of any land without the consent of the town, to any that are not approved and settled inhabitants of the town, until the General Court have granted them to be a town of themselves, and then forthwith and forever to have the full dispose of all the land on the west side the river except that above excepted, for the maintenance of all common charges.

3. It is mutually agreed and covenanted that the society or town of Hadley on the east side of the river, have liberty to get fencing stuff on the west side of the river, for their land lying on that side the river, both now and from time to time always, as also to get timber if any see cause to build a barn or shelter for securing his fruits raised there. The present fence in being, and the rest of the common fence [an omission here.]

4. The inhabitants of the west side shall allow to those on the east side the sum of 6£ as the remainder of what is due for purchase money to the said inhabitants on the east side.

5. In case there shall hereafter be a ferry between these two places, this agreement shall be no detriment with respect thereto to those on either side more than if they continued one town.

Hereunto as a full and final issue of all controversy respecting our bounds of each society, and the manner or way of maintaining their public charges, (notwithstanding all manner of sales or gifts that shall or may be,) we who were chosen by each Company, viz. those on the east and those on the west side the river respectively, and impowered to issue the said difference, have set to our hands, this present 22d of December, 1669.

Henry Clarke,	Tho. Meekins, sen.
John Russel, Jr.	William Allice,
Samuel Smith,	John Coule, sen.
Nathaniel Dickinson, sr.	Isaak Graves,
Peter Tillton,	Samuel Belden.

This agreement was copied from the original paper in the handwriting of Mr. Russell, which was sent down to Boston by Hadley, in the second controversy with Hatfield, about 1710, and remains among the public archives in the state-house.

The town of Hatfield was incorporated on the 31st of May, 1670, and a copy of the acts from the printed records, is annexed.

"In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Hadley on the west side of the riuer, that they may be allowed to be a toune of themselves, distinct from Hadley on the east side, the deputy of Hadley certifying that that toune haue consented to release them if this Court doe approove thereof, &c. this Court doe therefore allow them on the west side of the riuer, to be a touneship distinct from them on the east side of the riuer, and doe grant them a tract of land westward, sixe miles back into the woods from the great river; their southerly bounds to be Northampton northerly bounds, and the land which Hadley reserves to themselues, and from their sajd southerly ljne to runne vp the riuer northerly upon the square sixe miles; their northerly bounds likewise to runne backe from the great riuer sixe miles westward, as before, reserving proprietjes formerly granted to any person; and that this toune be called Hattfeilds."

Hatfield was named from one of the three Hatfields in England, perhaps from Hatfield Broad Oak in Essex, so called from a broad-spread oak.

Proceedings of the West Side and Hatfield.—On the 6th of November, 1668, the west side held a side-meeting, and voted to build a meeting-house 30 feet square, and chose a committee to procure timber, call out men, &c. On the 21st of November, they chose three men to procure a minister "to dispense the word of God to us," and in April, 1669, they sent men to Boston, who "pitched upon" Mr. Hope Atherton of Dorchester. The side manifested unanimously, May 17, 1669, that they were willing to call Mr. Atherton to the work of the ministry, and to give him 50£ a year. Before Nov. 25, 1670, Mr. Atherton had accepted a call from the town of Hatfield to settle among them, and they had voted to give him a houselot and meadow land, to build him a house 40 feet long and 20 wide, double story, and to allow him 60 pounds a year, two-thirds in wheat and one-third in pork. There is no record of the forming of the church, or of the ordination of Mr. Atherton. These acts took place after March 28, 1671, perhaps in April. Before the close of 1671, this small town had settled a minister, giving him 60£ a year, and built a house for him which cost above 90£, and a meeting-house. Only 6 of the males were members of any church, including Mr. Atherton. The church-members and those not so, were like-minded and united in all their proceedings.

Hatfield may have had 30 families in 1670. The persons taxed in 1678, after the Indian war, were 48, and in 1682, 57. The number of families in 1682 may have been 48 or 50. They had five selectmen and other town officers as in Hadley. The herdmen and shepherds were recorded. Men were employed in the spring to burn the woods. Hatfield usually had a school after 1678, and probably before; and a school-house was built in 1681. Doct. Thomas Hastings was one of the teachers, but most of them were educated at Harvard College. They received from 30 to 35£ a year in grain at the usual prices, and boarded themselves, previous to 1700. A few girls attended the school, or might attend if they paid the same as boys. The scholars paid about two-thirds of the salary, and the school did not become free till 1722.—The small meeting-house had galleries and a turret and bell, and the bell was to be rung at nine o'clock in 1686. The meeting-house was in the street, and the pulpit was at the west end, and there was an aisle from the east door to the pulpit. A second meeting-house was voted Nov. 13, 1699; it was to be 45 feet square, "with gable windows upon each square of the roof." —Mr. Hope Atherton, the first minister, died June 8, 1677. Mr. Nathaniel Chauncey, the second minister, died Nov. 2, 1685.

He had of the town a house, barn, homelot, firewood, and a salary of 60 pounds, in produce at the usual prices. Mr. William Williams was the third minister, 1686. His salary was 70£,—not equal to 175 silver dollars.

In 1692, Hatfield began a new contest with Hadley, demanding that the river should be the boundary between them, and gained her object in 1733. The attempt of Hatfield to carry her south line into territory long in possession of Northampton, failed in 1720, after a dispute of 26 years. Col. Samuel Partrigg or Partridge was powerful in Hatfield, and for many years was the most prominent man in the county.

CHAPTER X

County of Hampshire—Towns and Churches before 1700—Courts in Hampshire—Town marks—Hadley Cases in Courts—Presentments for wearing silks—Expenses of Courts—Transportation—Sleds—Prices of grain—Contributions for Harvard College.

Feb. 26, 1662, Springfield appointed a committee, "concerning settling the towns in this western part of the colony, into the form of a county." On the 7th of May, 1662, the General Court established the County of Hampshire, by the following act:—

Forasmuch as the inhabitants of this jurisdiction are much encreased, so that now they are planted farre into the country vpon Conecticott Riuer, who by reason of their remotenes cannot conveniently be annexed to any of the countyes already setled, & that publicke affaires may with more facility be transacted according to lawes heere established, it is ordered by this Court & authority thereof, that henceforth Springfeild, Northampton, and Hadley shall be & hereby are constituted as a county, the bounds or ljmitts on the south to be the south ljne of the pattent, the extent of other bounds to be full thirty miles distant from any or either of the foresajd tounes, & what tounes or villages soeuer shall hereafter be erected within the foresajd precincts to be & belong to the sajd county; and further, that the sajd county shall be called Hampshire, & shall haue & enjoy the libertjes & priviledges of any other county; & that Springfeild shall be the shire toune there, & the Courts to be kept one time at Springfeild & another time at Northampton; the like order to be observed for their shire meetings, that is to say, one yeere at one toune, & the next yeare at the other, from time to tjme. And it is further ordered, that all the inhabitants of that shire shall pay their publicke rates to the countrey in fatt catle, or young catle, such as fitt to be putt off, that no vnnecessary damage be put on the country; & in case they make payment in corne, then to be made at such prises as the same doe commonly passe amongst themselves, any other former or annuall orders referring to the prises of corne notwithstanding.

When Hampshire was incorporated, it had but three towns, Springfield, Northampton and Hadley. Westfield was allowed

to be a township, May 19, 1669. Hatfield was incorporated May 31, 1670; it was settled before Westfield. Deerfield* was allowed the "liberty of a township," May 7, 1673; it was destroyed in 1675 and re-settled about 1682. Brookfield was incorporated Oct. 15, 1673; it was destroyed in 1675 and re-settled by a few, and a garrison was kept there. It had not town privileges again till 1718. Suffield, often called Southfield, had an informal incorporation, June 3, 1674; the people dispersed in 1675, and returned after the Indian war. Enfield was made a town, May 16, 1683. These nine towns (including Brookfield) composed the county of Hampshire in 1700. Squakeag, (Northfield,) granted in 1672, had been twice settled and twice broken up. Swampfield, (Sunderland,) was granted in 1673, to sundry inhabitants of Hadley, and preparations were made for settlement, but owing to Indian wars, and fear of Indians, it remained desolate forty years. Longmeadow and West Springfield were old settlements, but belonged to Springfield.

Nine churches were organized in the county before 1700, viz., 1st, at Springfield; 2d, Hadley; 3d, Northampton, 1661; 4th, Hatfield, 1671; 5th, Westfield, 1679; 6th, Deerfield, 1688; Suffield; Enfield; West Springfield, 1698.

Courts in Hampshire.—County Courts were regularly held twice a year, viz., at Northampton in March, and at Springfield in September. They had probate jurisdiction. Capital causes were tried by the Court of Assistants at Boston, and not by County Courts. The Hampshire courts were held by the Springfield commissioners till March, 1663, excepting two courts where John Webster was the principal judge. In 1663, 1664 and in March, 1665, the courts were held by the town commissioners of the three towns. From 1665 to 1687, one or two magistrates with two, three or four men, nominated by the freemen of the county, and approved by the General Court, and called Associates, were judges of the County Courts. John Pynchon was the first magistrate† in Hampshire county, and was chosen in 1665, and Peter Tilton was the second, in 1680. They presided in the County Courts, and were members of the house of magistrates at Boston, and judges of the Court of Assistants. John Webster and some others had "magistratical power," but it did not extend beyond the county. From 1663 to 1687, the commissioners and associate

*It was then Pacomtuck. It had no other incorporation.

†His father, William Pynchon, was a magistrate at Springfield many years, before there was any Hampshire county.

judges from Hadley were Henry Clarke, 11 years, Samuel Smith, 8 years, Andrew Bacon, Peter Tilton and Philip Smith, about 3 years each, and Samuel Partrigg, one year. Capt. Aaron Cooke was one of the justices of the courts from 1687 until his death in 1716.

The courts were differently formed under Andros in 1687: and under the new charter, 1692, a Superior Court was substituted for a Court of Assistants, and Courts of Sessions, of Common Pleas, and of Probate, for County Courts.—Provision was made for a yearly session of the Superior Court at Springfield, but owing to hazard from the Indians, and the necessity of a guard for the judges, it is supposed that no regular Superior Court was held in Hampshire county till some years after 1700, perhaps not till 1716. In 1698, some judges that came up to Springfield, to try a person for murder, had a guard up of 26 troopers.

Twelve jurors from the towns attended at every County Court. There was but one jury previous to 1687, the jury of trials serving as a grand jury, as provided in the act incorporating Hadley, May 22, 1661. The Court remarked in 1676, that this was allowed as a favor, the county being small, to prevent the charge of two juries. Corporal Richard Coy, from whom Coy's Hill received its name, was a juror from Brookfield in 1674 and in March, 1675, but that place, which was laid waste in 1675, sent no other juror for more than 40 years.

A county Treasurer was chosen yearly. Peter Tilton held the office about ten years. A county Marshal was appointed by the court in 1668. After 1692, there was a county Sheriff instead of a Marshal. The second Samuel Porter held the office several years, and in 1696, executed two Indians for murder. Elizur Holyoke was Recorder for the courts from 1660 to his death in 1676. Samuel Partrigg succeeded for Northampton courts, and John Holyoke for Springfield courts. James Cornish was Clerk under Andros, 1687 to 1689.

A prison or House of Correction, with a house for the prison keeper under the same roof, was begun at Springfield in 1661 and finished in 1668. Most of the boards, plank and timber were sawed by hand. It was 40 feet long. Simon Lobdell was the first prison keeper in 1668. It was burnt by the Indians in 1675, and another was built, 1677—1680, which cost about 60£.

A prison was built in Northampton in 1707, 24 by 16 feet besides the chimney, and a small house at the end for the keeper. It stood near the site of the new town hall.

Town marks in Hampshire.—Every town was required to have a distinct mark for cattle and horses, appointed by the General Court, and all these animals which fed in open common without constant keepers, were to have a brand-mark upon the horn, or left buttock or shoulder, that it might be known to what town they belonged. In 1681, brand-marks were ordered by the Court for the Hampshire towns, viz., S. P. for Springfield, N. H. for Northampton, H. D. for Hadley, H. F. for Hatfield, W. F. for Westfield, and S. and something else for Suffield. The two letters for each town were united, as HD for Hadley.

Hadley Cases in Court.

The people of Hadley were in general staid, regular and peaceful, and not inclined to quarrels and law-suits. Most of the people of Northampton and Hatfield were similar. There were more contentions and litigious persons in the southern towns in the county, especially in Suffield. Hadley people had but little business for the courts. Misdemeanors were rare, and those who committed them were usually servants, transient persons, or a few wild young men of the town. A large portion of the white servants in this country for a century were Europeans, brought over by captains of vessels and their services sold for a few years, to pay their passage. The poor people of Great Britain could come to the colonies in no other way.

1662. Richard Fellows sued Judith Varlete (a Dutch woman) of Hartford, for defamation, in saying Fellows had played the rogue. Jury found for plaintiff 10s. damages, and 13s. 6d. costs.

1662. William Pixley vs. Joseph Root of Northampton, for slander. The jury found for Pixley, £10.

1663. Benjamin Wait, for being the author of a libelous writing found about Goodwife Hawks's door, defaming her, was to pay her 5£ and pay costs.

1664. Hadley was fined forty shillings, for not prosecuting their appeal from the County Court to the Court of Assistants, in the case of Richard Billings, respecting land.

1664. Richard Goodman had a servant named John Mardin. He ran away and stole a gun, powder and a hdkf. He was taken at Windsor: and was sentenced to be whipped 10 stripes. The damages and expenses amounted to £5.0.4, and he was to pay this, by serving his master six months after his apprenticeship had expired.

1665. The legatees of John Barnard demanded of Andrew Warner, pay for a malt-house, which was burnt down in his occupation. The parties agreed.

1666. Thomas Meekins, the miller on the west side, was fined 3s. 4d. for not carrying his weights and measures to the sealer when notified.

1666. Wm. Goodwin had a servant named Thomas Helme, and Stephen Terry had one named Joshua Wills. Both ran away, and took a horse from Mr. Goodwin and some other things. The horse valued at 10£ was lost, and they were ordered to pay treble damage, 30£, and charges, £10, 11s. Helme was to serve Mr. Goodwin two years and Wills to serve him 18 months, and Mr. Terry 6 months, after their time had expired. Also both fined 40 shillings each.

1668. Sept. Hadley was presented for one or two defective bridges, in the way between Hadley and Chickopee river. They amended the defects, and were discharged.

Death of Samuel Nash and Decision of the Court.

"May 23, 1668. A Jury of twelve men was summoned by the Constable of Hadley to enquire concerning the sudden and untimely death of Samuel, son of Timothy Nash. The child was about 9 or 10 years old. Mr. Henry Clark and Andrew Bacon gave the jury their oath. They, after diligent search respecting the cause of this death, did find:—'That said boy coming riding upon a mare from pasture, having a long rope fastened about the mare's neck, & fastened about the boy's waist, a dog coming out, frightened the mare, so that the mare threw the boy & ran away with him, dragging him about 40 rods, and broke over five rails, the rails being broken down, he was dragged over them into and through a narrow gate, into his father's yard, and died forthwith.' [Signed by 12 Hadley men.]

"Att a County Corte* holden at Northampton ye 30th day of ye 1st Month 1669 [March 30, 1669.]

"Tymothy Nash of Hadley presenting a complaynt this winter before ye worshipfull Capt. Pynchon against Mr Goodwin concerning the untimely death of his child ye last summer, and the sde Capt Pynchon by warrant under his hand dated Feb. 27—68 warning the sde Mr Goodwin to appeare at this Corte, he being very weake in body & not able to attend ye Corte in his own person, Mr Andrew Bacon and William Lewis appeared to answer on his behalfe. And now at this Corte the sde Timothy Nash presented his complt in that his child, a member of this Common Wealth is lost; and that as he apprehends by means of Mr. Goodwins dog frightening the mare upon which the child rode shee throwing the child.

The Corte having heard ye case long debated & considered ye allegations & evidences on all hands doe conceive & judge yt there is not ground to lay such blame on Mr. Goodwin as is pretended in the sde Timothy Nash his complt, for yt it doth not appeare yt Mr. Goodwin or Mrs. Goodwin had sufficient notice given them of their dogs curstness or any due warning to restrayne their dog; and therefore the Corte doth acquitt them, as to have such legall warning as aforesaid; But yet inasmuch as it appeares that the sde dog was something more than ordinary active in running after persons riding their horses in ye street whereby diverse persons have had falls from their horses. This Corte doth apprehend that Mr. Goodwin or Mrs. Goodwin might probably know something yt way, and Mr. Crow who exercised care about Mr. Goodwin's affaires: And therefore yt they may be blame worthy in not taking care as they ought, to have restraynd that dog. And therefore this Corte doth beare witness against all neglects in such matters whereby the lives of persons may be hazzarded. Also ye Corte apprehends that the said dog hath been partly an occasion of the death of the said child, though yet divers other things did concur to yt sad accident, but specially the child's winding a rope about its own wast ye other end whereof was tyed about ye mare's neck, & the child having nothing whereby he might well rule her, yt when shee threw ye child, shee dragged him after her to its destruction.

Wherefore the Corte also accounteth Goodm. Nash or his Wife blame worthy in not haveing a more strict watch over their son, but letting him go to fetch ye mare from pasture with such meane tackling. And there being much trouble in hearing this case, the Corte ordered yt Mr. Goodwin and Goodman Nash shall pay 10s. apiece towards defraying Corte charges."

Remarks by Rev. Sylvester Nash.—The decision of the Court obviously turned on a legal quibble, viz., the want of *legal notice*, while the court allowed that Mr. Goodwin probably knew of his dog's *curstness*. And well they might, if diverse persons had been thrown from their horses, endangering their lives! The decision may be deemed at least a *legal curiosity*.

1669. The names of several persons in Hadley were returned to the court, for not living under family government. The court ordered the selectmen of Hadley to inquire into such disorders, and settle young persons under government, according to law.

1670. Richard Fellows (son of Richard) and Benjamin Allen, of the west side, for coming into the yard of Thomas Meekins, Jr. and cutting off the hair of the mane and tail of his horse, were fined one 30s., the other 15s. Allen was a servant.

1670. March. Mr. Russell's negro servant, Margaret, had a child, and was to be whipped 15 stripes; and the father, John Garret, was to be whipped 24 stripes, and pay to Mr. Russell £7, 10s.

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*Corte is a contraction of the recorder for Courte.

1674. Hezekiah Dickinson sued Garret Tuenson of Albany. Jury found for Dickinson, 16 pounds of beaver, and costs, 29s. 6d. [There was some trade by people on this river with the Dutch at Albany.]

1675. March. Joseph Selding was presented for cutting and disfiguring John Smith's horse. Maj. Pynchon was directed to deal with him.

1676. Sept. Joseph Selding was fined 20 shillings for abusing the Constable.

Great Riot in Hadley, chiefly of young men, Feb. 15, 1676.—At March court, 1676, nine men were charged with being actors in a riotous assembly in Hadley, on the 15th of February, where there was a public affronting of authority, in the stopping and hindering of the execution of a sentence which was ordered by authority. The record does not tell what the sentence was, nor against whom it was directed. It was in the time of Philip's war, when there were many soldiers in Hadley.

Edward Grannis was a leader in the riotous assembly, and said the sentence should not be executed. He was adjudged to be whipped 12 stripes, well laid on. Jonathan Gilbert, Jr. and Joseph Selding were bound in a bond of 10 pounds each for good behavior. Thomas Dickinson was fined 3£. Nehemiah Dickinson, William Rooker, Thomas Croft and Jonathan Marsh were fined 5£ each. Samuel Barnard was present in the riotous assembly with his club, though his father, Francis Barnard, commanded him not to be there, and he was accused of plotting with some of the garrison soldiers to go to Narraganset. The court adjudged him to be whipped 12 stripes, but he made a humble acknowledgment, and his father pleaded for him, and his sentence was changed to a fine of 5£.

1677. Daniel Hovey vs. Mr. John Russell, Jr. for defaming him at the last court in Springfield, by saying he was a man of scandalous life. Jury brought in for Hovey, cost of court, 33s. 6d.

1677. John Fisher of Hadley, for slandering and reviling Thomas Beaman of Hatfield and his mother, saying that he was the son of a w—— and that his mother was a witch and that he looked like one, was ordered to pay the county 20s. and Thomas Beaman 40s. [To say that a person was a witch and had bewitched any one, was slanderous and actionable in England.—Comyns.]

1677. Thomas Beaman was ordered to pay 10s. to the county and 10s. to John Fisher, for falling upon him and beating him.

1678. Jane Jackson, servant of Lt. Philip Smith, had stolen from her master, and then lied about it. Sentenced to be whipped 20 lashes, upon her naked back which punishment was performed in Court. [She would have been hanged for stealing in England.]

1682. Gershom Hawks for having a pack of cards and refusing to tell whose they were, was fined 20s.

1682. March. Joseph Kellogg, Jr. and Gershom Hawks were fined 10s. each for breach of the Sabbath, having traveled till midnight in the night before the Sabbath.

1683. William Wake, a vagabond, for enticing away the servant of Joseph Selding, and stealing some of his goods, was adjudged to be whipped on his naked body 20 lashes, well laid on.

1686. March. Cyrus, Mr. Russell's negro, for fraudulent dealings with the Indians and violent carriages in his master's house, was to be whipped 15 stripes at Hadley, on the next lecture day, or pay 50s. to satisfy the Indians, &c.

1690. An illegitimate child was born in Hadley in 1690, the only white child born out of wedlock in Hadley in the 17th century. The parents were married a few months after.

1693. Mr. Peter Golding of Hadley was fined 5£ for scurrilous and vilifying expressions respecting Peter Tilton, Esq., charging him with packing a court, &c. Mr. Golding appealed to the Superior Court at Charlestown.

1696. Joseph Selden, (or Selding,) being in the court room when two of his relatives named Church were fined 20s. each for abusing the constable, spoke out, and said there was no color of law in what was done; that the men were not guilty; and when in discourse, Samuel Partridge, Esq., one of the justices, said, "so it seems," Selden, in a scoffing manner

replied, "so it seems," and again Partridge said "so it seems," and again Selden replied "so it seems." Further, Selden took up the tongs in the room where the justices sat and lit his pipe, and threw down the tongs violently and used many unhandsome expressions. He was fined 20 shillings. [This Joseph Selden, so passionate and unruly in Hadley, became a wealthy and respectable man, in the north part of Lyme, Conn.]

Wearing of the river.—In 1692, the year of the great flood, the river did much damage to the county road at the south end of the town (village.) The court appointed three men of Northampton, to join with the selectmen of Hadley, and consider what must be done to settle said highway.—The river had been wearing there some years. This is the first notice of it by the County Court.

Law regulating dress.—Sumptuary laws restraining excess of apparel in some classes, were common in England and other nations for centuries. Massachusetts enacted such a law in 1651, ordering that persons whose estates did not exceed 200 pounds, and those dependent on them, should not wear gold or silver lace, gold or silver buttons, bone lace above 2s. per yard, or silk hoods or scarfs, upon penalty of 10s. for each offense. Any persons wearing such articles might be assessed in country rates, as if they had estates of 200 pounds.

The first attempt to have this law observed in Hampshire, was made in 1673. At the March court, 25 wives and 5 maids, belonging to Springfield, Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield and Westfield, were presented by the jury, as persons of small estate, who "use to wear silk contrary to law." Six of these belonged to Hadley, viz.,

Wife of John Westcarr—was acquitted.
" Joseph Barnard—was fined 10s. and cost, 2s. 6d.
" Thomas Wells, Jr.—was admonished.
" Edward Grannis—was admonished.
" Joseph Kellogg—was acquitted.
Maid, Mary Broughton—was admonished.

Of the thirty, only three were fined, and the fines were remitted at the next court.

At the March court, 1674, the wife of Edward Grannis was again presented for wearing silk. Her silk hood and scarf were brought into court, and "though something worn, they had been good silk." She was fined 10 shillings.

At the March court, 1676, the jury presented 68 persons, from five towns, viz., 38 wives and maids, and 30 young men, "some for wearing silk and that in a flaunting manner, and others for long hair and other extravagancies." Two were fined 10 shillings, and many of the others were ordered to pay the clerk's fees, 2s. 6d. each. There were ten from Hadley, viz., Joseph Barnard and his wife Sarah, and his sister Sarah, William Rooker, Thomas Crofts, Jonathan Wells, Joseph Grannis, Nehemiah Dickinson,

wife of Mark Warner; and the wife of Thomas Wells, Jr. who was fined 10 shillings. Nine were admonished and ordered to pay the clerk's fees. Several of the 68 presented were wives, daughters or sons of men of good estate. Two unmarried daughters of Elder John Strong of Northampton were of this number.

In January, 1677, Mrs. Hannah Westcarr, "for wearing silk in a flaunting garb, to the great offence of several sober persons in Hadley" was admonished to reform. Her husband died the year before and left her an estate of 431 pounds. At the same court, a daughter of Joseph Baldwin, Jr., the wives of Joseph Gaylord and Thomas Selding, Ruth Warner and Mercy Hubbard, for wearing silk contrary to law, and two of them for wearing it "in a flaunting manner, and excess of apparel to the offence of sober people," were admonished and ordered to pay the clerk's fees and the witnesses. Andrew Warner, the father of Ruth, was worth 356£. If Mercy Hubbard was a daughter of John H., her father died worth 1063£. Estates seem not to have been much regarded.

In March, 1678, 8 females of Northampton, Springfield, &c. were complained of for wearing silk contrary to law, in this day of calamity and trouble. Two were fined 10 shillings, some paid clerk's fees, and some were referred to another court.

The boldest of these females was Hannah Lyman, 16 years of age, daughter of Richard Lyman, of Northampton, deceased. She was presented September, 1676, "for wearing silk in a flaunting manner in an offensive way and garb, not only before, but when she stood presented, not only in ordinary but in extraordinary times." She was fined 10s., Jan. 1677.

The March Courts in those days were held at the house of Henry Woodward in Northampton, who kept an ordinary, near where Samuel F. Lyman now resides. Most of these women and men from five towns, came to this house, and appeared before the judges in the court-room. They, and the spectators attracted by the novelty of the scene, must have filled the house. Those on the bench when the females appeared in court, March, 1673, were John Pynchon and Elizur Holyoke of Springfield, William Clarke of Northampton, and Henry Clarke of Hadley.

In September, 1682, the selectmen of the five towns were all presented to the court, for not assessing according to law, their inhabitants that wore silk and were excessive in their apparel. The court endeavored to stir up the selectmen to assess those wearing unsuitable and excessive apparel, but it was too late;

the women had already gained the victory, and no longer feared fines or taxes for wearing silks.—Many good men lamented the extravagance of the age, and the love of finery, among the women.

Expenses of Hampshire Courts.—Their sessions continued one, two or three days. The commissioners or judges, jurors and a constable, or marshal, making 16 to 18 persons, dined together, or dined at the same price, every court day, at the ordinary where the court sat, and those from other towns had supper, lodging, and breakfast. Some wine and considerable beer were drank. The judges and jurymen of these upper towns, in order to attend court one day at Springfield, had to be absent two nights. They lived well, the ordinary keeper charging much more than the common price for their meals. Their food, drink and horse-keeping, which were paid for by the county, seem to have been the principal compensation that they received. John Pynchon kept an account of the court expenses at the ordinaries, but neither he nor the recorder of the courts noticed the pay of the judges and jurors, and what they received is unknown. Many of the entries of actions and of the fines, and sometimes a part of the county rate, seem to have been required to pay the ordinary keepers for court expenses, which amounted to from 4 to 9£ at each court. The record twice mentions that most of the county rate was needed to pay the county reward for killing wolves. The keepers of ordinaries received nothing directly for the room used by the court and fire. Litigation was not cheap in Massachusetts. Every person that sued another in a county court was required to pay 10 shillings for the entry of his action.

Hampshire Transportation down and up the river.—All the produce that went to Boston was carried down the river, and all the merchandise from that place, except some light articles, was brought up the river. At Springfield, they had small boats, carrying perhaps two, three or four tons, which, in the accounts of William Pynchon and John Pynchon, were named canoes. Each boat was managed by two men down and up the river and falls, (now called Enfield Falls.) Grain was carried to Hartford in these boats, sometimes at 4d. or 5d. per bushel, but a more common price was 6 pence. Barrels of flour and pork were carried at 1s. 9d. to 2s. each, and hhds. of beaver at 2s. 6d. each. Goods were brought up at 12 shillings per ton, hhds. at 3s. (probably of 63 gallons,) and salt at 6d. to 8d. per bushel.

For some years, Northampton and Hadley carted their grain to Windsor, through Westfield, but as early as 1667 and 1668, Samuel Porter and John Smith of Hadley, had a boat on the

river and boated some for Pynchon. After a road was laid near the Connecticut in 1673, if not before, Hadley had a landing-place on the river below Willimanset Falls, and Northampton and Hatfield had one on the west side. Grain was carted from Hadley to the landing at 4 pence per bushel, or ten shillings for a cart-load of 30 bushels. The freight from this landing to Springfield was two pence per bushel. The freight of grain from Hadley to Hartford was usually one shilling per bushel, but sometimes one or two pence less. In Pynchon's books, the price of a bushel of grain received at Northampton or Hadley, was always 6 pence less than when received at Springfield, and one shilling less than at Hartford. Grain was conveyed from Hartford, Stratford, &c. to Boston for 6 pence per bushel. Barrels of pork and flour, both large, were carried from Hadley to Hartford for 3s. 6d. to 4s. per barrel, and from Hartford to Boston at about 3s.

It is supposed that the first settlers of Hadley and Hatfield came up on the Northampton "cartway to Windsor," having their own horses, oxen and carts to convey the women and children and some of the men, and the household goods and farming implements. The Springfield boats sometimes brought up the furniture of families removing.

Sleds in Hampshire.—The first settlers of New England knew nothing about sleds and sleighs, nor did they use them for some years. Heavy sleds were used long before sleighs. In Hampshire, wood was sometimes sledded before 1670, but in general, it was carted long after that date. For many years, logs were conveyed to saw-pits and saw-mills on wheels, and almost every thing was carted. In 1683, Hatfield voted that all men and teams should turn out on the 5th and 6th of November, and cut and cart Mr. Chauncey's wood. Here were 60 cords of green wood to be carted three weeks before winter. Logs were carted to John Pynchon's saw-mill for some years after 1667, but in 1674 he bought a sled and many logs were sledded. Sleds did not convey produce to Hartford from this valley, or from Springfield, till the latter part of the century, and perhaps not till after 1700. Oxen seem not to have been shod in Hampshire in the 17th century. The people did not keep open sled roads in the winter, even for 15 or 20 miles. There were no sleigh-rides in these towns till after 1730 or 1740.

Prices of Grain in Hampshire in the 17th Century.

The prices of grain in Hadley, for the payment of their minister, school-masters, town rates and private debts, for near 40 years,

were as follows:—winter wheat, 3s. 6d., summer wheat, 3s., peas, 2s. 6d., Indian corn, 2s. Rye was raised after 1680, and the price was 2s. 6d. Barley was sometimes 3s. and malt, 3s. 6d., meslin, 3s. and oats, 1s. 6d. The prices were nearly the same in Northampton and Hatfield. Winter wheat was sometimes 3s. 6d. The money prices of grain, when noticed, which was not often, were one-fourth less, and sometimes still lower.—The nominal prices advanced in Hadley a year or two before 1700. Winter wheat was 4s., summer wheat, 3s. 6d., peas, 3s. and rye, 3s. Indian corn was 2s. as before. One-third was deducted from these prices to bring them to what were called money prices, which were for winter wheat, 2s. 8d., summer wheat, 2s. 4d., peas and rye, 2s. and corn, 1s. 4d. The value of the coins referred to as money, did not vary much from 6s. 8d. for an ounce of silver, or 6 shillings for a piece of eight, or Spanish dollar.

Flour in Hadley and Northampton was sold at from 11 to 12 shillings for 112 pounds. It was about one shilling per cwt. higher at Springfield and near 2 shillings at Hartford. Most of the barrels held from 260 to 280 pounds, and some above 300 pounds. The price of barrels was from 2s. to 2s. 6d. A bushel of spring wheat yielded about 34 pounds of good flour.

John Pynchon's prices at Springfield, which he called "town prices," for about 40 years, were for winter wheat, 4s., summer wheat, 3s. 6d., peas, 2s. 6d. to 3s., rye, 3s., Indian corn, 2s. 6d. His prices were commonly about 6 pence a bushel higher than those at Northampton and Hadley. He sometimes sent to Boston more than 2000 bushels of wheat and peas in a year. Indian corn was not sent to Boston. A large portion of the wheat raised in Hampshire and Connecticut was spring wheat, usually called summer wheat in the 17th century.

In Connecticut, the prices of grain received for country rates, as fixed by the General Court for near half a century, were for winter wheat, 4s. 6d., summer wheat, 4s., peas and rye, 3s., Indian corn, 2s. 6d. There were a few variations. Winter wheat was not named till 1677. These were the common prices at Hartford, and had much influence on the prices up the river, especially of wheat. After 1680, one-third of the tax was to be abated, if paid in money, and for three years, one-half was to be abated, if paid in money. This was reducing grain to very low prices in money.

Massachusetts received grain for country rates at higher prices. For more than 40 years, with a few exceptions, wheat, without any distinction of winter and summer, was 5s.; barley, malt, peas

and rye, 4s.; Indian corn, 3s. After 1672, one-quarter or one-third of the tax was to be abated if paid in money, and for two years, one-half was to be abated for money.

Grain and other articles at colony prices were called "country pay" or "provision pay" or simply "pay;" in Hampshire, produce at town prices was sometimes called "provision pay" or "pay."

Hampshire Contributions for Harvard College.—A contribution was made throughout the colony, commencing in 1672, for a new college building. About £1989 were received from towns and individuals, in a few years. "A fair and stately brick edifice" was erected. The contributions in produce from the Hampshire towns, after taking out the expense of transportation, were as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
Hadley, . . .	33	15	3
Northampton, . .	20	9	4
Springfield, . . .	17	18	9
Hatfield, . . .	14	2	6
Westfield, . . .	12	8	1

Northampton contributed £29.17.10 in flax, summer wheat, and flour, but the freight, shrinkage, casks, &c. reduced it almost one-third.

CHAPTER XI

Lands in New England before it was settled by the English—Indian Burnings—Bushes—Burnings by the English—Wood and Timber—Fire-wood—Building Timber—Rift Timber—Clapboards—Saw-logs—Pasturing domestic animals in the woods.

New England was far from being an unbroken wilderness when first settled by the English. In the vicinity of the Indian settlements, there were not only plats of cleared land, upon which the squaws raised Indian corn, beans and squashes, but many openings where the earth was covered with grass, and extensive tracts of woodland, where the trees were so scattered that green herbage, and even strawberries, flourished among them. The early writers compared these thin forests to the English parks. Mr. Graves, wrote from Salem, in 1629, that the country was "very beautiful in open lands mixed with goodly woods, and again open plains, in some places 500 acres, some more some less, not much troublesome to clear for the plough." "The grass and

weeds grow up to a man's face; in the lowlands and by fresh rivers abundance of grass, and large meadows without any tree or shrub."

The burning of the grass and leaves by the Indians is noticed by Morton, in 1632. He says the savages burn the country that it may not be overgrown with underwood. The burning makes the country passable by destroying the brush-wood. It scorches the older trees and hinders their growth. "The trees grow here and there as in our parks, and make the country very beautiful." Wood, in 1634, says, "in many places, divers acres are clear, so that one may ride a hunting in most places of the land. There is no underwood, save in swamps and low grounds; for it being the custom of the Indians to burn the woods in November, when the grass is withered and leaves dried, it consumes all the underwood and rubbish." He says there is good fodder in the woods where the trees are thin; and in the spring, the grass grows rapidly on the burnt lands. Vanderdonck, a Dutch writer, in his "Description of the New Netherlands," now New York, about 1653, describes the burning of the woods. "The Indians have a yearly custom, which some of our Christians have adopted, of burning the woods, plains and meadows, in the fall of the year, when the leaves have fallen and the grass and vegetables are dry. This 'bush-burning,' as it is called, is done to render hunting easier, and to make the grass grow. The raging fire presents a grand and sublime appearance. Green trees in the woodlands do not suffer much."

These accounts, relating to other parts of the country, will help us to form some general idea of the lands, forests, and natural scenery in the vicinity of the Connecticut, when first possessed by the English. No early writer has given a description of this part of Massachusetts, nor indeed of any portion of the country on the borders of this river, but we may safely conclude that there were Indian corn-fields, green meadows, grassy uplands in scattered, open woods, and dense forests on wet lands, in this Norwottuck valley. There was wild, and perhaps gloomy scenery, but there must have been much that was pleasant and beautiful.

The first planters of New England were entirely unaccustomed to the business of clearing woodlands, and they selected places where they could immediately begin to cultivate the earth. They found the best lands generally divested of timber. The intervales or rich alluvial lands, upon the Connecticut and its tributary streams, were more free from trees than the adjoining uplands. The first settlers of Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield, found plenty of land ready for the plow, and began to raise Indian corn

and other grain, and to mow grass, as soon as they had fixed themselves in these places. Nor did their homelots upon higher ground require much clearing. The upland woods on each side of the river, above and below these towns, were passable for men on horseback, and with little preparation, for carts. In Philip's war, and in later years, companies of horsemen, and larger bodies of foot soldiers seem to have penetrated the woods without difficulty in every direction.

Growth of Bushes.—After the Indians ceased to burn over a tract of land, bushes and brambles commonly began to grow abundantly upon it. When some of the people of Northampton petitioned for a plantation at Squakeag (Northfield) in 1671, they stated that the Indians had deserted the place, and that for want of inhabitants to burn the meadows and woods, the underwood had increased, "which will be very prejudicial to those that shall come to inhabit, and the longer, the worse." The inhabitants upon Connecticut River were greatly annoyed by the bushes that sprung up so plentifully in their homelots, highways and elsewhere. There was so little travel within and between the towns with wheels and two animals abreast, that the bushes choked up the ways and it was difficult to keep an open path. In Connecticut, a law obliged every man to work one day in the year in clearing bushes from the highways. Hadley adopted a similar by-law in 1693.

Burning over the lands by the English.—The woods were for a long time the pasture grounds for all kinds of domestic animals. The inhabitants fired them annually, as the Indians had done before. They did not set fires near their habitations and fenced fields, but in the more distant parts of the township. Massachusetts enacted a law forbidding any person to set the common woodlands on fire, except between March 10th and April 30th.

According to tradition, there were some splendid burnings in the woods on the hills and mountains, around this valley, especially in the night. The people of Hadley not only burnt over their own lands, but extended their fires to the hills of Pelham and Belchertown, in order to increase their pasturage. Brookfield burnt over the lands in Ware, and they were called "Brookfield pastures." Northampton and Hatfield spread their fires westerly over the hills of Westhampton, Williamsburgh, &c. These burnings continued in many places down to 1750, and later. A law of Massachusetts in 1743, made to restrain such fires, says the burning of the woods greatly impoverishes the soil, prevents the growth of the wood, and destroys much fence. Tra-

ditional accounts say that the woods were so free from underbrush and the trees so thinly scattered, that a deer could be seen 40 rods on the wooded hills. The burnings were as favorable to the white deer-hunters as they were of old to the Indian hunters.

Wood and Timber.—The annual burnings by the Indians, and afterwards by the whites, destroyed small trees and hindered the growth of large ones, and valuable timber was not so plenty as some have imagined. Some of the towns on the river had fears about a scarcity of timber in early days. Springfield voted in 1647, that no timber, boards, planks, shingle-timber, nor pipe staves should be carried out of the town, from the east side of the river. Hatfield voted, in 1671, that no man should sell clapboards, shingles or rails, out of the town, and coopering stuff was not to be sold out of the town until wrought into casks. In May, 1706, this prohibition was so far relaxed as to permit John Field, Jr. to transport shingles "to supply those whose houses were burnt down in Hadley."* Northampton, in 1699, "considering the great difficulty we are in to get fire-wood," ordered that no staddles should be cut, that were less than 9 inches in diameter. Hadley, in 1713, ordered that no oak staddles under 12 inches in diameter should be cut, on penalty of five shillings. These town votes all relate to common lands. They clearly evince that timber was not very abundant.

Fire-wood.—Much of the fuel consumed in Hadley, during the 17th, and a great part of the 18th century, was oak and walnut. From some regulations in 1733 and 1737, it appears that oak, walnut, maple and elm were then chiefly used. Pine, chestnut and other soft woods, were not extensively employed as fuel until a much more recent period. From the supplies of wood given to clergymen, some idea may be gained, of the great quantities of wood consumed in the spacious fire-places of former days. Hatfield at first gave Mr. Chauncey 50 cords of wood annually, and afterwards 60 cords. South Hadley voted from 50 to 70 loads of wood yearly, for Mr. Woodbridge. Hadley gave Mr. Hopkins 50 cords, many years. The third precinct in Hadley, now Amherst, gave Mr. Parsons, their first minister, 80 loads of wood some years, and 90 loads in 1749. Mr. Edwards of Northampton, after 1740, consumed from 75 to 80 loads of wood in a year. Wethersfield gave Mr. Woodbridge, (settled in 1680,) 80 loads of wood—probably over 50 cords. Some persons who had not a

*This is the only record that remains of the burning of houses in Hadley, in the early part of 1706.

study to warm consumed as much wood as the ministers, or about 50 cords. When Hadley had only 100 families, about 1765, the consumption of wood was not much less than 3000 cords annually.

Building Timber, &c.—The first settlers of New England knew the value of oak, but did not at first understand the importance of pine. In many places, they not only used oak timber for the frames of buildings, but oak clapboards and oak shingles, and some used oak boards to wainscot rooms. Posts, pails and rails were of oak. Where pine was plenty, pine boards were sawed perhaps as early as oak boards, and pine shingles and clapboards gradually took the place of those of oak. How early the people of Hadley began to use chestnut for posts and rails, is not known. They may have split out chestnut rails for some of their early meadow and homelot fences, but there is no evidence of this.

The Norwottuck valley was to a considerable extent an evergreen region. Pines predominated in many places in Hadley, but were mingled with oaks and other trees.

Rift Timber.—This kind of timber could be rived, cleaved or split. One of the first votes of the early settlers of Hadley related to it. "Dec. 17, 1660, voted that if any men fell any rift timber, and do not rive it out into bolts, pales, rails, clapboards, or shingles, within six weeks, any inhabitant may fetch it away for his own use; and that if any man fell any pine timber, and cart it not away in three months, any man may make use of it." This vote makes a distinction between "rift timber" and "pine timber." The former was apparently oak. The articles into which it was rived require some explanation.

Bolts denoted pieces of wood cleft out, in order to be split again into shingles, laths, &c. Pales were stakes, posts, and any cloven pieces of timber placed upright for a fence. The picket fences of door-yards are a light kind of paling. Rails were used for post and rail fences. Our fathers had to learn how to split rails from logs after they came to this country. Zigzag or Virginia fences were unknown. Shingles of oak and pine in New England in early days, were from 14 inches to 3 feet in length. John Pynchon, when he built his brick house in 1660, put on shingles 18 inches long, and an inch thick at the thick end; but for several other buildings, he used shingles 3 feet long. He had cedar shingles for a building in 1677. He gave for shingles 18 inches long, 20 shillings per thousand, and for the 3 feet shingles, from 35 to 40 shillings.

Clapboards.—Coffin's History of Newbury gives a satisfactory derivation of this word. "Clapboards, he says, were originally

cloven and not sawn, and were thence called clove-boards, and in process of time, cloboards, claboards, clapboards." It is quite certain that clapboards were cloven in the manner of shingles in New England, more than a century. In England, an act of Parliament under Elizabeth, 1592-3, names the timber of which beer and fish casks were made, "cloven-borde" and "clapborde." English writers represent that clapboards in that country were used by the cooper for casks, and not by the joiner on buildings.

The use of short, narrow, cloven boards, over-lapping each other, to cover the outside of buildings, seems to have been a contrivance of the early settlers of New England, before they had saw-mills, and sawn boards were scarce and dear. It may be that they had been previously so used in some parts of Europe. In this country, they were at first split from oak, and afterwards from pine, and made smooth by "hewing,"* or shaving. The wages of "rivers of clapboards" and the price of clapboards, were regulated by law in some places. Their length for a time was various—3, 4, 5 or 6 feet. In the 18th century, the laws of Massachusetts ordered that pine clapboards exposed for sale, should be 4 feet 6 inches long, 5 inches broad and $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch thick on the back, and be straight and "well shaved." The last law ordering such clapboards was passed in the year 1783. Such short, split, shaved clapboards may still be seen on some old houses, built before the Revolution, in Northampton, Hadley and other places.

Saw-logs.—John Pynchon built saw-mills in Springfield, Suffield and Enfield. After his first saw-mill in Springfield was built in 1667, he hired men to cut logs ready for the saw at 8 pence each; and others were engaged to cart them to the mill with their own teams, at 1s. 8d. each. They were to be between 12 and 25 feet in length and from 17 to 24 inches in diameter, at the small end. Most of them were pine. White oak logs cost much more. In 1684, he gave for pine logs at the mill at the rate of 1s. 3d. for every hundred feet of boards which they made. In 1690, Clark and Parsons of Northampton, gave for pine logs at the rate of 1s. 6d. for every hundred feet of boards sawed from them.

Price of Boards.—Those sawed by hand at Springfield had risen to 7 shillings per 100 feet, before Pynchon built his mill in 1667. After that his price was 4s. 6d. per 100 feet. The price of Clark and Parsons, of Northampton, for many years after 1682,

*The operation of smoothing clapboards and shingles was called "hewing" for many years. Afterwards, they were said to be "shaved."

was 4s. per 100 feet. Their charge for sawing boards for others was 2s. 6d. per 100 feet. Hadley prices did not probably vary much from those of Northampton. These prices of logs and boards were all in "provision pay."

Laths for plastering are rarely named in the writings of the 17th century. The houses of farmers had very little plastering. The wealthy plastered their rooms.

Pasturing domestic animals in the woods.—The first pastures in this and other British colonies were the woods, which had previously been the hunting grounds of the Indians. The inhabitants of the Norwottuck valley had a very wide range for their cattle, more than half a century. The great pasture of Hadley extended to the north indefinitely, until Sunderland was begun in 1714; and the eastern limit was Brookfield, or the "Brookfield pastures" in Ware, until Amherst was commenced, about 1728. The nearest inhabitants to the south, were in the vicinity of Chickopee River, in Springfield, previous to the settlement of South Hadley, about 1725. Horses, horned cattle, sheep and hogs were pastured upon these plains, hills and mountain sides. Goats apparently were not kept in Hadley, though some towns in the colony had many. Cows were under a keeper, and sheep after they were numerous enough for a shepherd. Young horses, hogs, and young cattle commonly roved without restraint, but the latter sometimes had a keeper.

A cow-keeper or herdsman was employed in Hadley every year, but is seldom mentioned in the record, and information respecting this manner of pasturage must be sought in other towns. In Hatfield, in 1680 and 1681, a man agreed to keep the town herd from early in May to Sept. 29, for 12 shillings per week, payable in grain. He was to drive out the herd every morning by the time the sun was an hour high, take them to good feed and bring them home seasonably at night. In many places, the wages of a cowherd were 12 shillings per week; in some towns a little higher.

A shepherd was not needed in Hadley and Hatfield for many years. Those who had a few sheep, kept them on their homelots and about the village, until the number was so much increased that the owners could afford to pay a shepherd. After shepherds were employed, the sheep in both towns were folded at night, and the manure was paid for by those on whose lands were the pens or folds. In Hatfield, the sheep were folded in hurdles or movable pens, which were carried from one place to another. The wages of a shepherd were ordinarily 12 shillings per week. Hatfield had 273 sheep in 1691 and 291 in 1699. The Hadley

flock increased slowly. By a law of the colony, a dog that bit or killed sheep was to be hanged.*

In Hatfield, the cow-keeper and shepherd enjoyed the privileges of most of the Sabbaths. In 1672, every man that had three cattle on the commons, was to take his turn in keeping the herd on Sabbath-days. In 1693, the shepherd was to keep the sheep every 10th Sabbath, and the proprietors were to guard them 9 Sabbaths in 10. In most of the towns, the owners of the herds and flocks took care of them, on many of the Sabbaths, that the keepers might attend public worship.

It is presumed that horses and oxen, whose services were frequently called for, fed at the barns, on the homelots and in the broad streets. Oxen were at times under the care of the cowherd.

As soon as the crops in the intervals were gathered, cows and some other animals were pastured in the meadows until snow fell. Hadley and Hatfield usually opened one meadow Sept. 29th or about the first of October, and the others within a fortnight. Indian corn was gathered early.

Young cattle and horses ranged the woods in every direction. In Hadley, they ascended Mount Holyoke to the steep rocks, and crossed the mountain in those gaps called cracks. In 1709, the town gave John Taylor 20 acres of land, to maintain a fence across the crack of the mountain, meaning a gap, now about half a mile north-east of the mountain house. Cattle from the south side sometimes came through this opening into Hockanum and Fort Meadow. The common fields and private lots required strong barriers to protect them against restless, rambling animals.

Young cattle and horses often remained in the woods until winter, and some became wild and unruly, especially horses, and wandered to other towns. Many days were spent in the winter and in other seasons in looking up horses and cattle in the woods. This mode of pasturing, though not without inconveniences, was the best that the new settlers in this and other colonies could adopt.

Swine were not often killed by wolves or bears; according to tradition, they defended themselves and their young vigorously when attacked.

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*The hanging of mischievous dogs sometimes gave a name to the place where the execution was performed. I have noticed the name, "Hang-dog swamp," both in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The dog was taken to the woods, a leaning staddle was bent down and a cord was fastened to the top and to the dog's neck; the elastic staddle then sprung back, with the dog dangling in the air. In former days, cats and dogs were sometimes hanged at the heavy end of a well-swipe.

CHAPTER XII

Good land of little value to Indians—Purchases by Penn and Pynchon—Purchases of the Indians in Norwottuck Valley—Remarks on the Indian Deeds—How Hatfield was purchased—How much Hadley paid for land—The name Norwottuck.

The Indians upon Connecticut River were very desirous that the English should settle among them. They willingly and gladly sold their lands; no urging was necessary. They understood what was meant by a sale of land. When the Norwottuck Indians sold the lands at Northampton in 1653, and at Hadley in 1658, they knew perfectly well what use the English made of the lands they had purchased in other places long before, and what they claimed under an Indian deed. The Indians never pretended that they were ignorant of what was intended by a sale of land, and no quarrels arose on that ground.

The price obtained by the Indians for land, however small, was all they demanded, and in the opinion of intelligent men, all the land was worth. "Whoever is conversant with the hardships, toils and privations attending a new settlement in the wilderness, and will take the trouble to compute what is expended and laid out on and about a settlement to make land produce any thing; how much its value depends on neighboring settlements, on roads, fences and the various improvements of civilized life; will inevitaby come to the conclusion that wild land in a wilderness, remote from neighbors, cannot be of much value."* Gov. Hutchinson observed that land in New England, at the time of its settlement, was of no value.†

Very erroneous opinions are entertained in regard to the value, to the Indians, of the land which they sold to the English. They manifestly were not conscious of giving up much that was useful or important to themselves. The Indian men were fond of fighting, hunting and fishing, and disdained other pursuits. All agricultural labor and all kinds of drudgery were thrown upon the women, who, with hoes of shells, wood or iron, cultivated small pieces of land. It may be doubted whether all the Indian corn-fields in this valley, from Holyoke and Tom on the south, to Toby and Sugar Loaf on the north, contained more than seventy acres. Agriculture was a minor object with the Indians.

*Bliss's Sketches of the History of Springfield, 1828.
†As quoted by Trumbull.

These fine intervals, which so much delight the civilized man, had few attractions for the Indians.

In Connecticut, the Indians in most of their deeds, retained the right to hunt, fowl and fish within the lands disposed of. So the Norwottuck Indians, in their deeds of land in Hadley and Hatfield, reserved to themselves the liberty of hunting and fowling on the lands they sold, and of fishing in the streams; and in two of the deeds, they had liberty to set their wigwams and take fire-wood on the commons.* They had the same use of most of the land and water after the English came, that they had before. The women lost their corn-patches in the meadows. The men continued to hunt, fowl and fish, and the women to raise corn.†

It was not rich land that principally induced the Indians to establish themselves in this valley or elsewhere. The most numerous tribes of New England Indians were not upon the best lands. The Pequots, the most powerful tribe in Connecticut, resided in one of the most sterile sections of the colony. The sandy, barren island of Nantucket, had as many Indians 200 years ago (if correctly estimated in 1659) as the fertile lands upon the Connecticut in the whole course of the river. The Indians had no permanent settlements above Northfield, and they voluntarily deserted that place.

Some European writers have been strangely ignorant of the fact, that most of the early settlers of New England occupied their lands by actual bargain with the Indians. These writers have represented that William Penn was the first to purchase a conveyance from the Indians, and have bestowed much praise upon him for doing what had been done a hundred times in New England, before Penn came to America.‡

Penn is said to have completed his bargain or treaty with the Indian chiefs under an elm tree near Philadelphia, and the transaction has been rendered famous by the historian and the painter. Yet it would be difficult, perhaps, to tell why the purchase of Indian lands in Pennsylvania by Wm. Penn, is more worthy of renown, than the purchase of Indian lands in Northampton or Hadley by John Pynchon, 20 years before. Both bought as cheaply as they could.

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*Pres. Dwight says, in his Travels in New England, "the Indians were always considered as having a right to dwell and to hunt within the lands which they had sold." Such a right seems to have been practically enjoyed, though not expressly reserved in all the deeds.

†When the women took land of the English for half the crop, they may have obtained from well plowed land more corn than the same amount of labor produced when the land and all the crop were theirs.

‡Grahame, in his History of the United States, Vol. II, p. 346, has corrected the error of these writers.

INDIAN DEEDS OF LANDS AT NORWOTTUCK.

Deed of Northampton.

This purchase was made by John Pynchon, Sept. 24, 1653, at Springfield, (perhaps under an elm tree) of six Indians, two of whom appear as owners of land on the east side of the river, viz., Chickwallop alias Wawhillowa, and Awonusk, wife of Wulluther. The tract of land purchased was at Nanotuck or Nonotuck, and extended from the brook below Munhan, called Sankwonk (now below Asahel Lyman's) up by the Quinetticott to the brook or gutter below Capawonk called Masquomp, (now called Half-way brook,) and out into the woods westerly nine miles. The consideration was 100 fathoms of wampum, 10 coats and some small gifts; and the English were to plough up for the Indians, on the east side of the river, sixteen acres of land, in the summer of 1654.

Capawonk Meadow in Hatfield.

Northampton bought this of a chief, named Lampaunchus, or Umpanchala, July 20, 1657, for 50 shillings. This meadow was then called Pewonganuck or Capawonk. In October, 1658, Northampton proposed to sell it to the "Hartford men," on four conditions, (on page 11,) which were not complied with. On the 11th of March, 1659, Joseph Fitch, John Webb and Joseph Parsons, in behalf of Northampton, agreed with William Westwood, Samuel Smith and Andrew Warner, acting for the purchasers of the new plantation on the east side of the river, to sell Capawonk Meadow, for 30 pounds sterling, in wheat and peas, delivered at Hartford at the current price, before June 1, 1659. The 30 pounds were paid at or near the time. The deed from Northampton agents to the agents of Hadley, was given Jan. 22, 1663. The bounds of Capawonk in the deed, were, the riverett running into the Great River easterly, the Great River south and east; and the bank of upland, north and west.

The agreement of March 11, 1659, is the first instrument recorded in the first Book of Deeds at Springfield. Elizur Holyoke recorded it Dec. 2, 1660.

Deed of Hadley.

This deed embraces the land from the mouth of Fort River, and Mount Holyoke, on the south, to the mouth of Mohawk brook, and the southern part of Mount Toby on the north, extending easterly nine miles into the woods.

"Here followeth a copy of a deed or writing whereby the Indians of Nolwotogg, upon the river Quienecticott, made sale of certain lands unto Maj. John Pynchon, of Springfield, together with the copy of the said Maj. John Pynchon his assignment of the said deed to the use and behoof of the inhabitants of Hadley, and his acknowledgment thereof.

Be it known to all men by these presents that Chickwollop alias Wahillowa, Umpanchella alias Womscom, and Quonquont alias Wompshaw, the sachems of Nolwotogg, and the sole and proper owners of all the land on the east side of Quonicticot river, from the hills called Petowamachu, and from the mouth of the brook or river called Towunucksett, and so all along by the great river upward or northward to the brook called Nepassooenegg, and from the hither part or south end of the great hills called Kunckquachu, (being guessed at near about nine miles in length) by the river Quenecticott—We the aforenamed Chickwallop alias Waahillow, Umpanchala alias Womscom, and Quonquont alias Wompshaw, of Nolwotogg, on the one party, do give, grant, bargain and sell unto John Pynchon, of Springfield, on the other party, to him, his assigns and successors forever, all the grounds, woods, ponds, waters, meadows, trees, stones, &c. lying on the east side of Quenicticot River, within the compass aforesaid, from the mouth of the little Riverett called Towenucksett, and the hills Petowomuchu northward up the great river of Quenecticot, to the Brook Nepowssooenegg, and from the south end of the hills Quaquachu, being near about nine miles in length, from the south part to the north part, and all within the compass from Quenecticot River eastward nine miles out into the woods, all the aforesaid tract of ground called Towunucksett, Sunmukquommuck, Suchaw, Noycoy, Gassek, Pomptuckset, Mattabaget, Wunnaquickset, Kunckkiunk-qualluck, Neposeoneag, and to the south end of the great hill called Kunckquachu, and for nine or ten miles eastward from the great river out into the woods eastward—We the said Chickwallop, Umpanchella, and Quonquont, do for and in consideration of two hundred fathom of wampom, and twenty fathom and one large coat of eight fathom, which Chickwallop sets

In the Churchyard at Hadley, England

Table Stones in the Meadow Cemetery

off, of trusts, besides several small gifts, and for other good causes and considerations do sell, give, grant, and have given, granted, bargained and sold to John Pynchon, of Springfield, and to his assigns and successors all and singular the aforenamed land, or by whatever other name it is or may be called, quietly to possess, have and enjoy the aforesaid tract of ground free from all molestations or incumbrances of Indians, and that forever, only the Indians aforenamed, and in particular Quonquont, doth reserve and keep one corn field about twelve, sixteen, or twenty acres of ground, a little above Mattabaget, by the brook called Wunnaquicksett, lying on the south side of the said brook, and compassed in by a swamp from that brook to the great river, and also they reserve liberty to hunt deer, fowl, &c. and to take fish, beaver, or otter, &c. but otherwise all the aforesaid premises the said John Pynchon, his assigns and successors and their heirs shall forever enjoy absolutely and clearly, free from all incumbrances of any Indians or their corn fields forever, except as before excepted. And in witness hereof, we the said Indians do subscribe our marks this present twenty-fifth day of December, 1658. It is only the corn field on this or south side of the brook called Wunnuckecksett, and the little bit of ground by it within the swamp and betwixt the swamp and the great river which the Indians do reserve, and are to enjoy. But the little corn field on the other side or further side or north side of Wunnaquicksett, and all the other corn fields within the compass of ground aforenamed, the Indians are to leave and yield up, as witness their hands.

The mark—of Umpanchla alias Womscom.
The mark—of Quonquont alias Wompshaw.
The mark—of Chickwalopp alias Wowahillowa.

Witnesses to this purchase and that the Indians do fully sell all the lands aforementioned to Mr. Pynchon, and that the marks were subscribed by the Indians themselves.
Joseph Parsons,
Edwd. Elmore,
Joseph Fitch,
Samuel Wright,
Arthur Williams,
The mark R. T. of Rowland Thomas, who was privy to the whole discourse and conclusion of the purchase, and Joseph Parsons was present and acquainted with the whole agreement; the other witnesses came in to testify to the subscribing, and that the Indians owned all as it was read to them.

The Indians desired they might set their wigwams at some times within the tract of ground they sold without offence, and that the English would be kind and neighborly to them in not prohibiting them fire-wood out of the woods, &c. which was promised them."

Assigned by John Pynchon to "the present Inhabitants of Hadley," Oct. 28, 1663—in which he says he acted in the purchase as an agent entrusted by them.

The corn-field of 12, 16 or 20 acres, reserved in the foregoing deed, was sold to Hadley in a few years. It seems to have been a part of the upper School Meadow.

Deed of Hadley west of the River, or Hatfield.

The land included in this deed, is bounded by Hatfield Mill River on the south, and the upper side of the Great or North Meadow on the north, extending westerly nine miles.

"Here followeth a copy of a deed of sale whereby Umpanchala, an Indian Sachem formerly of Nolwotogg, did sell and alienate his right and interest in certain parcels of land on the west side of Quenecticot River, unto Maj. John Pynchon, of Springfield, for and in behalf of the inhabitants of Hadley, as also his, the said Maj. John Pynchon's assignment of the same to the said inhabitants, and acknowledgment of it likewise:

Be it known unto all men by these presents that Umpanchala, alias Womscom, a sachem of Nolwotogg, on the one party, being a Chief and proper owner of the land on the west side of Quinecticot River, from Cappowoungomuck to the upper side of Mincomonk, (viz. to Quonquont's ground) do give, grant, bargain and sell to John Pynchon of Springfield, on the other party, to him, his assigns and successors forever, all the grounds, woods, ponds, waters, trees, stones, meadows, uplands, &c. lying and being at Nolwotogg, on the west

side of Quenecticut River, from the meadow on the south called Capawonk, formerly sold by Umpanchala to the inhabitants of Northampton, upon the great River of Quenecticut, northward to the upper side of Mincomunck, that is to say, the Brook or Riverett called Cappowong alias Mattaoolanick, which parts Cappowonganick and Wequetayyag, and the meadow and upland called Wequetayyag, and so northward to Yowanckhomuck and Natocouse, and the brook called Wunckcompss which comes out of the pond, and over the said Brook Nattacows or Wonckcompss still northward, viz. all the ground and meadow called Mincommuck to a marked Walnut tree, at the great River side, and so off from the River to a great White Oak marked, and thence to run out into the woods westward from the great River nine miles, and so down southward till it come to Coppowoung Riverett, which is to Northampton bounds, the aforesaid tract of ground called Wequetayyag, Yowunckhommuck, Wonckcomss, Nattacows, Mincomuck, and from Quenecticott River to run westward nine miles into the woods both at the southward bounds up along the riverett Cappawoung, as well as the northward bounds of it; the said Umpanchala alias Womscom on the one party, for and in consideration of the sum of three hundred fathom of wompum in hand paid, besides several other small gifts, and for other good causes and considerations, do sell, give, grant, and have sold, given and granted, to John Pynchon, of Springfield, aforesaid, on the other party, and to his assigns and successors forever, and to their heirs, all and singular the aforesaid land, or by whatever other names it is or may be called, quietly to possess, have and enjoy the aforesaid tract of ground, free from all molestation or incumbrance of any Indians, and that forever; only the said Umpanchala doth reserve the Chickons alias Cottingyakies, which is to say, their planting ground, together with liberty to hunt deer or other wild creatures, to take fish, and to set wigwams on the commons, and take wood and trees for use; but otherwise all the premises and the whole tract of land before mentioned, with all the appurtenances and privileges thereof, the said John Pynchon, his assigns and successors and their heirs shall forever enjoy, absolutely and clearly, free from all molestation by any Indians; and further Umpanchala doth engage and covenant, and it is the intent of these presents that all the Indian cornfields or old planted ground above Wequetayyag shall come to the English after his death, and then the Indians to have and enjoy only the old planted ground in Wequetayyag and down to the Brook Cappowongseate alias Mattoolanick. In witness hereof the said Umpanchala hath set to his hand and mark this tenth day of July, 1660.

The mark—of Umpanchala.
The mark—of Etowomq, brother to Umpanchala, owning and approving of the sale of the land, and is a witness to it.

Subscribed in presence of
John Russell, Jr.
Andrew Bacon,
Richard Church,
Richard Montague,
The mark—of Woassomehuc, alias Skejack, an Indian witness."

The above said was here entered Dec. 25, 1678,
Per me, SAML. PARTRIGG, Recorder.

Oct. 28, 1663. John Pynchon assigned the above to the inhabitants of Hadley, because "it was purchased in the behalf of several persons who had obtained a grant from the General Court of Massachusetts for a plantation, then intending to plant and settle themselves on the land," said Pynchon acting "only as being intrusted by the said persons now inhabitants of Hadley."

On the 17th of Jan. 1662, Umpanchala, with the consent of Etoomp, deeded to four men, for the town of Hadley, the planting ground in and above Wequetayag, reserved in the first deed, excepting five acres, which Hadley was to break up and fence for the Indians. The five acres, which were in Indian Hollow in Hatfield, were sold a few years after. The Indian planting ground, in the deed of 1660, is called "Chickons alias Cottingyakies." In the deed of 1662, it is named "Chickons Cottones Akers." Umpanchala was in debt to John Pynchon, who allowed him £12, 10s. for this land, and received his pay of Hadley.

Deed of Hockanum and part of South Hadley and Granby.

This deed takes in the territory from the mouth of Fort River, and Mount Holyoke on the north, to Stony brook, in South Hadley, on the south, extending easterly 10 miles, or to three ponds.

"Here followeth a copy of a deed of the purchase of certain tract or tracts of land by the Worshipful Maj. Pynchon of the Indians, and his assignment of the same to the inhabitants of Hadley, and their successors, with his acknowledgment of the same.

Be it known to all men by these presents, that Wequagon (formerly called Wulluthearne) and his wife Awonusk, and Squomp their son, being the sole and proper owners of the land at Nolwotogg, on the east side of Quenicticott River, from the brook Towonunkset and hill Petawamachu down southward towards Springfield bounds. We the said Wequagon, Awonunks and Squomp (for ourselves and heirs) on the one party, do give, grant, bargain and sell unto John Pynchon of Springfield, on the other party, to him, his heirs, assigns and successors forever, all the grounds, woods, trees, ponds, waters, stones, meadows, and uplands, &c. lying and being at Nolwotogg, on the east side of Quinecticott River from the hill called Petawamuchu, and the brook or little riverett called Towunuckset, which formerly Umpanchala and Wowwhillowa sold to the English, when they sold them Sunnuckquommuck and bounded it by the mouth of the brook Towunuckset and the hill Petowomachu. Now from the said hill and brook down Quinecticott River southward to a brook or riverett called Chusick, where the cart way goes over it, but at the mouth it is called Cowase, and all within the compass from the great river Quenicticott eastward into the woods about ten miles, viz. to the three ponds called Paquonckquamog, Scontocks, Paskisukquopoh. The aforesaid tract of land called Petowamuchu, Suchow, the great neck or meadow which the English call Hoccanum, together with the uplands adjoining, and the brook or riverett called Cowachuck alias Quaquoonuntuck, at the mouth of it, and so south to the riverett Chusuck alias Cowase, at the mouth of it—and eastward to the three ponds before named.—We the said Weequagon, Awonusk and Squomp, do clearly and absolutely grant and sell to John Pynchon, of Springfield, aforesaid, and to his successors forever—And by these presents, for and in consideration of 150 fathom of wampom with ten coats, and more two yards of cloth over in the largeness of their breeches, and several other small gifts, considerable all of them, and all in hand paid (the receipt whereof we do by these presents acknowledge) and for other good causes and considerations us thereunto moving, do grant and sell, and have sold, given, and granted to John Pynchon of Springfield, aforesaid, and to his assigns and successors, and their heirs forever, all and singular the aforenamed land from the north bounds Towunuckset to the south bounds Chusick alias Cowase, and from the west bounds the great river to the three ponds eastward called Paquonckequamog, Scontocks and Paskesicquopoh, or by whatever other names it is or may be called, quietly to possess, have and enjoy the aforesaid tract of ground, free from all molestation and incumbrance of any Indians, and that forever—only the said Weequogon and Awonuske his wife do reserve and exempt from this sale a parcel of land in the neck or Suchaw, called by the English Hoccanum, which parcel of land they say is upwards of fifty or sixty acres, being already mortgaged to Joseph Parsons of Northampton, and bounded out to him by stakes and marks in the presence of two Englishmen of Northampton, the which parcel of land being made over to Joseph Parsons they exempt from this sale but not otherwise, all the premises and the whole tract of land before mentioned, with all the profits, privileges and advantages and commodities thereof, the said John Pynchon, his assigns and successors and their heirs shall forever enjoy, absolutely, clearly and free from all molestation by Indians against. We the said Wequogan, Awonunske and Squomp will defend and will unto the said Pynchon warrant the premises against all lawful claims whatsoever by any other except as before exempted—only the intent of these presents is not to exclude the Indians from hunting deer, beaver, or other wild creatures on the tract of land aforesold, which liberty they yet reserve to themselves—and also to take fish and sometimes to set their wigwams on the commons, and to take wood and trees off on the commons for their use. In witness whereof the aforesaid Indians have hereunto set their hands and marks this 8th day of August, 1662.

The mark—of Wequogon.
The mark—of Awonunsk.
The mark—of Squomp.

Signed, subscribed and delivered in the presence of us,
Pelatiah Glover,
The mark—of Richard Sikes,
John Lamb,
James Taylor."

John Pynchon's assignment to inhabitants of Hadley, Feb. 6, 1671.

Indian chiefs were inclined to get into debt, and Wequagon (or Weackwagen) and his wife and son Squomp owed Joseph Parsons of Northampton, 80 beaver skins, for coats, wampum and goods; and on the 28th of May, 1662, they mortgaged to him a parcel of land in the meadow and upland by it, commonly called Hockanum, but by the Indians Peta——, as security for the debt, and if the debt was not paid before the first of September, Parsons was to have the land. James Wright and Judah Wright of Northampton, were witnesses to the mortgage. This land, which was excepted from the sale in the preceding deed, was sold by Joseph Parsons to the inhabitants of Hadley, for a considerable sum which was paid, but through negligence, his quit-claim deed was not given until March 29, 1683. The land was then estimated at 60 or 70 acres.

Deed of the North part of Hatfield and Whately.

This tract of land was purchased by Hatfield, Oct. 19, 1672. It was bounded on the south by the land bought of Umpanchala, July 10, 1660, and on the north by Weekioannuck or Sugar Loaf brook, where the Pacomtuck path crossed it, the north line running thence east to the great river and west 6 miles into the woods. Part of the land abutted on the farms of Major Denison and Mr. Bradstreet eastward, and extended 6 miles west of them, and part abutted on the great river. This had been the land of Quanquan, (same as Quonquont) a sachem, and was sold by his widow Sarah Quanquan, his son Pocunohouse, Mattabauge, a squaw, Majesset, daughter of Quanquan, and Momecouse, for 50 fathoms of wampumpeag.

Deeds of Swampfield or Sunderland.

On the 10th of April, 1674, John Pynchon, acting in behalf of Robert Boltwood, Joseph Kellogg, John Hubbard, and Thomas Dickinson, of Hadley, and their associates, bought of several Indians, all the land from Nepesoaneag brook, (now Mohawk brook) next to Hadley bounds, up to the brook called Papacontuckquash, over against the mouth of Pacomptuck (Deerfield) river, and six miles easterly from the Connecticut into the woods. Two deeds were given, one by Mishalisk, an old woman, the mother of Wuttawchincksin, deceased, who owed Pynchon; and one by Metawompe alias Nattawwassawett, for himself and in behalf of Wadanummin, Squiskeag and Sunkamachue, for 80 fathoms of wampum and some small things. The lands were in Sunderland, Montague and Leverett. The Indians belonged to the Norwottucks. Pynchon paid for the lands and the Hadley purchasers paid him and his son £26.

Remarks on the Indian Deeds.

The principal chiefs of the Norwottucks, north of Mount Tom and Mount Holyoke, were Chickwallop, Umpanchala and Quonquont. They claimed to be the owners of most of the land on both sides of the river, Chickwallop of the southern, Umpanchala of the middle, and Quonquont of the northern part of the territory. Besides these, there were petty chiefs and owners of land at Northampton, and at Sunderland. Awonusk seems to have been the daughter and heir of some deceased Norwottuck chief. Her husband, Wequogon, called also Wulluther, united with her in the deed of the land below Fort River, but he was a Springfield Indian and not a Norwottuck.

It appears from the names of witnesses, that the deed of Hadley was executed at Northampton; that of Hatfield at Hadley, and that of Hockanum and South Hadley at Springfield. It will be perceived that the orthography of Indian names is often changed in the same deed. This may have been partly the result of carelessness, and some words may have been designedly varied. It was very difficult to express some of the Indian sounds by letters.

The Indian names of some places may be ascertained from these deeds. They will be noticed elsewhere. Hockanum was an Indian name at East Hartford, but the Meadow near Mount Holyoke was so named by the English and not by the Indians. The English often gave the same Indian name to a stream and to the land adjoining it. The Indians may have done the same, or they may have varied the determination of the name, to distinguish land from water.

Indian signatures.—Indians, in signing deeds, commonly did something more than make a mark; most of them made a picture or representation of some object. In the old records at Springfield, many of these Indian hieroglyphics may be seen, as a beaver, a snake, a snow-shoe, a bow, a hand, &c. Wequogon and Squomp both drew a rude picture of a hand, including the wrist, thumb and four fingers. Umpanchala made a bow and string. Chickwallop made a circular figure with a neck to it, intended for—I know not what. Awonusk manifested a different taste from the male chiefs; her sign looks like a strip of net-work, and was intended perhaps to represent a piece of wampum. Quonquont only made zigzag marks, like two or three of the letter W put together, and Umpanchala sometimes did the same.

How Umpanchala received his pay for the lands in Hatfield.

John Pynchon's account book has all the wampum and other articles, that he sold to Umpanchala, to pay him 75£, or 300 fathoms of wampum, for his land in Hatfield, including his fine of two fathoms for being drunk. Accounts with Indians were kept in fathoms and hands of wampum. Pynchon, in this account, estimated 10 hands equal to a fathom, making his hands more than 7 inches, instead of the usual hand of 4 inches. Wampum was an article of traffic, and also the money of the Indians,—the standard by which they measured the value of all other things. Pynchon valued the cheaper or white wampum, in 1660, at five shillings a fathom. A fathom of wampum was a string of beads

made of shells, six feet in length. Pynchon wrote "fadam" for fathom.

The following is copied from Pynchon's book, the items being a little compressed. The shag cotton of that day was made of wool.

"Umpanchala, the Indian Sachem and owner of the land at Norwotog, hath taken up of me towards pay for his land, which he promises to sell:—

			Fadams.	hands.	£	s.	d.
1659.	Sept. 23.	2 yards Bilboe rug,	7	0	1	15	0
		Red Shag Cotton and Trading Cloth,	2	4	0	12	0
		A shirt, 2f. A coat, 5f.	7	0	1	15	0
		1 pair breeches,	1	5	0	7	6
1660.	Feb. 13.	Wampum now and in Sept.	27	1	6	15	6
		A coat, 5f. A gun, 6f. 5h.	11	5	2	17	6
	April 12 to 16.	Shag cotton and shag,	2	4	0	12	0
		2 blue coats and 1 coat,	15	0	3	15	0
		A coat and a pair breeches,	6	0	1	10	0
		Wampum,	20	1	5	0	6
			100	0	25	0	0
	April 16.	A shirt and shag cotton,	3	0	0	15	0
		Wampum,	7	0	1	15	0
	" 25 to 27.	Wampum,	13	8	3	9	0
		Red shag, 2f. 7h. Coat, 5f.	7	7	1	18	6
	May 9 to June 7.	Wampum,	32	1	8	0	6
		3 Coats, 15f. Waistcoat, 2f. 4h.	17	4	4	7	0
	June 19.	Wampum,	10	4	2	12	0
		1 coat, 5f. Shag cotton, 3f. 6h.	8	6	2	3	0
			100	0	25	0	0
	June 20 to July 10	Blue shag cotton,	1	8	0	9	0
		2 coats, shag and wampum,	20	0	5	0	0
		Wampum,	10	0	2	10	0
		Had of Joseph Parsons,	14	0	3	10	0
		Coat and wampum at Parsons's,	10	0	2	10	0
		Payment to Mr. Goodwin,	2	8	0	14	0
		Red shag cotton and knife,	1	4	0	7	0
	July 30 to Aug. 23.	Wampum and 2 coats,	22	0	5	10	0
		"For your being drunk,"	2	0	0	10	0
	Sept. 6 to 14	Wampum,	11	0	2	15	0
		A kettle,	5	0	1	5	0
			100	8	25	0	0

In all 300 fadams at 5s. which make £75. So much I engaged to him for his land at Nalwotogg; and I have paid him all to his own content, in the particulars abovesaid. This account is set off with Hadley town, it being paid for the purchase of their land. September, 1660."

Umpanchala expended all he received for the first sale of Hatfield in one year; and in three months more, from Sept. to Dec. 1660, he bought of Pynchon goods to the amount of £12, 10s. and to pay this, sold the land to Hadley which he had reserved

in the first deed. He had pledged this to Pynchon. Such want of foresight and calculation was characteristic of the Indians. A few chiefs seem to have sold all the lands and to have used the avails.

What Hadley paid for Lands.

Pynchon charged the people of Hadley for the Hatfield lands only the amount that he paid to Umpanchala, 75£, and £12.10. Compensation for his services must have been derived from a large profit on the goods and wampum sold. His account against Hadley follows:—

THE TOWN OF HADLEY,			Dr.	
			£	s.
1658.	Dec. 25.	To the purchase of the land on the east side of the river,	62	10
1660.	July 10.	To the purchase of the land on the west side of the river,	75	0
		To law books,	1	10
1660.	Dec.	To colors, staff, tassels and top,	5	0
		To second purchase on the west side,	12	10
1662.	Aug. 8.	To the purchase of the neck which they call Hockanum,	50	0
			£206	10

Pynchon received his pay of individuals, and not of the town, from 1661 to 1668. The account was balanced Nov. 12, 1669. He has credit for most if not all the settlers. The remark of Hadley men, on page 20, that they had purchased lands of the Indians at higher rates than other plantations in New England, seems to have been true. In addition, they paid to Mr. Bradstreet 200£ in money, and to Joseph Parsons not less than £20. Their lands cost them 1400 dollars or more.

This large sum was paid when wheat in Hadley was only 3s. and 3s. 3d. per bushel; and in money not above 2s. 6d. Whoever takes into consideration all the circumstances, will come to the conclusion that the people of Hadley paid for the land which they cultivated, a much higher price than those now pay who buy good land of the U. S. government at $1.25 per acre. The people in the towns on the river had war with the Indians about half the time, for 50 years after 1674.

Pynchon paid from his shop, in wampum and merchandise, for almost all the lands near the river, that were purchased of the Indians, from Suffield and Enfield, to Deerfield and Northfield, and received his pay from the settlers and proprietors of the new towns, to whom he assigned the Indian deeds. Only a small part of the assignments of the three Hadley deeds are given on pages 107, 108 and 110.

Indian name of Norwottuck Valley.

In Eliot's Indian Bible, the word for "the midst" of any thing, is usually *noeu* or *noau*, (sometimes *nashaue*,) and *tuk* at the end of a word generally signifies a river or brook. In our English version, the words, "the city that is in the midst of the river," are found in Joshua 13, verses 9 and 16; and in Eliot, in both verses, "the midst of the river" is rendered by *noautuk*. This is the Indian name of our valley. The peninsulas and projecting points of land at Hadley, Hockanum, Northampton and Hatfield, were "in the midst of the river." This Indian word was varied in different dialects, and in the records of the English. Some tribes did not pronounce *l* and *r*, and these letters are not in Eliot's Bible. The Nipmucks pronounced *l*, and some Indians on Connecticut River, below Massachusetts, had the sound of *r*. The following variations of the name of this valley, are taken from the records of Connecticut, Massachusetts, the United Colonies and Hampshire towns, and from the writings of the Pynchons.

Nawattocke, 1637, Nowottok and Nawottock, 1646, Nauwotak, 1648, Noatucke, 1654, Nanotuck, 1653, Nonotucke, 1653, 1655, 1658, Norwotake, 1657, Norwootuck and Norwuttuck, 1657, Northwottock, 1656, 1661, Norwottock, 1659, 1660, Norwoottucke, 1659, Norwotuck, 1661. John Pynchon has in his accounts Nalwotogg, Nolwotogg and Norwotog, and in his deeds Nolwotogg. The latter spelling was probably according to the pronunciation of the Nipmucks, who lived here. Nonotuck was used when there was no town but Northampton. The Hadley settlers introduced from Hartford, Norwottuck, and that name was more used by the English than the others.

CHAPTER XIII

Indians near Connecticut River—The Norwottucks and their Forts—The Mohawks and their cruelty and cannibalism—The Mohawks in Hampshire county—Talks at Albany—Presents to the Mohawks—Entertainment of Indians—Wampum, or the money of the Indians.

From 1636, when Springfield was settled, until the Indian war of 1675, the Nipmucks or Nipnets inhabited the interior of Massachusetts, occupying many places in the present county of Worcester, and in the old county of Hampshire, and some dwelt in Connecticut, south of Worcester county. They were not subject to a common sachem, but had many petty chiefs, and some were partially under the dominion of tribes not Nipmucks. There were four small tribes or clans upon Connecticut River,

or a few miles from it, viz., the Agawams at Springfield and West Springfield, the Waranokes at Westfield, the Nonotucks or Norwottucks at Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield, and the Pocomtucks at Deerfield. Those who established themselves at Northfield for a time, may have been Pocomtucks. It is not known that there were any permanent Indian settlements above Northfield, nor upon the Housatonnuc River within the limits of Massachusetts, in the 17th century. There is some reason to suppose that a part of the Indians at Waranoke came originally from Hudson's River, and returned to that river in Philip's war. The Quabaugs at Brookfield were in Hampshire county. Few if any Indians resided constantly in the territory now in Suffield and Enfield.

The four tribes of western Nipmucks near Connecticut River and its branches, may be reckoned at ten or eleven hundred when most numerous. Their numbers were considerably reduced before they left this part of the country, and did not perhaps exceed eight hundred in 1675, and they were some hundreds less when the war ended. The Norwottucks may have been the most numerous clan; the Pocomtucks were the most energetic and manly.

The numbers of barbarous tribes and nations are almost always over-rated. There has been not a little exaggeration in regard to the Indian population of New England. Trumbull over-estimates the Connecticut Indians, and errs exceedingly in regard to those of Windsor. Misled by "manuscripts from Windsor," he supposes that about the year 1670, there were 2000 Indian bowmen in that town, and 19 Indians to one Englishman! Such accounts require no refutation. In 1680, the government of Connecticut received some official inquiries from England, one of which related to the number of Indian warriors in the colony; to this they replied, "as for Indian neighbors, we compute them 500 fighting men." This computation seems to include only the Indians in or near townships settled by the English, but it exhibits the great decrease of the Indians. From other documents, it might be inferred that the Indians in all the Connecticut River towns in the colony, with Farmington and Simsbury, did not exceed 1200 in 1680.*

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*The Indians in the river towns were not destroyed by war, but they diminished so fast, that at the end of every 40 years, they were only about one-half as many as at the beginning. At this rate, only one-eighth of the number in 1640 would remain in 1760.

"The Indian disappears before the white man simply because he will not work."—Gallatin.

The first naming of the Norwottucks in public records was by the General Court of Connecticut in 1637. They were noticed in the records of the United Colonies in 1646, and Chickwallop was named for the first time. William Pynchon mentioned the Norwottucks and Chickwallop in 1648. For some years, the Norwottucks, Pocomtucks and others were at war with Uncas and the Mohegans. Uncas or his brother assailed these river Indians in 1656. In 1657, they and others made an incursion into Connecticut against Uncas and his Indians. The Pocomtucks were conspicuous in this war with Uncas, and when the United Colonies sent messengers to them in 1659, requesting them to suspend hostilities, the sachems declined to make peace, and replied to the messengers with moderation, shrewdness and firmness. About 1663, these river Indians with many others commenced a war with the Mohawks, and were defeated. Peace was made in 1671.

The Norwottuck chiefs could sell lands, but had little authority over the Indians, and were of little importance. The historians and novelists will not be able to make heroes of any of the river sachems, from Saybrook to Northfield. The Indians in this valley at times had no acknowledged sachem, and in 1668, they agreed that Chickwallop should be their chief, three men having been appointed by the General Court, at the request of the Hampshire deputies, to treat with them. There was nothing in Chickwallop to inspire the English or Indians with respect. He did not live many years after 1668.

The Norwottucks committed no great offences. They sometimes harbored evil-doers from other tribes. Some were inclined to petty thefts. When they could get strong drink, they became drunk, and brawls and tumults ensued, and they would insult and abuse the constable and others. When free from liquor, they were generally peaceful and respectful towards the whites, who intended to treat them justly and humanely.*

The last chief men of the Norwottucks.—In 1672, Petomanch committed divers thefts in Northampton and Hadley and fled to Quabaug; he came back to the "Indians' fort in Northampton," and when an attempt was made to take him, Wuttawan helped him to escape. Some of the principal men of the tribe then came forward, and agreed to deliver up Petomanch or Wuttawan, or otherwise make satisfaction, as the court should order. Their names were Wahinunco, Wadnummin, Massoamat, Wawwar-

*It is a hard and difficult matter, for those who are conscious and proud of their superiority, to treat inferiors with justice and humanity. Even good men are very deficient in this respect. The apostolic injunction to "honor all men," is not much regarded.

ranckshan, Sunckamachue, Wuchuwin, Mummuncott, Rollo, and blind James. The last two had names given by the English. Some of these nine Indians may be considered the last of the Norwottuck leaders, while they remained in their native land. Two of them sold land in Sunderland in 1674, viz., Wadnummin and Sunckamachue. In August, 1675, they and the tribe fled from their fort and became enemies. In the winter of 1675-6, these Indians were towards Albany, and were called Hadley Indians, and Sancumacha, (same as Sunckamachue,) was their sachem. In this war and after, they were denominated Hadley Indians, and Northampton and Hadley Indians; and in Connecticut, they were often called Norwottucks.

The Indians' means of subsistence.—There is no intimation that the Indians in this valley and others in the vicinity lacked food, or that their supplies had been perceptibly diminished previous to their departure. The forests in every direction remained nearly as extensive as ever, and wild animals, fish and wild fruits were still abundant. The whites sometimes hunted and fowled, but they were too industrious to spend much time in such pursuits. There was land enough for corn, but without fences it was useless, and the women took meadow land upon shares, which the English plowed. The squaws planted, hoed, picked and husked the corn, their lazy husbands disdaining such labor.* In Connecticut, the Indians divided the corn on the land, after it was husked, and had half of it. It may be inferred that the crop was divided in the same manner at Norwottuck. There is nothing to show that the subsistence of the Indians from the land was materially lessened.

The first settlers of Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield lived in peace with the Indians until Philip's war in 1675. There was frequent intercourse between them, the Indians often coming into the villages for traffic and other purposes, and the salutation of *netop*, (my friend,) was often heard in the streets. Indian men, women, young men, maids and small children, in their scanty dresses, were every-day sights, and excited no curiosity. The men sold furs and venison, and the women made and sold baskets and mats and other things. Among these laborious Indian women, were some that were mild and kind-hearted. The western Nipmucks continued to be pagans.

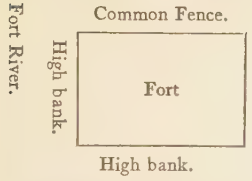
*"Extremes meet." The ignorant savage and those who think themselves the most highly civilized, viz., many of those in fashionable high life, harmonize in many things. Both contemn and scorn useful labor, and consider those engaged in toilsome occupations as mean and despicable; both delight in gaming, chasing animals and carousing.

Norwottuck Forts.

The Indians of the Norwottuck valley had several forts, erected to protect themselves against the attacks of their enemies. Vanderdonck, the Dutch writer, says the Indians build their castles in places difficult of access, on or near the crown of a hill; the wall is made of palisades set in the ground and within are their wigwams. The forts of the Norwottuck Indians seem to have been generally built upon the top of a bluff or high bank, projecting into a valley or interval, near a stream. In Northampton, there were at least three forts in such places; they were probably successive and not cotemporaneous. One was near the north-east end of Fort Hill, overlooking the meadow; one was on Fort Plain, now in Easthampton, above the high bank near the Manhan; and the third was on another Fort Plain, about half way to Hatfield, on the top of the high, bank of the Connecticut, opposite the north-west corner of Hadley Great Meadow. In Hadley, Indian bones have been found on several projecting points or ridges. One place was near the north-west angle of Fort Meadow, on a corner of upland long since washed away. Another was on Spruce Hill, near the southern extremity, which projects into Fort River valley, and is now covered with light sand. There was an important fort on the western side of Lawrence's Plain, on the top of the high steep bank which is the eastern boundary of Fort Meadow Skirts and Fort River valley. The river and meadow were named from this fort. In 1684, Timothy Nash had a grant of two acres of land, "where the old fort stood" above the bank, adjoining his land in the Skirts below. These two acres and the site of the old fort can be easily identified. The old common fence from Connecticut River, on the north side of Fort Meadow, came up the steep bank, just north of the fort, continued easterly some distance, and then turned southerly towards Mount Holyoke, embracing the ground on which the fort stood. This ground had the almost perpendicular bank, rising 40 or 50 feet above Fort River, on the south and west sides, and the river flowed at the bottom of this bank on the west side. Lawrence's Plain, a high, pleasant tract of land, extended easterly.

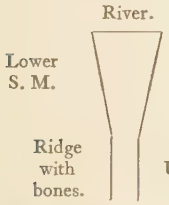
From this fort, or from openings near it, the Indians had fine views of meadows and uplands; and some of the new village at Northampton was visible. The fort was about 140 rods east of the Connecticut. I visited this place in 1846; the brow of the bank was covered with trees; grass, Johnswort, thistles and a few small buttonwoods grew upon the site of the fort, and cows were

quietly ruminating in the shade of the trees. All was silent and desolate, where in former days the Indians danced and powowed, and indulged in noisy merriment and boisterous revelry.



This is an imperfect representation. The shape of the fort is conjectural. The outlines of the top of the bank are irregular. Those in the fort got water from the river below the bank. The cows now (1846) have a path down the bank a little south of the fort place.

North of the village of North Hadley, on a ridge that separates the eastern and western School Meadows, was another residence of the Indians, supposed to have been that of Quonquont. More bones have been found here than in any other place in Hadley. The ridge becomes wider near the north end, where it approaches the Connecticut, and this broad part may contain an acre. This was probably the seat of the fort or village. The Connecticut flows along the base of the hill, on the north-east and north, and the hill is partially protected from its ravages by rocks and sandstone. This is a pleasant place with a goodly prospect, and must have been so when the Indians occupied it.



This plan with straight lines is very defective. The general course of the river is southerly, but for some distance against the upper and lower School Meadow, it is westerly. The triangle is the supposed site of Quonquont's fort. The rocks are near the north-east corner of the triangle. The brook Wunnaquickset, of the Hadley deed, is above this ridge, and crosses the Upper School Meadow.

Some have admired the taste of the Indians as exhibited in the picturesque situations which they chose for forts and villages. There is not much foundation for this admiration. The tribes were pugnacious, and it was owing to their wars that they selected elevated places for villages, where they could more easily secure and defend themselves, and more readily discern the approach of an enemy.

The last fortified residence of our Indians in the land of their fathers, was in the place before referred to, between Northampton and Hatfield, on a high bank west of the Connecticut, not far from the mouth of Half-way brook, and so near the river, that men could speak with the Indians in the fort, from the Hadley side of the river. This high plain, formerly called Fort Plain, is now crossed by the railroad, many feet below the surface. There

was no fort in Hadley for some years before 1675. The Indians did not all live in forts, and when they feared the Mohawks or other enemies, many sought refuge near the houses and in the out-buildings of the English, and their living among them was very troublesome.

Hubbard says the fort from which the Indians fled in 1675 was within a mile of Hatfield, but it must have been about two miles from the main street in Hatfield. The records do not allude to any fort in Hatfield in 1675, or before, though Umpanchala doubtless had a fort on the high bank of Capawonk or elsewhere on his land, when he sold it in 1660.

The Mohawks or Maquas.

The "Five Nations," so called, were the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. The name Mohawks was often extended to all those confederate nations. They were brave, fierce and ferocious, and carried on an exterminating warfare more than a century after 1600, making a perfect desert of the country for 500 miles, west and south, and destroying more Indians than have been destroyed by Europeans in war since the country was settled. They were the worst of conquerors, and seemed to conquer to gratify their thirst for blood.*—The Mohawk tribe lived about 40 miles west of Albany.

They were extremely filthy, never washing face nor hands, and they cooked fish from the water, and the entrails of deer, without any cleansing.†

Cannibalism of the Mohawks.—The early Dutch and New England writers affirmed truly that the Mohawks were cannibals or man-eaters. A writer‡ in 1644, says they tortured their captives, and then roasted them before a slow fire and ate them. They were cannibals half a century later. In February, 1693, Col. Schuyler at the head of whites and Mohawks pursued a party of French and Indians and killed many Frenchmen, and the bodies of 27 were found. A letter from S. Van Cortland in New York, to Connecticut, dated March 2, 1693, says:—"Our Indians did quickly eat up the bodies of the 27 Frenchmen, after their natural barbarity, and have brought the scalps to Albany." Governor Fletcher of New York wrote to Connecticut, March 11, 1693:—

*Gallatin's "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America."

†From Megapolensis, a Dutch minister at Albany, 1644.

All savages are filthy. The New England Indians were not cleanly. By an agreement made with sachems at Concord in 1646, the Indians were not "to pick lice as formerly and eat them."

‡Ibid.

"Our Indians found 27 bodies of the enemy, whom (after their crowns taken off,) they most barbarously roasted and ate."* Cannibalism was not however the worst part of the Mohawk character.†

War between the Mohawks and New England Indians.—About 1663, war was commenced between the Mohawks and the New England Indians, and in the summer of 1669, the latter united their forces, entered the Mohawk country and besieged the nearest Mohawk fort. In a few days they retreated, were attacked on their retreat, and more than 50 slain. They came home much ashamed, and retired under the shelter of the English. Sancumacha, a Norwottuck, is said to have been a captain in this expedition. During the war, the Mohawks, in small parties, made incursions into New England. Peace was made in 1671.

The Mohawks in Hampshire county.—In the summer of 1667, a number of hogs and some cattle belonging to Hadley, Northampton and Springfield, were killed in the woods. The inhabitants were satisfied that some of them were killed by the Mohawks, and they were suspicious of some Kennebec Indians who had been this way, and even of the Norwottucks. The Mohawks shot and scalped an Indian servant of Nathaniel Clark, of Northampton, Aug. 28, 1667.

In October, 1667, the deputies of Hampshire complained to the General Court of the injuries done by the Mohawks and other Indians. A committee recommended that a letter be written to the Mohawks demanding satisfaction for the damages, &c. The General Court, Oct. 31, wrote a long letter to the chief sachem of the Mohawks, and a short one to the Kennebec sachem. The former follows from the records—not retaining the old orthography.

To the chief Sachem of the Mohawks:

The General Court of Massachusetts, upon complaint made to them by some of their people of Hadley and Northampton, that they have suffered much damage this last summer by the Mohawks, have thought meet to signify the same unto you and to let you know that about mid-summer last, some of our Englishmen saw some of your people, whom they had speech with, going with burdens from their fires and place of lodging, where several hog's feet, new and bloody, were left behind, viz., 16 feet of swine; Also others of ours have taken up shoes made of green hogskins, which were left at the places where the Mohawks made their stands, and from whence they were seen to go; and about the same time, we had several cattle shot and wounded, and some killed, and the flesh cut off from their bones and carried away; many Mohawks being then about our towns and seen by some English, we have cause to suspect that this also was done by some of them, (not to speak of the damage your people formerly, some years past, did in gathering, carrying away and

*Archives of Connecticut.

†There were rare instances of cannibalism in New England. In 1637, Uncas and his men made a horrid repast upon the body of a Pequot at Saybrook.

spoiling our corn.) Their killing of our swine as aforesaid being very evident, we have reason to move for speedy and full satisfaction, which our people expect, and we hope you will cause to be made them accordingly. We have further to let you know that an Indian youth who was servant to an Englishman at Northampton, was murthered about the end of August last, close by the town, and part of his hair flayed off his head,* on which day some Mohawks were seen nigh the very place where he was killed, and we have heard that not long after this time the Mohawks showed a lock of hair at Albany, which was short hair as this youth's was; so that we have probable grounds to think that some of your people are guilty of this murder, which yet we are apt to think may not only be unknown to you, but contrary to your order, and do presume you will not allow any such thing; and therefore do acquaint you therewith, desiring you would take some special course for redress of these insolencies and prevention of like evils for future, lest your people, if they go on in such ways, should occasion a breach of the peace betwixt you and us. We must also tell you that these actings are expressly against the promise of those of your nation, which we once had in our hands,† whom we secured from any violence by our Indians and sent them home with manifestation of love and friendship, and willingness for the continuance thereof, who told us that your people would not meddle with any Indians that wore English clothes, or that had their hair cut short. But this aforementioned action, as it gives us cause to suspect your people, so also to let you know we do not judge it convenient for you to suffer your people in an hostile manner to approach nigh us or our Indians that are dwelling amongst our towns, which we desire you so to take notice of and consider as not to disturb our peace by any unlawful attempts of your men, but to cause them to shun and avoid all just offence and prejudice to us which may provoke our people against you. We never yet did any wrong to you or any of yours, neither will we take any from you, but shall right our people according to justice; yet are we desirous to continue all amicable correspondence with you, if the fault be not in yourselves by offering insolencies to our people, which we may not bear or suffer. Thus hoping of your readiness to make satisfaction for what is past, and care for your future continuance of friendship, your loving friends,

The Governor and General Court of the Massachusetts.

This letter had some effect. It was undoubtedly interpreted by men at Albany, and as the Mohawks desired to be on good terms with New England, they made some reparation. The records of the county court in March, 1669, mentioned that about 20 pounds had been received from the "Magnaws." It was sent to Milford, but was then in the hands of Simon Lobdell of Springfield, in leather. The court ordered that Springfield should have 5£ for those who had lost swine and cattle; Northampton, 7£, of which, half was for Nathaniel Clark's Indian servant killed; and Hadley, 8£, for those who had been damaged. Hadley had lost more cattle and hogs than any other town. Lobdell was to pay in shoes at fair prices.

In Philip's war, in 1676, Massachusetts and Connecticut tried to engage the Mohawks against the Indians of New England. Governor Andros of New York, in letters to Connecticut, pretended that the Mohawks had done "great execution on your

*Scalping was evidently something new to the English.

†In September, 1665, five Mohawks or Maquas came into Cambridge well armed. They were arrested and imprisoned at Boston. The English had never seen any Mohawks before, and they attracted much attention. The Indians flocked into Boston, and wished to put them to death. The Court dismissed them with a letter to their sachems, and a convoy of horse to conduct them clear of our Indians. A copy of the letter is extant.

Indian enemies" and trusted Connecticut would be mindful of their service. Connecticut, in reply, Aug. 31st, 1676, professed to be in the dark about these services, and said they could not be mindful of them, until they knew what they had done. Gov. A. did not enlighten them. These Indians had performed no important services. This was the first attempt to draw presents from New England for the Mohawks.

In the spring of 1677, Massachusetts desired to make a friendly league with the Mohawks, and very unwisely sought their aid against the Indians in Maine. Obtaining the concurrence of Connecticut, John Pynchon of Springfield and James Richards of Hartford, were sent to Albany. They treated with the Indians, and gave them presents of wampumpeag, duffels, powder and shot. The Indians gave three belts of wampum, boasted of what they had done for New England, and gave assurance of their endeavors against the Indians at Kennebec. New England was deceived by the pretensions and promises of the Mohawks.

The Indians did not regard their engagement, and instead of proceeding to Maine, they came down upon the peaceable, praying Indians of Massachusetts, in September, 1677, and again in June, 1678, and killed some and made captives of others.* They brought two squaws through Hadley, and the people of that place tried to redeem them, but the Mohawks would not let them go. They returned evasive answers to those sent to Albany to demand the release of the captives.

In November, 1680, John Pynchon was again sent to Albany. He charged the Mohawks with injuring our friendly Indians, and not delivering up those taken; with killing swine and cattle of the English, in the summer of 1680, robbing some houses, and marching through villages in a hostile posture. He said such things must be stopped. He presented his gift of duffels, shirts, blankets, wampum, rum, tobacco, &c., amounting to near 90 pounds or 300 dollars.—The Mohawks said he had spoken many hard things, but they were sweetened by the present. They made an artful, dishonest reply, and declined to give up the Christian Indians.

In October, 1683, the Mohawks sent a present† of 20 beaver skins to Massachusetts; and the colony sent in return a much more valuable present, in wampum, shirts, duffels, stockings, rum and tobacco.

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*Belknap says the Mohawks did not attack the hostile Indians in New Hampshire, but the friendly ones; and the scheme of engaging them in our quarrel was a source of many calamities.

†The expression, "an Indian gift" was a by-word in New England, denoting a present made by a person who expected five or ten times as much value in return.

After the war between England and France and between their colonies in America, commenced in 1689, it was an object of great importance to please the Five Nations and keep them faithful to England and her colonies. As New York was a feeble colony, Massachusetts and Connecticut deemed it necessary to contribute largely for this purpose.

In 1689, three Agents from Massachusetts and one from Connecticut were sent to Albany. They left Westfield, Aug. 27, escorted by 10 troopers, and were gone more than four weeks. They gave large presents to the Maquas, small presents to the river Indians, gifts to the sachems privately, and feasted 100 of their people. All expenses were 327£. Great Britain and New York also gave presents to the Five Nations. Robert Livingston, who resided in or near Albany, in a letter dated July 2, 1691, "wished that we needed not to court such heathen as the Maquas for assistance, for they are a broken reed to depend upon."

The Mohawks or Maquas were the allies of Great Britain, New England, and the other English colonies. Sensible that they were of some importance, they were sometimes insolent and injurious in houses, in these river towns, and farther east. The people generally submitted to these things; it would not do to quarrel with the Mohawks.

Entertainment of Indians.—Parties of Indian chiefs often came to Boston whose principal object was to obtain presents, and to feast and carouse at the expense of Massachusetts. In 1723, Aug. 21, 63 New York Indians, chiefly Mohawks, came to Boston, "with sham proposals of alliance against the Eastern Indians, but their real object was only to receive presents."* They were treated with much respect, were received by the General Court and feasted at the castle. They were entertained in Boston four weeks, and furnished profusely with the best of food and liquors, and received rich presents to a large amount. The whole expense to the colony was above 1000 pounds. Luke Smith of Hadley had a bill for entertaining some of these Mohawks. They returned to Albany, and eventually denied what they had promised at Boston.

Other Indians who had been enemies, as the French Mohawks in Canada who had been converted by the Jesuits,† and the Penobscots and other eastern Indians, came to Boston in time of peace and made fair promises, and feasted at the colony's expense

*Dr. Douglas says this.

†One great object of their conversion was political influence. The converted Indians, so called, became friendly to the French and ready to fight against the English and other heretics.

and received presents, but joined the French as soon as war commenced. It was difficult to restrict any of these Indians; they must have what they desired. They had a great abundance of beef and other meats, rum, wine, cider, beer, pipes and tobacco, and indulged in drunken revels. In 1733, John Sale charged the colony 195 pounds for keeping 22 French Mohawks 19 days, including a feast at the castle. He charged for their breaking windows, tables, chairs, knives, mugs, cups and glasses, and for daubing the walls, tables and chairs. They had in 19 days, 48 dozen pipes and 39 dozen of tobacco. In 1736, John Sale entertained nine Penobscot chiefs 24 days, and charged the colony 145 pounds. In his bill, he says they ate between 50 and 60 pounds of the best of meat daily, (six pounds to a man,) and each had daily one pint and a half of wine and a shilling's worth of rum, and in all they had 120 gallons of cider and two gross of pipes with tobacco. They were taken down to the castle and treated. He had charges for their breaking furniture, and for "washing 49 of their greasy shirts," and his charge for "cleansing and whitewashing two rooms after them" was 60 shillings. It was no easy matter to cleanse a room that had been occupied by these dirty bacchanals.

There were similar scenes and transactions, in other colonies, when Indians assembled to make or renew treaties.

"The European governments encouraged the natural propensities of the Indians. Both France and England courted a disgraceful alliance with savages, and both armed them against the defenceless inhabitants of the other party."—Gallatin.

Wampum, or the Money of the Indians.

Wampum, used by the Indians for money and ornament, was first brought to Plymouth in New England in 1627. In 1643, when Roger Williams wrote, wampum or wampumpeag or white money, and suckanhock, or black or blue money, were so plenty that the English, French and Dutch bought with them, furs and other things of the Indians, for 600 miles north and south from New England. This Indian money, which was in the shape of beads, was made of sea shells, by the Indians of Long Island, and afterwards by those of Block Island, and others. Six of the white beads, or three of the black ones, including blue and purple, passed for a penny, and a fathom or six feet of the white shell beads were worth five shillings. The black beads were of double the value of the white. The English used the words white wampum, and black wampum, but as wampum was the Indian word for white, these expressions sounded strangely to the Indians. The wampumpeag or white beads were much more plenty than

the black ones. When the price of the white beads was 6 for a penny, and 5s. for a string of 6 feet, the number of beads was 360 in a fathom, and 5 in an inch. These prices continued nominally many years, but the supply exceeded the demand; the value became less and less, and white beads fell to 8, 12, and 16 for a penny, and in 1675, some were sold for money at 24 for a penny. The price of the black beads fell answerably. Massachusetts ordered, in 1650, that wampumpeag should pass for debts to the value of 40 shillings, the white at 8 and the black at 4 for a penny, except for country rates. This law was repealed in 1661, and wampum had no legal price.

Silver coins were scarce, and the people found wampum very convenient, and much of it was used in the Hampshire towns, and in other parts of New England. It was frequently used to balance the accounts of traders, and it was often paid at the ferries and inns. Many men when they paid a tavern bill on a journey, did not take out a purse of coins, but strings of wampum and loose beads. Inn-keepers and ferrymen received much wampum, and they complained of losses, for large quantities could not be disposed of as they received it.

William Pynchon, and afterwards his son John Pynchon, were extensively engaged in trade with the Indians and whites, and they dealt more largely in wampum than any others on Connecticut River, above or below Springfield. They purchased some bushels of loose shell beads at a time, whether by weight, or measure, is not known; and employed the women and children of Springfield to string them at their dwellings, at three half pence per fathom of 6 feet. Near 20,000 fathoms were strung in Springfield at this rate. One kind of wampum was called scosue. John Pynchon sold to those whom he had licensed to trade with the Indians, wampum to the amount of 20, 50, 100, and even 125£ at a time, and he received great quantities in payment for goods. Wampum continued to depreciate, and in 1675, a fathom of white beads was worth only 1s. 3d. in money, and the English did not deal so much in them.

The Pynchons' accounts with Indians were always kept in fathoms and hands, or in fathoms, hands and pence; never in shillings and pence. They made use of compound addition and subtraction that are not found in arithmetics.

The Indians made of shell beads and threads, belts, girdles, scarfs, head-bands, bracelets, necklaces, pendants for the ears; and some made rich caps, aprons, &c. of these beads. A rich girdle required about 2300 beads.

CHAPTER XIV

The Indian War of 1675 and 1676*—Erroneous notions about Philip—Importance of the Nipmucks—Destruction of Brookfield—Mr. Stoddard's account of the attempt to disarm the Norwottucks, and of their escape—Fight above Hatfield—Deerfield burnt—Men slain at Northfield—Capt. Beers and his party cut off at Northfield—Northfield deserted—Attack upon Hadley repelled by the aid of Gen. Goffe—Capt. Lathrop and his company slain at Bloody Brook—Deerfield abandoned—Burning of Springfield—Attack on Hatfield.

THIS war is commonly denominated "Philip's War," from the English name of the sachem of the Wampanoags or Pokanokets, who commenced it. His chief seat was called Mount Hope by the English, and is now within the town of Bristol, R. I. In this war, the people of Massachusetts, and of some of the adjoining colonies, first experienced the devastation and barbarity which distinguish Indian warfare.

Our ancestors viewed Philip as the master spirit, who influenced the councils and conduct of other tribes, and contrived and directed most of the attacks, slaughters and desolations of the war. They represented him as a malignant demon, bent on the blackest deeds. Some of their descendants are inclined to view him as "a great warrior, a penetrating statesman, and a mighty prince." Neither the old nor the recent writers seem to have formed a just estimate of his character. Philip, in great qualities, did not surpass many other sachems in New England and other colonies. Indeed, some Nipmuck sagamores seem to have been as enterprising and efficient actors in this bloody and desolating war, as Philip himself. The great foresight, profound schemes, and unbounded influence attributed to him are to a great extent imaginary. He was no more inhuman and cruel than other Indians.

Philip was not able to combine against the English in 1675 more than 850 or 900 fighting men,† nor so many at one time; these men, and the women and children connected with them, may have numbered 3500.‡ More than half were Nipmucks, some of whom were subject to Philip. He did not persuade a single tribe in Connecticut, Rhode Island, or New Hampshire, to unite with him, though Indians from those colonies may have aided him. The Indians in Plymouth Colony were more numerous than in Massachusetts, and many owed some kind of allegiance to Philip, yet not many were willing to engage in his quarrel.

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*Most of the account of this war was prepared in 1847.

†The war in Maine which commenced in Sept. 1675, had a different origin.

‡The Indians in New England exclusive of Maine, in 1675, may have been 21,000.

The Indians in Massachusetts and New Hampshire in 1674 did not exceed 4400. Gookin,* in 1674, estimated the Pawtuckets in New Hampshire and Massachusetts at 250 men, and the Massachusetts nation at 300 men. Reckoning every fourth person, a man or warrior, the whole number of these two nations would be 2200. The Nipmucks or Nipnets may have been about 2200 more, and their fighting men, 550. Baylies† estimated the Nipmucks at 1000 and Felt‡ at 2400. Some of these were praying Indians who did not unite in the war. About one-third of the Nipmucks were in the vicinity of Connecticut River.

Not many of the Pawtucket and Massachusetts nations joined in the war. The hostile Indians in 1675 were mostly Nipmucks. Philip's Wampanoags and others that aided him in Plymouth Colony may have been 250 fighting men. But after he left the Pocasset swamp, Aug. 1, 1675, and fled towards the Nipmuck country, many of his men withdrew from him, and the squaw-sachem of Pocasset and her men drew off to the Narragansetts. Gookin had been "certainly informed that he had little above fifty men left, but hundreds of old men, women, and children."§

It may be supposed that some Indians from Plymouth Colony, and from tribes elsewhere, joined Philip after he came to Hampshire with 40 or 50 men, but his warriors exclusive of Nipmucks, were not numerous at any time, perhaps 200. His Wampanoags were not distinguished from other Indians and performed no greater deeds than others. It is a little remarkable that the histories, letters and other documents relating to this war, do not furnish any evidence that Philip, after he came among the Nipmucks, was present in a single fight with the English. No particular exploit or achievement performed by him is recorded. It is hardly to be doubted, however, that he was actively engaged in some of the furious attacks made upon the English near Connecticut River. But the Nipmucks showed that they were capable of planning and executing daring enterprises without the assistance of Philip. They destroyed Brookfield, and made numerous fierce assaults upon the garrison house. The river Nipmucks burnt Springfield. The dreadful carnage and devastation

*Gookin's "Historical Collections," 1674 and "Christian Indians," 1677. He was more pains-taking and accurate than some other writers.

†Memoir of Plymouth Colony.

‡Statistical Collections, Vol. I., Part II.

§George Memecho, a Christian Indian, who was taken by the Nipmucks, was present when Philip and his party first came to the Nipmucks, on the fifth of August, a few miles from Brookfield, and he related that Philip then had about 40 men, besides women and children. The greater part of the men who were with him when he escaped from Pocasset, had left him.

at Lancaster, Feb. 10, 1676, were chiefly the work of the Nipmucks, when Philip was far distant.

The Narragansets favored the hostile Indians, and protected those that fled to the Narraganset country, but did not assault the English plantations until February and March, 1676, after the English had destroyed their fort and many of their people.

When assaults were made by Indians, it was impossible to know how many there were, and loose conjectures always exaggerated their numbers. There is no reason to believe that 500 Indians were engaged in any fight or attack during this war, the Narraganset swamp fight excepted.

The number of Indians which the English imagined they had killed in an engagement, was usually much over-rated. They did not find the dead bodies, and could judge only by guess. They relied too much upon what captive Indians "owned" or "confessed." These Indians often told a story to please those in whose power they were, and their admissions are seldom worthy of credit.

Philip cherished enmity against the English, because he supposed they had wronged him; yet the tradition in Rhode Island, sixty years after his death, was, that Philip himself was not for war, but was forced into it by the fury of his young men, against his own judgment and inclination.* "The commencement of the war was accidental."†

There are no intimations that the Nipmucks, who entered into the war so furiously, had ever complained of being wronged by the English. The Quabaugs, and perhaps other Nipmucks, had long been accounted subjects of the Wampanoags, and when Uncas attacked the Quabaugs in 1661, they were defended by a brother of Philip. They were intimately connected with the Wampanoags, and readily joined them in the war. The Norwottucks and others near Connecticut River, were closely related to the Quabaugs.

This memorable war began near Mount Hope, on Thursday, June 24, 1675, when the Wampanoags slew nine of the inhabitants of Swansey. Soldiers were sent from Boston and Plymouth, and Philip and his people fled to Pocasset, now in Tiverton; and houses were burnt and people slain in some places in the vicinity. The English enclosed Philip and his Indians in Pocasset Neck, but early on the first of August, they found means to escape.

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*Century Sermon in 1738, by Mr. Callender, a Baptist minister at Newport.

†Bancroft's History of the United States.

They were discovered at Rehoboth, and pursued towards the Nipmuck country, and fourteen slain.

On the 14th of July, while Philip was near Pocasset, the Nipmucks began their mischief, and killed four or five persons at Mendon. This was the first English blood shed in war, in Massachusetts.

When the war began, Hampshire county contained the following towns and plantations:—Springfield, including West Springfield and Longmeadow; Westfield, Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield, Deerfield, Northfield, Brookfield and Suffield. The people at Suffield soon left the place; and if there were any settlers at Swampfield (Sunderland,) they did not long remain.

The second attempt of the Nipmucks was in the county of Hampshire. The council ordered Capt. Edward Hutchinson to take Capt. Thomas Wheeler and about twenty horsemen, and Ephraim Curtis for a guide, and go to the Nipmucks near Quabaug, and treat with them. They reached Brookfield, with three Christian Indians, on Sunday, the first of August. The Indians, who were at Meminimisset,* supposed to be about ten miles distant, northerly, promised to meet Capt. H. the next morning, on a plain,† about three miles from the village. On the 2d of August, Capt. H. and his party and three of the principal men of Brookfield, rode to the plain and found no Indians. Capt. H. was persuaded by the Brookfield men to go farther, and when they had proceeded northerly four or five miles, and were in a narrow passage, having a bushy, rocky hill on the right, and a thick swamp on the left, a large body of Indians lying in ambush on both sides, suddenly fired upon them and killed eight and wounded five. The survivors were forced to go up the steep hill, and by the guidance of the Christian Indians, they escaped to the village. Having arrived before the Indians, they took pos-

*Meminimisset, or Wennimisset, the new seat of the Quabaugs in 1675, is often named in the Histories of this war. Ephraim Curtis visited it twice in July, 1675, and noticed its situation. Here Philip first came to the Nipmucks on the 5th of August. Mrs. Rowlandson was brought to the same place, a captive, in February, 1676, and here her wounded child died. It was part of a tract of land which is now in New Braintree, about eight miles from West Brookfield, and has Ware river on the north, the meadow or swamp in which Meminimisset brook flows on the west and south, and the same low, swampy land on most of the east side. The road from Hardwick to New Braintree crosses it. I visited this place in 1854.—The spot where the party of Capt. Hutchinson was ambushed, was southward from the Quabaug camp, and cannot be identified. It seems to have been on the east side of the valley.

†This plain is said to be near the head or north part of Wickabaug pond in West Brookfield.

session of one of the largest and strongest houses,* and fortified themselves as well as they could in a short time. The inhabitants, fifteen or sixteen families, being informed of the disaster, all came in haste to the same house, bringing but little with them. The Indians soon flocked into the village and assailed the house with their bullets, and began to burn other buildings. During the two succeeding nights and days, they continued to besiege the house, and made various attempts to burn it, without success. One man was mortally wounded at the garret window, and another was killed without the building, and some others were wounded. The house contained twenty-six men capable of doing service, the wounded, and fifty women and children. The twenty-six men, vigilant and brave, extinguished the fires upon the building, and repelled the assaults of the Indians, until the evening of the third day, August 4th, when Major Simon Willard came to their relief with Capt. Parker and forty-six men and five friendly Indians. Before the next morning, the Indians left the place. The Indians were judged to be 300, and one afterwards taken, "confessed" that they had about 80 killed and wounded.†

On the first night, Ephraim Curtis, to obtain help, crept out on his hands and knees, and reached Marlborough, on the morning of August 4th. Some travelers towards Connecticut River, observing the burning at Quabaug, returned to Marlborough, the same morning, a little before Curtis arrived, and a post had been sent to Major Willard, who was near Lancaster.

The eight persons killed by the Indians in ambush, were Sergeant John Ayres, Sergeant William Pritchard, and Corporal Richard Coy, all of Brookfield; Zechariah Phillips, Timothy Farley, Edward Coburn, Samuel Smedley and Shadrach Hapgood, of other towns. Captain Hutchinson, severely wounded at the same time, died at Marlborough, Aug. 19. Those killed at the house were Henry Young, and Samuel Pritchard, son of Wm. P. Besides these eleven, James Hovey and another were slain somewhere in Brookfield the same day.‡

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*They selected the house used for an inn, and the Hampshire records show that John Ayres kept the inn. It was on Foster's Hill, and the site is about 60 or 70 rods south-east of the dwelling-house of the late Judge Foster. The village was on this hill, and the road between Hadley and Springfield and Boston, passed over this hill, near 150 years after 1675.

†Capt. Wheeler's Narrative.—Perhaps there were 200 Indians. If the 26 men killed and wounded half of 80, they did well.

‡"A list of men slain in the county of Hampshire" in 1675, prepared by Rev. John Russell of Hadley, and now in the State archives, says 13 men were slain at Quabaug, Sept. 2, but names only 11.

In the printed accounts of the destruction of Brookfield, the Christian name of Sergt.

The wounded left the house as soon as they were able to travel, and the inhabitants of the town removed to other places.* The buildings were all burnt except that of John Ayres, and another that was unfinished. The meeting-house was burnt, and also a grist-mill owned by John Pynchon. A garrison was kept in the place till sometime in October, and it was re-established early in March, 1676.

The events at Brookfield produced much alarm in the colony and especially in Hampshire county. Major John Pynchon of Springfield, sent a messenger to the Governor and Council of Connecticut, August 5th, and Capt. Thomas Watts of Hartford and 40 dragoons came up to Springfield on the 6th, where 27 dragoons under Lieut. Thomas Cooper and 10 Springfield Indians joined them, and all marched to Brookfield on the 7th. Captains Lothrop and Beers, sent up by the Council at Boston, arrived at Brookfield the same day. On the 8th, they proceeded northerly to the place called Meminimisset, but found no Indians. The Springfield company proceeded ten miles further but found no track of Indians, and they returned to Springfield on the 10th. The others returned to Brookfield. A company of 30 river Indians from towns about Hartford came up and ranged the woods with the others; and Joshua, son of Uncas, came up with 30 Indians, Aug. 9th. Major John Talcott was sent up Aug. 12th, to consult with Major Pynchon and others in Hampshire. Capt. Mosely of Boston came up to Brookfield with his company, and left for Lancaster, Aug. 15. Major Willard continued at Brookfield some time.

After the arrival of troops at Brookfield, the Nipmucks and Wampanoags seem to have fled northerly to Paquayag, now Athol, and other places in that neighborhood. The English could not trace Philip, after he came into the Nipmuck country, and knew not certainly where he was for some months.

After Philip's escape from Pocasset, Plymouth Colony was nearly free from the ravages of Indians for six or seven months; and excepting those slain at Mendon, July 14, some at Lancaster, Aug. 22, and two others, the Indians killed none in Massachusetts, east of Brookfield, in 1675, nor until February, 1676. The hostile Indians were gathered together in the region about Connecticut

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Pritchard, is erroneously Joseph or John, and Corp. Coy's is by mistake John. The Hampshire records and Pynchon accounts prove that the former was William and the latter Richard.

*John Warner and his sons and some others came to Hadley. Mr. John Younglove, who had been preaching at Brookfield, came to Hadley, perhaps before 1675.

River, after the latter part of August, 1675, and their fury fell upon the Hampshire villages and the troops sent to their aid.

The troops under Captains Lothrop, Beers, and Watts, and the Connecticut Indians, explored the country up Swift River, Connecticut River and elsewhere for some days, without meeting an enemy. Some of our Norwottuck Indians went forth with them. Major Pynchon wrote to Secretary Allyn of Connecticut, in the night of Aug. 22d, and stated that Capt. Watts had returned to Hadley, and the Bay forces to Quabaug; that nothing had been done, except the burning of about 50 wigwams found empty: that our Indians that went out were suspected of being treacherous; and that the enemy was supposed to be at Paquayag. Major Pynchon wished to have Capt. Watts remain longer, and make discovery of the enemy at Paquayag, but he and the Connecticut Indians soon returned to Hartford; he left ten men at Deerfield. A guard of 20 men had been sent to Northfield. Captains Lothrop and Beers came to Hadley about the 23d of August.

Mr. Stoddard's Letter.

Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, wrote the following letter to the Rev. Increase Mather, dated Sept. 15, 1675, which is copied from Mather's "Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England," printed in 1676. Mr. Stoddard sent to Connecticut, the "Reasons alleged for demanding the arms of the Indians of Northampton and Hadley," more extended than those in his letter to Mr. Mather, and extracts are made from the former.

"Reverend and dear brother,

I received yours, wherein among other things, you desire an account of the passages of our war with the Indians. I shall, in answer to your desire, relate the most remarkable passages. The people here having many causes of jealousy of the unfaithfulness of our Indians, presented the same before the committees of the militia, whereupon it was thought meet to desire of them the surrendry of their arms, and by persuasion obtained about nine and twenty. But about three days after, they being desirous to go forth with some forces from Hartford, both Indians and English, and some from the Bay, in pursuit of Philip, their arms were delivered to them again; but a while after their return, jealousies still increasing, there was a general desire in the people of these three towns, that they should be again disarmed, and such things as these were presented to the council here, as inducing thereunto:—[Reasons for disarming the Indians. 1. The Indians were wont in former years, to apply for ground to plant on, in the winter and beginning of spring. This year they desired not ground to plant on till planting time. 2. Many went to Quabaug to our enemies. 3. Wappaye told Deac. Goodman of Hadley, before the war broke out, that there would be war between the Indians and English this summer. 4. Before tidings of the war in Plymouth colony had been received, our Indians, who in all times of danger and war, had been wont to seek shelter by crowding into our homelots, as near our houses as possible, and begging house-room for their stuff and themselves, now, on a sudden, plucked up their wigwams, and took away the goods they had laid up in our houses. 5. They shot bullets at our men five several times, in diverse places,—one at John Clary as he was passing by the fort in the road, between Northampton and Hatfield. 6. After men were killed at

Quabaug, they made eleven triumphing shouts, as their manner is when they have slain their enemies. 7. An Indian woman told the English that two of Philip's men were come to the fort. 8. A Frenchman going towards Quabaug, saw three Indians, who told him they were coming to Norwottuck to persuade the Indians to join in the war. 9. When our Indians went out with the army, all were dissatisfied with their behavior, and Joshua, son of Uncas, said our Indians made fools of the English. 10. The sachems of the Connecticut Indians advised us to disarm them. 11. When they were with our army, near Potetipaog, they said they must not fight against their mothers, brothers and cousins, (for Quabaug Indians are related to them.) 12. Their carriage was surly and insolent. 13. A squaw counselled goodwife Wright to get into town with her children, and said she durst not tell her news, for the Indians would cut off her head. Wappawy confessed that he and several of our Indians had been with Philip.] Other things too many to enumerate were presented, and the council saw cause to demand their arms, August 24th. They made some objections but were fully answered. The sachem left the council, to try whether he could persuade the Indians, promising however to bring in his own, [arms.] In the afternoon, the council sent to the fort for their answer; they told the messenger that some Indians were abroad in the meadows, and they were not willing to deliver up their arms without their consent, but in the morning they should have their answer. The messenger was desired to go again to them in the evening, to confer with them, to try whether he could persuade them, and coming to the other side of the river, wished some of them to come over; they bid him come over to them, and bid him kiss —— ——. Whereupon Captains Lothrop and Beers,* with whom the thing was left, intended to take their arms by force, and at midnight sent over to our officers, to draw as nigh the fort as they could without being perceived, and they would do the like on Hatfield side, and so at break of day come upon them, but before they came, the Indians were fled, having killed an old sachem who was not willing to go with them. The captains resolved to follow them, and pursued a great pace after them, with about an hundred men, having sent back a part of ours for a guard of the town. They intended to parley with the Indians, but on a sudden the Indians let fly about forty guns at them and were soon answered by a volley from our men; about forty ran down into the swamp after them, poured in shot upon them, made them throw down much of their luggage, and after a while, our men, after the Indian manner, got behind trees and watched their opportunities to make shots at them. The fight continued about three hours; we lost six men upon the ground, though one was shot in the back by our own men; a seventh died of his wound coming home, and two died the next night, nine in all, of nine several towns, every one of these towns lost a man.† Of the Indians, as we hear since by a squaw that was taken, and by three children that came to our town from them the day after, there were slain twenty-six.‡ An Indian and a squaw both own that our Indians received wompam from Philip in the spring. After this fight we heard no more of them till the first of September, when they shot down a garrison soldier of

*Captains Lothrop and Beers were in Hadley. The messenger had been sent on that side, and the river was between him and the fort. The captains sent over at midnight, "to our officers," that is, the Northampton officers. Captains L. and B. crossed the river from Hadley into Hatfield and marched down towards the fort, while the Northampton men marched up to it. The fort was about half way between the two villages.

†The nine persons slain in this first fight near Connecticut River, were:—Azariah Dickinson of Hadley, son of Nathaniel D.; Samuel Mason of Northampton, only son of Thomas M.; Richard Fellows of Hatfield, son of Richard F., deceased; James Levens, John Plummer, Mark Pitman, Joseph Person, Matthew Scales, William Cluff, from six eastern towns.

‡As the Indians chose their own ground, and fought in their own way, it is hardly to be believed that they lost more men than the English.

Menowniet, a half Narraganset and half Mohegan Indian, was in this engagement; he affirmed that no Indians were killed, in this fight. This testimony is not to be relied on, but is as worthy of credit as many things more favorable to the English, which the Indians "owned."

Pocomptuck,* that was looking after his horse, and ran violently up into the town, many people having scarcely time enough to get into the garrisons. That day, they burnt most of their houses and barns, the garrisons not being strong enough to sally out upon them, but killed two of their men from the forts. The next day [Sept. 2d] they set upon several men that were gone out of the fort at Squakheag; they slew eight of our men, not above one of them being slain that we know of, but made no attempt upon the fort. The next day [Sept. 3,] this onset being unknown, Capt. Beers set forth [from Hadley,] with about thirty-six men and some carts to fetch off the garrison at Squakheag, and coming within three miles of the place, the next morning [Sept. 4th,] were set upon by a great number of Indians from the side of a swamp, where was a hot dispute for some time. They having lost their Captain and some others, resolved at last to fly, and going to take horse, lost several men more, I think about twelve; the most that escaped got to Hadley that evening; next morning another came in, and at night another that had been taken by the Indians, and loosed from his bonds by a Natick Indian; he tells that the Indians were all drunk that night, that they mourned much for the loss of a great captain, that the English had killed twenty-five of their men. Six days after, another soldier came in, who had been lost ever since the fight, and was almost famished, and so lost his understanding that he knew not what day the fight was on.†

On the 5th of September, [Sunday] Major Treat set forth for Squakheag with above an hundred men; next day coming nigh Squakheag, his men were much daunted to see the heads of Capt. Beers' soldiers upon poles by the wayside.‡ After they were come to Squakheag, some were fired upon by about fourteen Indians, Major Treat was struck upon the thigh, but not harmed. Coming to the fort, he concluded forthwith to bring off the garrison; so they came away the same night, [Sept. 6th] leaving the cattle there, and the dead bodies unburied, since which, seventeen of their cattle came a great part of the way themselves, and have since been fetched into Hadley.§

Upon the 12th of this month, [Sunday] the Indians made an assault upon twenty-two men of Pocomptuck, that were going from one garrison to the other to meeting, in the afternoon, made a great volley of shot at them, but killed not one man; they escaped to the garrison whither they were going, only one man, running to the other garrison, was taken

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*This was James Eggleston of Windsor, left at Deerfield by Capt. Watts. Menowniet was in this attack. He said the Indians were about 60, and that they killed one Englishman.

†A note in Mather says the men fought till their powder and shot were spent; and the Indians killed above twenty and only thirteen escaped. A cart with some ammunition fell into the hands of the enemy. According to Hubbard, Capt. Beers went up with supplies for the garrison; and they were set upon "very near to the town" out of the bushes, by a swamp side, and Capt. Beers and about 20 of his men were slain.

The swampy ravine south of the village of Northfield, where the Indians were in ambush, and Beers's Plain, across which the soldiers retreated, to their horses, are well known at this day. Men now living have found bones and bullets near where the fighting took place.

Mr. Russell, in his list, reports only sixteen slain at Squakeag, Sept. 4, and gives the names of eleven, viz., Capt. Richard Beers, John Chenary, Ephraim Child, Benjamin Crackbone, Robert Pepper, George Lyruss, John Gatchell, James Miller, John Wilson, Joseph Dickinson [of Northfield], William Markham, Jr. [of Hadley, an only son; he was with a team.] Robert Pepper, erroneously numbered among the slain, was taken, and was with the Indians when Mrs. Rowlandson was a captive. Capt. Beers was from Watertown, and was in the Pequot war 38 years before. His widow died June 19, 1706, aged 92.

‡Hubbard says one man, if not more, was found with a chain hooked into his under jaw, and so hung upon the bough of a tree. It was feared that he was hung up alive.

§Cattle often fled from the Indians and sought the protection of the English. When Major Willard came near Brookfield, the cattle which had been frightened away by the yells and firing of the Indians, fell into his rear and followed him and his company into the village. In this and later Indian wars, the people were always alarmed, when the cattle ran furiously out of the woods to the village.

alive.* The Indians took up their rendezvous on an hill† in the meadow, burnt two more houses, killed many horses, and carried away horse-loads of beef and pork to the hill. The next day, we persuaded some of our inhabitants to go volunteers, and sent to Hadley to do the like, who going up with some of Capt. Lothrop's soldiers, joined themselves to the garrison at Pocomptuck, and on Tuesday [Sept. 14th,] very early went out to assault the Indians, but they were all fled. Last night Capt. Mosely and his men came into Hadley, and this night we expect more forces from Hartford. If the Lord give not sudden check to these Indians, it is to be feared that most of the Indians in the country will rise.

I desire you would speak to the governor, that there may be some thorough care for a Reformation. I am sensible there are many difficulties therein; many sins are grown so in fashion, that it becomes a question whether they be sins or not. I desire you would especially mention *oppression*, that intolerable *pride* in clothes and hair;‡ the toleration of so many *taverns*, especially in Boston, and suffering home-dwellers to lie tippling in them. Let me hear soon from you. The Lord bless you and your labors. Forget us not at the throne of grace." [A small part of the letter is omitted.]

The Norwottucks and Pocomtucks.—The fight between the Norwottuck Indians and their pursuers happened "about ten miles above Hatfield, at a place called Sugar Loaf Hill," according to Hubbard; "at a swamp beyond Hatfield," according to Mr. Russell of Hadley. The place is now unknown. These Indians left their native valley, in the night succeeding August 24th, and never dwelt in it again. No doubt there were some among them, especially females like the one that informed goodwife Wright of her danger, who were favorable to the English, and left the fort with heavy hearts. The kindly greeting and the friendly "*netop*"§ between them and the English, were now at an end.

Their number when they fled may have been between 200 and 225, with 50 or 55 fighting men. They manifested more spirit and energy in the war than they had been supposed to possess, and this may be said of some other tribes.

The Norwottucks united with the Pocomtucks not long after the fight of Aug. 25. Hubbard says the Deerfield Indians withdrew from the English and joined the hostile Indians, but no circumstances are given relative to their defection. Both tribes may have united in the assault upon Deerfield, Sept. 1st. They were the only enemies on the west side of the Connecticut for some time.

The tidings of the fight of August 25th reached Hartford the same day, and the next day, the Council sent up George Graves and twenty men, "to assist the plantations of Norwottog."

*He was probably slain then or soon after. Mr. Russell has the name of Nathaniel Cornberry, slain at Deerfield.

†This hill is now a conspicuous object in Deerfield meadow. It was a hiding and watching place for the Indians.

‡This pride in hair, may allude to wigs which were coming into fashion.

§This Indian word was handed down by our ancestors, and it was not uncommon, 40 years ago, to hear two intimate friends called "great netops."

On the 31st, Major Talcott was again sent up to consult with Major Pynchon. On the 3d of September, Major Treat came up with men from the counties of Fairfield, New Haven and Hartford. He marched to Northfield and brought down the garrison and inhabitants, and then returned to Hartford, Sept. 9, leaving some of his forces in garrison, in three or four towns. Capt. Appleton of Ipswich was here.

After Major Treat left Northfield, Sept. 6, the Indians destroyed this small village. This was the second place in Hampshire county that was laid waste.* It had been settled only two or three years, but contained nearly as many families as Brookfield. Most of them were from Northampton. They had no minister nor meeting-house, but William Janes, a competent person, used to pray and exhort in pleasant weather, under a broad-spreading tree.

The Nipmucks and Wampanoags, whom the English captains had long sought after in vain, first showed themselves upon Connecticut River on the first day of September, and made an attack upon Hadley. As our river Indians were engaged the same day at Deerfield, these must have been the Indians who came from the east. And it can hardly be doubted that they killed the eight men at Northfield, Sept. 2d, attacked Capt. Beers, Sept. 4, and fired upon Major Treat, Sept. 6. They exulted in their successes, and after Northfield was deserted, lived upon the good things which the English had left. They seem not to have crossed the river and united with the river Indians, until about the middle of September.

An attack upon Hadley repelled by the aid of Gen. Goffe.

The interesting events that took place in Hadley, on Wednesday, the first of September, 1675, have been but imperfectly disclosed. It was necessary at the time, and long after, to throw a veil over the transactions of that day, which has been, and can be, only partially removed. In the house of the Rev. John Russell had long been concealed two men, who were worthy of respect and honor, viz., Generals Edward Whalley and William Goffe. They had been conspicuous in the revolutions of England, and had been instrumental in bringing a guilty king, Charles I, to the block. They were of course odious to all who believed in

*The eight men slain at Northfield, Sept. 2d, were:—Serg. Samuel Wright, Ebenezer Janes, Jonathan Janes, Ebenezer Parsons, Nathaniel Curtis, Benjamin Dunwich, Thomas Scott, John Peck. The first five were from Northampton, and all but Sergt. Wright were young men.

the divine right of kings, and after the restoration of Charles II, were pursued and hunted by the minions of royalty. Mr. Russell, who feared not to do what he thought to be right, received them into his house in 1664, where they remained hidden from the world, and even from the people of Hadley. A few persons were in the secret in that town and elsewhere. Had their place of residence been discovered by their enemies, they and Mr. Russell and others would have been exposed to destruction. Whalley was superannuated in 1675, but Goffe was still capable of service.

The fight at Hadley, is thus concisely noticed by Mather.* On the first of September, "one of the churches in Boston was seeking the face of God by fasting and prayer before him. Also that very day, the church in Hadley was before the Lord in the same way, but were driven from the holy service they were attending, by a most sudden and violent alarm, which routed them the whole day after." This was all that Mather dared to publish in 1676; and Hubbard does not even allude to the fight.† Nothing more appeared in print until Governor Hutchinson published his History of Massachusetts in 1760, in which the following notice of Goffe's heroic act appeared in a note.

"The town of Hadley was alarmed by the Indians in 1675, in the time of public worship, and the people were in the utmost confusion.‡ Suddenly a grave, elderly person appeared in the midst of them. In his mien and dress he differed from the rest of the people. He not only encouraged them to defend themselves, but put himself at their head, rallied, instructed and led them on to encounter the enemy, who by this means were repulsed. As suddenly the deliverer of Hadley disappeared. The people were left in consternation, utterly unable to account for this strange phenomenon. It is not probable that they were ever able to explain it. If Goffe had been then discovered, it must have come to the knowledge of those persons, who declare by their letters that they never knew what became of him."

This attack was on the first of September, according to Hutchinson. He says this anecdote of Goffe was handed down through Governor Leverett's family. Gov. L. was at Hadley while the judges were there.§

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*He probably knew all the particulars. Mr. Stoddard may have communicated them to him.

†Hoyt, in his Antiquarian Researches, expresses an opinion that September first is an erroneous date, because Hubbard did not mention any attack upon Hadley, at that time. Hubbard had good reasons for his silence. Hoyt had not seen Mather's History.

‡Captains Lothrop and Beers were then in Hampshire county, but may have been on the west side of the river.

§Traditions are to be very cautiously received, but this seems to be entitled to credit. Gov. Hutchinson's father was born before Philip's war, and must have been well acquainted with the Leverett family. The widow of Gov. Leverett died in 1704, only seven years before Gov. H. was born.

President Stiles, in his History of three of the Judges of Charles I, published in 1794, thus relates the story of the angel that appeared at Hadley.

"Though told with some variation in different parts of New England, the true story of the angel is this. That pious congregation were observing a fast at Hadley, on occasion of the war; and being at public worship in the meeting-house there, on a fast day, September 1, 1675, were suddenly surrounded and surprised by a body of Indians. It was the usage in the frontier towns, and even at New Haven, in those Indian wars, for a select number of the congregation to go armed to public worship. It was so at Hadley at this time. The people immediately took to their arms, but were thrown into great consternation and confusion. Had Hadley been taken, the discovery of the Judges had been inevitable. Suddenly, and in the midst of the people there appeared a man of very venerable aspect, and different from the inhabitants in his apparel, who took the command, arranged, and ordered them in the best military manner, and under his direction they repelled and routed the Indians, and the town was saved. He immediately vanished, and the inhabitants could not account for the phenomenon, but by considering that person as an Angel sent of God upon that special occasion for their deliverance; and for some time after said and believed that they had been delivered and saved by an Angel. Nor did they know or conceive otherwise till fifteen or twenty years after, when it at length became known at Hadley that the two Judges had been secreted there; which probably they did not know till after Mr. Russell's death, in 1692. This story, however, of the Angel at Hadley, was before this universally diffused thro' New-England by means of the memorable Indian war of 1675. The mystery was unriddled after the revolution, [in England in 1688,] when it became not so very dangerous to have it known that the Judges had received an asylum here, and that Goffe was actually in Hadley at that time. The Angel was certainly General Goffe, for Whalley was superannuated in 1675.*"

Capt. Samuel Mosely came to Hadley with a company of about sixty Bay soldiers, on the 14th of September, and soon after went up to Deerfield. On the 15th or 16th, Major Treat arrived at Northampton with more Connecticut troops. Capt. John Mason, of Norwich, was ordered to lead a company of Mohegans and Pequots up to Norwottuck and other plantations. Capt. Lothrop's head-quarters were at Hadley.

Capt. Lothrop and his company slain at Muddy Brook.

A large quantity of grain at Deerfield had been thrashed and teams and drivers provided to convey the grain and other articles to Hadley. Capt. Lothrop and his company were to guard them, and they commenced their march on Saturday, Sept. 18th. The eastern Indians had crossed to the west side of the river and united with the others; and they had watched the movements of the English without being discovered. The succeeding account is from Mather.

"September 18, Captain Lothrop, a godly and courageous commander, with abou seventy men, were sent to be as a guard to some that were coming from Deerfield with cart laden with goods and provisions, to be removed to Hadley for security. But as they wer

*Pres. Stiles errs in supposing the meeting-house was surrounded by Indians.—Hutchinson does not allude to the angel story.

coming, the Indians lurked in the swamps and multitudes of them made a sudden and frightful assault.* They seized upon the carts and goods, (many of the soldiers having been so foolish and secure as to put their arms in the carts, and step aside to gather grapes, which proved dear and deadly grapes to them,) killed Capt. Lothrop and above three score of his men, stripped them of their clothes, and so left them to lie weltering in their own blood. Capt. Mosely, who was gone out [from Deerfield] to range the woods, hearing the guns, hastened to their help, but before he could come, the other captain and his men were slain, as hath been expressed. Nevertheless he gave the Indians battle; they were in such numbers as that he and his company were in extreme danger. In the nick of time, Major Treat† with above an hundred men, and three score of Uncas his Indians, came in to succor those that were so beset with the enemy, whereupon the enemy presently retreated and night coming on, there was no pursuing of them. In this fight but few of Capt. Mosely's men were slain.‡ How many Indians were killed is uncertain; it being their manner to draw away their dead men as fast as they are killed, if possibly they can do it. I am informed that some of the Indians have reported that they lost ninety-six men that day, and that they had above forty wounded, many of whom died afterwards.§ However, this was a black and fatal day, wherein there were eight persons made widows and six and twenty children made fatherless, all in one little plantation, and in one day;‖ and above sixty persons buried in one dreadful grave."

Hubbard ascribes this great defeat to a wrong notion of Capt. Lothrop, that it was best to fight Indians in their own way, by skulking behind trees.** Hoyt thinks they wanted circumspection on the previous march, and that destruction was unavoidable, after they fell into an ambuscade. Hubbard says Lothrop's company were "the very flower of the county of Essex, none of which were ashamed to speak with the enemy in the gate." Capt. Lothrop was from Beverly, and left a widow but no children.

Major Treat and Capt. Mosely went to Deerfield that night, and returned to Muddy brook the next morning, and buried the dead.

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*The place of this assault was near Muddy brook, a small stream, which now crosses the highway in the village of South Deerfield. It was called Muddy brook before and after this disaster; and has since often been named Bloody brook.

†Major Treat marched for Squakeag that morning, probably from Northampton, and arrived near Muddy brook "in the nick of time."

‡According to Mr. Russell's list, he lost three men, viz., Peter Barron, John Oates and another. According to Hubbard, he had two men killed and eight or nine wounded.

§One-eyed John, a Nipmuck sagamore, told James Quannapohit, that he lost only one man in the fight with Capt. Lothrop, and one with Capt. Beers; and that the other Indians lost but two men. These Indian stories cannot be confided in. The Indian report about the loss of 96 men deserves not the least credit.

‖This "little plantation" was Deerfield, and seven of the husbands and fathers that were slain, were Samuel Hinsdale, who left 6 children; John Allen, 2 or 3 children; Joseph Gillet, 6 children; John Allen, 2 or 3 children; Joshua Carter, 2 or 3 children; Zebadiah Williams, 2 children; Philip Barsham, children. The eighth may have been Robert Hinsdale the father of the other Hinsdales, or John Hinsdale.

**Hubbard remarks of Indian fighting:—"The Indians durst not look an Englishman in the face in an open field, nor ever yet were known to kill any man with their guns, unless when they could lie in wait for him in an ambush, or behind some shelter, taking aim undiscovered." He might have concluded from this Indian mode of warfare, that the English would ordinarily kill very few Indians.

A postscript to a letter from the Council of Massachusetts to Richard Smith in the Narraganset country, dated Sept. 22, 1675, gives a short account of the first reports of this sad disaster:—

"This morning, was received sad intelligence from Hadley; that upon Saturday last, Capt. Lothrop with about sixty men, being appointed to conduct from Deerfield to Hadley with carriages and cattle, they were surprised by abundance of Indians that lay in ambushment and received a dreadful blow; insomuch that above forty of Capt. Lothrop's men with himself were slain. Capt. Mosely being not far off, engaged with the Indians and fought several hours and lost eleven men;* others also were slain that belonged to the carriages, [carts,] so that the next day they buried sixty-four men in all. The Indians were judged to be near five hundred."

Accounts differ as to the number of English slain. The "List of men slain in the county of Hampshire" made out by Rev. Mr. Russell, of Hadley, says seventy-one men were slain at Muddy Brook bridge, the 18th of September.† This statement is more to be depended on than any other. It includes all the teamsters that were killed.

It may be doubted whether the soldiers and teamsters under Capt. Lothrop were more than eighty. About fifty-four of the soldiers, and seventeen of the teamsters, were slain. Above sixty were buried in one grave,—probably the sixty-four mentioned in the letter sent to Boston. Some of the teamsters may have been buried in the towns below.

The number of Indians engaged, according to the first report sent to Boston, was "near five hundred." This is undoubtedly too high an estimate, but other accounts swelled the number to seven or eight hundred, and even to twelve hundred. If the

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*This number included his wounded men.

†Mr. Russell gives the names of only fifty-nine. Of these, forty-two were soldiers, viz., Capt. Thomas Lothrop, Sergt. Thomas Smith, Samuel Stevens, John Hobbs, Daniel Button, John Harriman, Thomas Bayley, Ezekiel Sawier, Jacob Kilborne, Thomas Manning, Jacob Wainwright, Benjamin Roper, John Bennet, Thomas Mentor, Caleb Kimball, Thomas Hobs, Robert Homes, Edward Traske, Richard Lambert, Josiah Dodge, Peter Woodberry, Joseph Balch, Samuel Whitteridge, William Duy, Serg. Samuel Stevens, Samuel Crumpton, John Plum, Thomas Buckley, George Ropes, Joseph Kinge, Thomas Alexander, Francis Friende, Abel Osyer, John Littleale, Samuel Hudson, Adam Clarke, Ephraim Farah, Robert Wilson, Stephen Welman, Benjamin Farnell, Solomon Alley, John Merrit, 42.

Names of Deerfield Teamsters and a few others.—Robert Hinsdale and his three sons, Samuel Hinsdale, Barnabas Hinsdale, and John Hinsdale; Joseph Gillet, John Allen, Joshua Carter, John Barnard, James Tufts, Jonathan Plympton, Philip Barsham, Thomas Wells, William Smead, (Jr.,) Zebadiah Williams, Eliakim Marshall, James Mudge, George Cole, 17.

Eleven or twelve of these seventeen were Deerfield teamsters and perhaps more. John Barnard, a teamster, was a son of Francis Barnard of Hadley. Thomas Wells, Eliakim Marshall, James Mudge and George Cole are placed with the teamsters by Mr. Russell; but may not have belonged to Deerfield.

Indians were four hundred, they were six times as numerous as the soldiers.

Several men that were with Capt. Lothrop escaped, seven or eight according to Hubbard. Some of their names appear on petitions to the General Court. A few belonged to Suffolk county. James Bennet from Boston, a resident in Northampton, was slain.

In two or three days after Capt. Lothrop's defeat, the garrison and inhabitants of Deerfield abandoned the place, and a third village in Hampshire county was given up to desolation. Deerfield was a recent, but thriving village, containing more than twenty families, and having a minister, Mr. Samuel Mather, afterwards of Windsor. The surviving inhabitants retired to Hatfield and other places. In a petition to the General Court in 1678, of the "remnant of Deerfield's poor inhabitants," scattered into several towns, they say truly, that "their houses are burnt, their estates wasted, and the ablest of their inhabitants killed, and their plantation become a wilderness, a dwelling place for owls," &c.

The Commissioners of the New England Colonies met at Boston in September. They ordered that Massachusetts should complete their soldiers already in Hampshire to 300, and Connecticut theirs to 200. These were not to be fixed in garrisons, but to be employed for a field army, to pursue the enemy, &c.

About the first of October, Capt. Samuel Appleton and Capt. Joseph Sill had each a company at Hadley, and Capt. Samuel Mosely at Hatfield. On the 4th of October, Lieut. Phinehas Upham was sent up with 30 men, and Capt. Jonathan Poole, of Reading, was here a few days after. The Pequots, Mohegans, and some friendly Nipmucks called Wabaquassucks, returned to Hartford, Sept. 23d, but some Connecticut troops remained.

Secretary Rawson wrote, Sept. 30:—"the slaughter in your parts has much dampened many spirits for the war. Some men escape away from the press, and others hide away after they are impressed."

Major Pynchon wrote to the Council, from Hadley, Sept. 30, as follows:—

"We are endeavoring to discover the enemy, and daily send out scouts, but little is effected. Our English are somewhat awk and fearful in scouting and spying, though we do the best we can. We have no Indian friends here to help us. We find the Indians have their scouts out. Two days ago two Englishmen at Northampton, being gone out in the morning to cut wood, and but a little from the house, were both shot down dead, having two bullets

apiece shot into each of their breasts. The Indians cut off their scalps, took their arms and were off in a trice.*"

About the 26th of September, Major Pynchon's farm-house and barns, on the west side of the river, with all the grain and hay, were set on fire by a few Indians, and consumed.†—Major P. thought himself not fitted to be commander of all the troops sent into the county, and he requested to be discharged, before the middle of September, and the request was urgently repeated. On the 4th of October, the Council appointed Capt. Samuel Appleton, of Ipswich, commander in chief of the united forces, and he took the command on the 12th of October.

On the 28th of August, the Council of Connecticut advised Maj. Pynchon not to disarm the Springfield Indians, but to take hostages of them. This advice appears to have been followed, and the hostages were kept at Hartford. The Indians continued to profess friendship for the English, but at length roused by the victories of the Indians up the river, rather than excited by the arts of Philip, they determined to aid in the work of destroying the English towns. Their principal fort on the east side of the river was at Longhill, towards Longmeadow. Their chief was commonly named Wequogon, an old sachem, who, with his wife Awonusk, sold Hockanum and a part of South Hadley to the people of Hadley in 1662. Hubbard says the sachem of the Springfield Indians was father of the Hadley sachem,‡ and on this account, he supposes the former was more easily persuaded to join with the Hadley Indians.

Major Pynchon, who spent much of his time at Hadley, the head-quarters for this county, learning that a body of Indians had been in the vicinity of Hadley mill, called off all the soldiers stationed at Springfield, on the 4th of October, intending to have his forces go against the enemy that night or the next day. On the same day, Oct. 4th, Toto, a Windsor Indian, informed the people of Windsor or Hartford of a plot of the Indians, to burn Springfield and massacre the inhabitants the next day. An express was sent up to Springfield; and from that place a post was dispatched to Major Pynchon at Hadley, where he arrived

*On the 28th of September, Praisever Turner and his man, Uzackaby Shackspeer, were killed at Northampton. Some have imagined that the latter was a relative of Shakspeare. Maj. Pynchon calls him an Englishman, but the first name does not appear to be English. Praisever Turner's house and lot were within a few rods of the present residence of the writer of this volume, on Elm street.

†Major Pynchon hired 24 cattle kept at Lyme, Conn. the next winter.

‡I have seen no evidence that Wequogon was the father of Sancumachu, the principal sachem of Hadley. Perhaps Sancumachu had married a daughter of Wequogon.

some time in the night. He brought tidings that five hundred of Philip's and other Indians were in Springfield fort, ready to fall upon the town the next day. Another post was sent to Major Treat, who was at Westfield. Major Pynchon marched for Springfield the next morning, Tuesday, Oct. 5th, with Capt. Appleton and Capt. Sill and about 190 soldiers. The following extracts from letters, written near the time, will tell the sad story of the desolation at Springfield.

Letter from Major John Pynchon to the Rev. John Russell of Hadley.—Extracts.

"Springfield, Oct. 5, 1675.

Reverend Sir,

The Lord will have us lie in the dust before him. It is the Lord and blessed be his holy name. We came to a lamentable and woeful sight: the town in flames, not a house nor barn standing except old Goodman Branch's, till we came to my house, and then Mr. Glover's, John Hitchcock's, and Goodman Stewart's burnt down with barns, corn and all they had. A few standing about the meeting house, and then from Merrick downwards all burnt except two garrison houses at the lower end of the town; my grist mill and corn mill burnt down, with some other houses and barns I had let out to tenants. All Mr. Glover's library burnt with all his corn, so that he hath none to live on, as well as myself and many more. They tell me 32 houses and the barns belonging to them, are burnt and all the livelihood of the owners. The Lord shew mercy to us. Sir, I pray acquaint our Honored Governor with this dispensation of God. I know not how to write. The Lord in mercy speak to my heart and to all our hearts is the real desire of,

Yours to serve,

JOHN PYNCHON.

"I pray send down by the post my doublet, coat, linen and papers, I left there."

[Then follow 60 lines in characters or short hand.]

Letter from Rev. John Russell of Hadley to the Governor and Council, not dated, but written at Hadley, Oct. 6, 1675.—Extracts.

"Right Worshipful,

The light of another day hath turned our yesterday's fears into certainties and bitter lamentation for the distresses and calamities of our brethren and friends at Springfield whose habitations have now become an heap. The enclosed from the Honored Major will give you such account of it as is with us to make. We have little more to add, only that the houses standing are about 13. Two men and one woman slain, viz. Lt. Cooper who was going towards the fort to treat with the Indians that the day before professed great friendship, being with 3 or 4 more just about a quarter of a mile out of town, was shot so as he fell off his horse, but got up again and rode to the end of the town, where he was shot again and died. The other man was Thomas Miller of Springfield. There appeared not according to their estimate above 100 Indians, of whom their own were the chief.* Their old sachem Wequogon (in whom as much confidence was put as in any of their Indians) was ring-leader in word and deed. Another of their principal men cried out to them and told them he was one that burnt Quabaug, and now would make them like to it. They were gone ere Major Pynchon came in with his forces which was about 2 or 3 of the clock. They signified their sense of his approach by their whoops and watch-words and were presently gone. Maj. Treat was got down from Westfield, some hours

*The information in these lines from Mr. Russell derived from Springfield people, proves beyond a doubt the falsity of the rumors about Philip's Indians being at Springfield. Wequogon and the Springfield Indians could form daring plots, and execute them. A few other Indians may have assisted them, but Wequogon was "ring-leader in word and deed." The three and five hundred Indians of the rumors are here, on good authority, reduced to a hundred or less.

sooner on the west side of the river, whose coming being perceived, 5 men went out of town, and although pursued by 20 Indians, carried over a boat which was filled with men, but the Indians standing on the river's bank shot at them and shot one through the neck (who is not like to recover.) They durst not adventure to pass the river, till Maj. Pynchon was come in and the Indians gone. Our army had prepared all things in readiness to go forth on Monday at night, (which was the occasion of calling forth those from Springfield) against a considerable party discovered 5 or 6 miles from Hadley. But the three alarms we met with and the tidings from Springfield wholly dissappointed it.

Our town of Hadley is now like to drink next (if mercy prevent not) of this bitter cup; we are but about 50 families and now left solitary. We desire to repose our confidence in the eternal and living God who is the refuge of his people, and to stand ready to do and suffer his will in all things. To his grace I commend you.

Your wor'ps humbly in all service,

JOHN RUSSELL.

Our wounded men are greatly distressed for want of medicines. Those by sea not yet come at us; those expected by Capt. Waite left at Roxbury."

Letter from Major John Pynchon to Governor Leverett,—Extracts.

Springfield, Oct. 8, 1675.

"Honored sir,

I desired Mr. Russell to give you an account of the sore stroke upon poor distressed Springfield, which I hope will excuse my late doing of it. On the 4th of October our soldiers which were at Springfield I had called all off, leaving none to secure the town because the Commissioners' order was so strict. That night a post was sent to us that 500 Indians were about Springfield intending to destroy it the 5th of October. With about 200 of our soldiers I marched down to Springfield where we found all in flames, about 30 dwelling houses burnt down and 24 or 25 barns, my corn mill, saw mill and other buildings.* Generally men's hay and corn are burnt and many men whose houses stand had their goods burnt in other houses which they had carried them to. Lt. Cooper and two more slain and 4 persons wounded.† That the town did not utterly perish is cause of great thankfulness. As soon as said forces appeared the Indians all drew off, so that we saw none of them. We sent out scouts that night and the next day but discovered none. Our endeavors here are to secure the houses and corn that are left. Our people are under great discouragement and talk of leaving the place. We need your orders and directions about it. How to have provisions, I mean bread, for want of a mill, is difficult. The soldiers here already complain on that account, although we have flesh enough. Many of the inhabitants have no houses, which fills and throngs up every room of those that have, together with the soldiers; indeed it is very uncomfortable living here. But I resolve to attend what God calls me to and to stick to it as long as I can. I hope God will make up in himself what is wanting in the creature, to me, and to us all.

To speak my thoughts—all these towns ought to be garrisoned, as I have formerly hinted, To go out after the Indians in the swamps and thickets is to hazard all our men, unless we know where they keep; which is altogether unknown to us.

I remain your unworthy serv't,

JOHN PYNCHON.

We are in great hazard, if we do but stir out for wood, to be shot down by some skulking Indians. Mr. Glover had all his books burnt; not so much as a bible saved—a great loss, for he had some choice books and many."

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*Capt. Appleton states in a letter of Oct. 12, that about 33 houses and 25 barns were burnt, and about 15 houses left unburnt, in the town-plat. On the west side of the river, and in the outskirts on the east side, about 60 houses were standing, and much corn in and about them.

†Those killed at Springfield, Oct. 5, were Lieut. Thomas Cooper, Thomas Miller, and Pentecost Matthews, wife of John Matthews. Those mortally wounded were Nathaniel Browne, and Edmund Pringridays. These died a few days after.

Connecticut sent up forty-three Indians from Farmington, Hartford and Wethersfield, Oct. 6, but they effected nothing. On the 8th, upon a report that there were hostile Indians* near Hartford, Major Treat and a part of his soldiers were recalled. He returned to Hampshire about ten days after.

Capt. Appleton took the command of the forces, and came from Springfield to Hadley, Oct. 12th.† He intended to March up to Squakeag on the 15th, but reports that the Indians were above Hatfield, drew him and his troops to that side of the river on the 15th, and again on the 16th. In a letter of the 17th, he says, "we have wearied ourselves with a tedious night and morning's march, without making any discovery of the enemy."

The Springfield Squaw.—Capt. Appleton, in a letter to Gov. Leverett, dated at Hadley, Oct. 16, relates that a letter from Major Pynchon informs him of an old Indian squaw, taken at Springfield, who tells that the Indians who came to Springfield were 270; and that the enemy in all are 600. They keep at Coasset,‡ a place supposed to be about 50 miles above Hadley.

Capt. Mosely wrote a letter to the governor from Hatfield, the same day, Oct. 16, of which the following is the concluding part:—

"We are told by an Indian that was taken at Springfield, that the Indians intend to set upon these three towns in one day, The body that waits to do this exploit is about 600 Indians, as we are informed by the aforesaid Indian; and further we are informed that they are making a fort some 60 miles above this place, up in the woods.

Pray sir, be pleased to present my humble service to your lady, and all the rest of your family. I make no question but the enemy will make an attempt within a short time upon these towns. Having nothing else worthy of your reading, I remain sir,

Your most humble and ready servant,

SAMUEL MOSELY."

Capt. Mosely wrote on the margin of this letter:—"This aforesaid Indian was ordered to be tourne in peeces by dogs, and shee was so dealt withall."

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*Soon after, there was a rumor that Philip with 400 men was to fall upon Norwich, Oct. 15, and soldiers were ordered to that place. Men were strangely deluded respecting Philip.

†Capt. Appleton reckoned the distance from Springfield to Hadley, "near 30 miles." In judging of distances in the woods, the miles of most men were too many.

Capt. Appleton, in his letter of Oct. 12, trusted that by the prayers of God's people, "our Israel may in his time, prevail against this cursed Amalek; against whom I believe the Lord will have war forever, until he have destroyed him."

‡Cowas was the Indian name of a pine tree, and there were several pine regions, or Cowassets, near Connecticut River. The one here mentioned may have been in the present town of Vernon, Vermont, or a little above.

Here is a short record of a most cruel and barbarous deed—"ordered" too by the English, and done within the good old county of Hampshire, on the lovely border of the Connecticut, among civilized and Christian people.

The squaw, whose story Capt. Appleton derived from Major Pynchon's letter, is unquestionably the same that is noticed by Capt. Mosely. When, where, and by whose order, this savage and brutal act was performed, we are left to conjecture. Her crime is not mentioned.

War is always horrid; and deeds unusually atrocious done by one party, too often provoke the other to acts equally outrageous. The excessive cruelty and atrocity of the Indians, their burnings, massacres and tortures, exasperated the English and sometimes led Christian men to act like merciless barbarians.*

On Tuesday, the 19th of October, the onset which had been apprehended, fell upon Hatfield. No letters relative to this attack have been preserved. The following account is from Hubbard.

"The enemy growing very confident by the late successes, came with all their fury the 19th of October upon Hatfield, hoping no less than to do the like mischief to them, they had newly done to Springfield: But according to the good providence of Almighty God, Major Treat was newly returned to North-Hampton, Captain Mosely and Captain Poole were then garrisoning the said Hatfield, and Capt. Appleton for the like end quartering at Hadley, when on a sudden 7 or 800 of the enemy came upon the town in all quarters, having first killed or taken two or three of the scouts belonging to the town, and seven more belonging to Capt. Mosely's company: But they were so well entertained on all hands where they attempted to break in upon the town, that they found it too hot for them. Major Appleton with great courage defending one end of the town, and Capt. Mosely as stoutly maintaining the middle, and Capt. Poole the other end; that they were by the resolution of the English instantly beaten off, without doing much harm. Capt. Appleton's serjeant was mortally wounded just by his side, another bullet passing through his own hair, by that whisper telling him that death was very near, but did him no other harm. Night coming on, it could not be discerned what loss the enemy sustained, divers were seen to fall, some run through a small river, others cast their guns into the water, it being their manner to venture as much to recover the dead bodies of their friends, as to defend them when alive.

At last after the burning of some few barns, with some other buildings, the enemy hasted away as fast as they came on, leaving the English to bless God who had so mercifully delivered them from the fury of their merciless foes."

The Letters from a Merchant of Boston to his friend in London, give more particulars of the loss of the scouts. The Indians made great fires north of Hatfield, to attract the English, and then came and lay in the bushes by the wayside, about two miles

*A man in Windsor, in a letter to Boston, Oct. 21, 1675, expressed an opinion, that "if an Indian worthy of death, were baited by our fiercest dogs, it would be a terror!" He may have supposed that the dogs would thus be excited to hunt and attack Indians. He made no allusion to any such baiting in Hampshire county.

from the village. About noon, ten horsemen were sent out to scout, and as they were passing the Indians in ambush, nine were shot down and one escaped to Hatfield.* The Indians came in, and attempted to burn the village, about four o'clock.

The great body of the Indians withdrew from this part of the country after their defeat at Hatfield, Oct. 19. A few straggling Indians remained and did some mischief. They burnt four or five houses and two or three barns in Northampton, in the outskirts of the town, the latter part of October; and soon after, on the 29th of the same month, they killed Joseph Baker, his son Joseph, and Thomas Salmon who were at work in a meadow.† The Indians intended to burn Northampton mill, but it was too well guarded. On the 27th of October, the Indians killed three Springfield men, in Westfield, viz., John Dumbleton, Jr., who went to the Westfield mill, and William Brooks, Jr. and John Brooks, who went to Westfield to look for iron ore; they also burnt two houses and one barn in Westfield.

On the 30th of October at night, messengers from Hatfield informed Capt. Appleton that many tracks of Indians had been discovered, and that their cattle came running violently into town. He went over, and on the first of November, "went about 10 or 12 miles into the woods, searching the chestnut mountains, where the enemy was thought to be, but found him not." On the 4th of November, Capt. Appleton and Major Treat ranged the woods towards Deerfield, but discovered no Indians. The next day, they searched the woods about Northampton, and found no enemy. The Indians had almost taken a man and boy in Northampton meadow.

Captain Appleton, finding that some people had deserted these towns, and that others talked of leaving them, issued his procla-

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*It was supposed for some months, that the nine missing scouts were all slain, but two of them were taken towards Albany, and were redeemed by some gentlemen at Albany, and arrived at New York, Feb. 25, 1676. They related that nine scouts [they had forgotten one] were sent out from Hatfield and that in passing a swamp, the Indians who lay hid, killed five, and took three, and one escaped. The Indians afterwards killed one of the three, having cut a hole below his stomach and pulled out his bowels. One of the two belonged to Boston.—[Letter from New York in the Connecticut Archives.]

Mr. Russell's list contains the names of ten persons slain at Hatfield on the 19th of October, viz., Freegrace Norton, Capt. Appleton's sergeant, who was mortally wounded in the fight and died at the house of Lieut. Samuel Smith in Hadley soon after; and nine scouts, viz., Thomas Meekins, Jr. of Hatfield, Nathaniel Collins, servant of Thomas Meekins; Richard Stone, Samuel Clarke, John Pocock, Thomas Warner, Abram Quiddington, William Olverton, John Petts. The two taken and not slain are included.

†John Roberts, a wounded soldier, died in Northampton, soon after the Bakers and Salmon were killed, and Mr. Russell places him with them.

ation from his head-quarters at Hadley, Nov. 12, 1675, to the inhabitants of Springfield, Westfield, Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield, ordering "that no person shall remove from or desert any of these towns, so long as forces are continued here for their defence, without liberty under the hand of the commander in chief; nor shall any go out of the towns without a pass under the hand of the commander in chief."

Major Treat and the Connecticut troops went homeward Nov. 19, and Capt. Appleton departed four or five days after. Many of the soldiers from both colonies were dragoons with long arms, and their horses were kept in the Hampshire towns. Capt. Appleton left a small garrison in each of the five Hampshire towns, viz., 39 men at Springfield, to be commanded by Maj. Pynchon; 29 at Westfield, under Capt. Aaron Cooke; 26 at Northampton, under Lieut. William Clarke; 30 at Hadley, under Capt. Jonathan Poole; and 36 at Hatfield, under Lieut. William Allis. He appointed a Council of War for the security of these three towns, consisting of the commission officers of Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield, Lieut. David Wilton of Northampton, Deac. Peter Tilton of Hadley, and Serg. Isaac Graves of Hatfield; Capt. Jonathan Poole to be president of the said Council.

Capt. Appleton was a brave and active officer, but he was beset with difficulties.

Almost all the force of the enemy was directed against this county from Sept. 1 to Oct. 19. The villages were all open to attacks, no palisade having been erected around any of them. The buildings called garrison houses were but slightly fortified. The soldiers were unused to war, and their trainings and European military exercises were of little avail in Indian warfare. It is not marvellous that the Indians did so much damage. The number of men slain in Hampshire county in 1675, according to Mr. Russell's report, was 145. Of these, about 43 or 44 were inhabitants of the county, and above 100 were from other towns in the colony. Men from most of the towns in Massacuhsetts, moistened the soil of Hampshire with their blood. More English than Indians were killed in 1675. Only one English female was slain in Hampshire, and no child, in that year. The 145* men were slain at the following times and places:—

*Coffin's History of Newbury has all the names that Mr. Russell gives. Some of them differ a little from those on the preceding pages.

At Brookfield,	August 2,	13	At Northampton,	Sept. 28,	2
Above Hatfield,	" 25,	9	At Springfield,	Oct. 5,	4
At Deerfield,	Sept. 1 and after,	2	At Hatfield,	" 19,	10
At Northfield,	" 2,	8	At Westfield,	" 27,	3
Near Northfield,	" 4,	16	At Northampton,	" 29,	4
At Muddy Brook,	" 18,	71			
And of Capt. Mosely's Co.	" 18,	3			145

Mr. Russell's list includes three that were captives, and not slain, but does not include the woman slain at Springfield.

At the end of Mr. Russell's return of the slain, he added the following verses from the 2d chapter of Joel:—

"Blow the trumpet in Zion, sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly, gather the people, sanctify the congregation, assemble the elders, gather the children and those that suck the breasts. Let the priests, the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar, and let them say, spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thy heritage to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them. Wherefore should they say among the people, where is their God? Then will the Lord be jealous for his land and pity his people."

Not a little of the destruction upon Connecticut River was the work of the Deerfield, Hadley and Northampton, and Springfield Indians. These tribes may have had near 150 fighting men, and perhaps some of the Waranokes, or Westfield Indians, were with them. The manuscript accounts and printed histories of this war, are silent respecting the conduct and fate of the Waranoke Indians. It is not known that Westfield was injured by them. That village, though apparently much exposed to attack, was not assailed by any considerable body of Indians. The damage which they received was from small parties. It may be conjectured that some of the Waranokes joined the Springfield Indians, and it is believed that a number of them removed, after the commencement of the war, to the vicinity of Hudson's River.

The Indian warriors in and about Hampshire county, were not more than six hundred at any time, and most of them were Nipmucks. The war was commenced by Philip's young men, but in this county it was not Philip's war; it was the Nipmuck war.

The people of Hampshire generally passed a quiet but rather gloomy winter. The thoughts of the past and the apprehensions for the future, gave them heavy hearts. They however escaped the sufferings and afflictions of other parts of New England, occasioned by the Narraganset war, undertaken in the midst of winter. In December and most of January, the cold was severe and the snow deep. In January, the snow was "mid-thigh deep," north of Brookfield.* There seems to have been no direct communication between the Hampshire towns and Boston during the winter. The deep snow, the destruction of Brookfield, and

*James Quannapohit's Relation.—There was a great thaw the latter part of January.

The Downlook on the Town from Mt. Holyoke

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especially the fear of Indians, stopped all traveling in that direction. Sergeant John Ayres no longer remained to greet the weary traveler at his rustic but comfortable ordinary, on the hill in Brookfield. Hartford had intercourse with Boston through the Narraganset country, where the troops were.

Though some families had removed, most of the dwelling-houses were crowded in all those villages. Many houses had been destroyed besides those at Springfield. Every town had to entertain soldiers, and the upper villages had families from Deerfield, Northfield and Brookfield. The people of Hampshire were able to supply all with food.

CHAPTER XV

Indian war of 1675 and 1676—chiefly 1676—Fortifications—Indians in the winter—War with the Narragansets—Destruction of Lancaster—Mrs. Rowlandson taken—Troops march to Miller's River and thence to Hadley—Northampton assaulted—Ambuscade near Longmeadow—Three men slain at Hockanum—Scheme to bring the five Hampshire towns into one—The Falls fight, above Deerfield—Attack on Hatfield—Major Talcott arrives from Norwich and Quabaug—Hadley assaulted—Expedition of Major Talcott and Capt. Henchman up the river—Indians flee to the Housatonnuc and are defeated by Major Talcott—War supposed to be at an end—Persons killed and captured at Hatfield and Deerfield in 1677—Recovery of the captives.

Fortifications.—In the latter part of autumn and in the ensuing winter, the people of Hampshire constructed about their plantations, a palisade or palisado. It consisted of rows of pales, stakes or posts about ten feet in length, having two feet in the ground and eight feet above the ground.* These posts were made by splitting sticks of timber into two or more pieces, and hewing off the edges of the cleft-pieces so that no part should be less than two or three inches in thickness. These were set close together in the earth, and were probably fastened to a piece of wood near the top. Many of the rails of fences were used for

*Such were the directions of the town of Hadley when the east side fortification was rebuilt, in 1679. Possibly the palisades of 1676 were not of the same height. Hubbard says the cleft wood of the palisades was about eight feet long; meaning, I suppose, the part above the surface of the earth. There was something called a breast-work in Hadley in 1676 and 1677, and men were to maintain the said breast-work "five feet and a half in height, with the pales or out-works thereto." Flankers are mentioned in 1678.

palisades. These fortifications which would have been a very inadequate defense against an attack by Europeans, were a sufficient barrier against the assaults of the Indians. Hubbard says, "although they did in the spring break through the palisades at Northampton, yet as soon as they began to be repulsed, they saw themselves like wolves in a pound, that they could not fly away at their pleasure, so as they never adventured to break through afterward upon any of the towns so secured."

The first vote of Hadley as a town, relating to the fortification, was on the 11th of February, 1676. It was not then completed. It was a palisade fence crossing the homelots, in the rear of the buildings, on both sides of the street and crossing the street some rods from each end. The two sides of the palisade were each almost a mile in length and the two ends near forty rods each. There were strong gates at the ends, and at the highways on the sides. There was little danger of an attack on the western or meadow side of the street, and the fortification on that side was not so strongly made as the other. Men might not make outlets for themselves or cattle through the palisade. Each man, in order to get upon his own homelot, was under the necessity of going round through a gate, and then crossing other lots until he came to his own, or passing round still farther, to the rear of his lot.—Four or five houses at the north end, on the street running north-easterly, were not included in the fortification; and also apparently the house belonging to John Russell, senior, at the south end on the east side.

The town was divided into three or four "squadrons," in reference to the military watch and other matters. Each squadron had one or two commanders. There was also a fortification committee.

Feb. 11, 1676. The town voted that the passage to Fort Meadow and that to the corn-mill should be cleared of all brush and bushes, that passing to each place might be as secure as possible. All were to work according to their heads and estates. They also voted that every houselot should be cleared of all brush and bushes which might harbor an enemy, by the 19th instant.

A large body of the Indians wintered near Ware River, north of Brookfield; others on the west side of the Connecticut, above Northfield, and some, including Philip, in the vicinity of Hoosac River, north-east of Albany. A few may have retired to the Narraganset country.

Philip and Sancumachu and some of their Indians, were northerly of Albany in December. Gov. Andros wrote from New

York to Connecticut, Jan. 6, 1676, that Philip and 4 or 500 north Indians* were come within 40 or 50 miles of Albany, northerly. The Council of Connecticut desired Gov. Andros to stir up the Mohawks against these Indians; and to restrain the Dutch, who sold arms and ammunition to the enemy.† Gov. Andros made an uncourteous reply, Jan. 20, suggesting that they wished to involve him in a war with this "bloody crew."

James Quannapohit,‡ a Christian Natick Indian, who was sent forth as a spy, with another named Job, arrived at Wenimesset or Menimesset, north of Brookfield, January 4, 1676, where he found, as he judged, about 300 Nipmuck fighting-men, and twice as many women and children. He was there informed that Philip was within a half day's journey of Albany; that the Springfield, Hadley and Northampton Indians had their winter quarters, some at Squakeag, and some with Sancumachu towards Albany, this side of Philip.

Philip and the other Indians left their winter quarters near the end of February, and returned to Connecticut River. Mrs. Rowlandson, on the 9th of March, 1676, crossed the river some miles above Northfield, and found on the west side§ "a numerous crew of pagans," and Philip among them.

War with the Narragansets in Rhode Island.—The commissioners of the United Colonies, on the 2d of November, 1675, determined to carry on a war against the Narragansets, and agreed that a thousand men should be raised, viz., in Massachusetts, 527, Plymouth, 158, and Connecticut, 315. This was the proportion of each colony in all this war.

On Sunday, the 19th of December, when the weather was cold and the snow deep, the brave men from the three colonies took the formidable fort of the Narragansets, and burnt hundreds of their wigwams. But it was a dearly bought victory; 80 of the English were slain or died of their wounds, and 138 more were wounded.—The Indians fought stoutly, and lost some hundreds of men, women and children. The confession of Indians, as to their loss, was as usual, a fruitful source of exaggeration.—Another thousand men were ordered, and a large part of them left

*North Indians were Nipmucks—not half as numerous as represented. It was reported that Philip's own Indians were about one hundred.

†The Dutch traders at Albany sold ammunition to the Hudson's River Indians, who purchased it for the New England Indians, and the latter in this way, obtained a supply.

‡His Relation in the Connecticut Archives, is twice as long as that published in the Mass. Hist. Collections.

§This place appears to be the Coasset, before noticed.

Wickford on the 28th of January, and pursued the Narragansets north-westerly into the Nipmuck country, and killed and took about seventy.*—A sudden thaw† carried off the snow before this pursuit, and the Indians procured ground-nuts for food.

Gookin, in 1674, estimated the fighting-men of the Narragansets at one thousand. Ninigret, one of their chiefs, and his men, withdrew from the rest, and did not engage in the war. The fighting-men of the hostile Narragansets, at the close of the winter, may have been 400 or 500. The English had in the spring of 1676, more open enemies than at any time in 1675,—perhaps 1000 men, or more.

The Nipmucks at Wenimesset informed James Quannapohit that they should fall upon Lancaster, Medfield, Groton, Marlborough and Sudbury, and fixed upon the day to attack Lancaster. James left them Jan. 20, and on the 24th, his Relation was written at Boston. Yet his information was not sufficiently heeded, and these places were all attacked and almost destroyed by the Indians. These assaults were made when Philip was far distant, except the last.

On the 10th of February, the Nipmucks from Wenimesset, aided by some Narragansets lately come to them, assaulted Lancaster, killed or captured about 42 persons, and burnt most of the buildings. The place was abandoned by the English in a few weeks. Mrs. Rowlandson,‡ the wife of the minister, and her children, were among the captives. The number of Indians in this expedition, according to Job, one of the Indian spies, who left Wenimesset after they set out for Lancaster, was about 400.§

On the 8th of February, the Commissioners of the United Colonies ordered 600 dragoons, or troopers with long firearms, to be raised; to rendezvous at Quabaug.‖ The dragoons of Massachusetts, under Major Thomas Savage of Boston, with six Christian Indians, and those of Connecticut under Major Treat, united at Quabaug, about the 2d or 3d of March; they marched to Wenimesset, but the Indians had information of the expedition

*Trumbull did not know that Connecticut had in this pursuit 200 or 300 men under Major Treat.

†Mather represents a January thaw as a very strange event in those days.

‡She published an account of her captivity and sufferings, after her return, which has been read by thousands of every succeeding generation.

§Gookin, confiding in Job's estimate, says "about four hundred." Yet this number has been strangely increased to 1500 in later times. It has also been represented that Philip and his Indians were among them. A perusal of Mrs. Rowlandson's book should have corrected this error.

‖Plymouth soldiers were needed at home. None came from that colony into Hampshire county during the war.

and had left the place. The dragoons pursued those that had gone towards Paquayag, and came to Miller's River at Paquayag, on the 6th of March, after the Indians had all passed over on rafts, and were advancing towards Squakeag. The English did not cross the river,* but turned and came to Hadley, where they arrived about the 8th of March.

Major Savage had four companies in Hampshire, under Captains Mosely, Whipple, Gillam and Turner. Captain William Turner† came from Marlborough, Feb. 29th, with 89 foot soldiers. He left 11 men at Quabaug,‡ March 4th, and came to Hadley with 78 men, before Major Savage arrived. He was stationed at Northampton.

The expedition of the Massachusetts and Connecticut troops to Wenimesset and Paquayag, drove a body of Indians to Squakeag (Northfield,) where they came March 7th, and Mrs. Rowlandson with them. They went up the river some miles and crossed to the west side, March 9th, where were Philip§ and many Indians. Says Mrs. Rowlandson:—"Now the Indians gathered their forces to go against Northampton. Over night, one went about yelling and hooting to give notice of the design. Whereupon they went to boiling ground-nuts, and parching corn as many as had it, for their provision, and in the morning, away they went." They assailed Northampton, March 14th, were repulsed and returned without much booty. They evidently did not know that there were two or three companies of soldiers in the town.

Extracts from letters written two days after this attack, by Major Savage and Mr. Russell.

Hadley, March 16, 1675-6.

Yours of the 11th inst. I received. I have improved our time since we came hither in sending forth scouts, but as yet can make no certain discovery of any of the enemy's place of abode. On the 9th inst. they made an assault on some at Westfield and wounded a man; on the 14th instant about break of the day, the enemy fiercely assaulted Northampton in three places at once, and forced within their line or palisadoes, and burnt 5 houses and 5 barns, and killed 4 men and one woman,‖ and wounded 6 men more; but being beaten off, marched towards Hatfield, and were seen in several places about the town in considerable companies. I presently sent another Company to strengthen that town. This morning

*Mrs. Rowlandson says, "God did not give them courage or activity to go over after us." She was not well qualified to judge respecting their movements.

†"Capt. Turner, by trade a tailor, for his valor has left behind him an honorable memory."—[Letters from a Boston Merchant.] He was a Baptist as was his lieutenant, Edward Drinker, and both had suffered persecution.

‡A garrison was thus re-established at Brookfield. They found or prepared a building for a garrison house. Provisions for these soldiers were sent from Marlborough on horses. One man managed two horses, and troopers guarded the men and horses. Carts were sent to Lancaster, but not to Brookfield.

§Philip treated Mrs. Rowlandson civilly, and asked her to smoke and dine.

‖Those killed were Robert Bartlett, Thomas Holton and Mary Earle of Northampton; and James Mackrannel and Increase Whelstone, soldiers.

about 2 o'clock we were alarmed again from Northampton which was occasioned by some Indians being seen on two sides of the town. The towns both of Springfield and Westfield are in very great fear of the enemy as well as those here. I humbly propose to your honors, whether this way of following the enemy up and down in the woods will best reach your end at this season of the year, in which they have no certain fixed station, but can take advantages against us, and avoid us when they please. As near as we can gather, their aim is at these towns on the river, to destroy them, that so they may plant and fish with less molestation. I have not further to add, but to desire the good Lord to be your all in all and to subscribe myself,

Your honors' humble servant,

THOMAS SAVAGE.

[Directed to Hon. John Leverett, Governor, with the Council.]

Hadley, March 16, 1675-6.

Right Worshipful,

Although the Lord hath granted us an interval of quietness this winter, yet since the coming on of the spring, the war here is renewed. On the 14th inst. the enemy to the number of 2000* as judged, made a most sudden and violent irruption upon Northampton, broke their works in 3 places, and had in reason taken the whole town, had not Providence graciously so ordered it, that Maj. Treat was come in with his men the evening before, yet they burnt five houses, and five barns, one within the fortification, slew five persons and wounded five. There are said be found slain about a dozen of the enemy.† Above Deerfield a few miles is the great place of their fishing which must be expected to afford them their provisions for the year. We must look to feel their utmost rage. My desire is, we may be willing to do or suffer, to live or die, remain in or be driven out from our habitations, as the Lord our God would have us. Capt. Poole who hath been left here for the government of the soldiers, doth earnestly entreat for liberty to repair to his own very much suffering family, at least for a while. With prayers to the God of all blessing to guide and strengthen and carry you through this day of temptation, I am,

Sr yr worp's most obliged serv't,

JOHN RUSSELL.

[The preceding is only a small part of a long letter to Gov. Leverett.]

In the latter part of February and in March, small parties of Indians did mischief in Connecticut, and in the lower part of Hampshire county. They wounded William Hills of East Hartford, and killed Henry Denslow of Windsor, Edward Elmer of East Windsor, and John Kirby, Jr. of Middletown.‡ On the night of the 26th of March, they burnt most of the buildings in Simsbury, the people having left them. On the evening of March 30, they burnt the house of Goodman Cole in Wallingford.

On Sunday, the 26th of March, some of the people of Longmeadow, men and women with children, ventured to ride to Springfield to attend public worship, in company with several colony troopers. There were 16 or 18 men in all, but some had

*2000 Indian warriors! strange delusion! There may have been 3 or 400.

†The letters from a Boston Merchant intimate that they carried off their dead. Menowniet said the Indians had one killed and four wounded.

‡Bancroft's remark, that "not a drop of blood was shed on the happy soil of Connecticut" has a few exceptions, and but a few. Besides those slain near Connecticut River, Joseph Rockwell and John Reynolds, Jr. of Norwich, were slain January 28, 1676, and a boy that had been with them could not be found.

women behind them, and some had children in their arms, and when they were near Pecowsick brook, 7 or 8 Indians in the bushes fired upon the hindmost and killed a man and a maid, wounded others, and took two women with their babes, and retired into a swamp.* Those forward rode some distance towards Springfield, set down the women and maids, and then returned, but could not find the two women and children. A letter from Major Savage, dated at Hadley, March 28, 1676, gives the following account of this affair:—

On the 26th inst. at night, we had advice from Springfield that 8 Indians assaulted 16 or 18 men besides women and children as they were going to meeting from a place they call Longmeadow, and killed a man and a maid, wounded 2 men, and carried away captive, 2 women and 2 children. In the night, I sent out 16 horse in pursuit of them, who met with some that were sent from Springfield, and overtook the Indians with the captives, who as soon as they saw the English, killed the 2 children and sorely wounded the women in the heads with their hatchets, and so ran away into a swamp where they could not follow them. The scouts brought back both the women and the children. One of the women remains still senseless by reason of her wounds and the other is very sensible and rational.

The Indians told the women great stories—that there were 3000 Indians at Deerfield, that two Dutchmen had brought four bushels of powder, &c. The conduct of the men in this onset was much censured. The Council considered it, "as a matter of great shame, humbling to us." Hubbard thought the matter had been misrepresented. One of the women recovered.

About the same time, Pelatiah Morgan was killed on the west side of the river, at Springfield. "On the last snowy day" of the winter, probably in March, Moses Cook and a garrison soldier named Clement Bates, were killed in Westfield. Moses Cook was the only inhabitant of Westfield killed during the war. A house and two barns were burnt in Westfield in the winter by a few Indians.

Men killed at Hockanum.—About the first of April, some inhabitants of Hadley went to Hockanum, to do some work, having a guard of soldiers with them. A party of Indians, lying in wait, killed Deac. Richard Goodman and two of the soldiers, and took Thomas Reed, another soldier.† Mrs. Rowlandson, who was then above Northfield, on the east side of the river, says:—"About

*Six are said to have been slain or mortally wounded. John Keep, his wife Sarah, and his infant son Jabez, are three of them. The names of the others are not in the Springfield record.

†Hubbard says Deac. Goodman went a little beyond the soldiers, to view his fence, and two soldiers ventured upon the top of a high hill near by, and were shot down before they could return to the others. Men in those days, climbed Holyoke, to take a view of the country.

this time, the Indians came yelping from Hadley, having there killed three Englishmen, and brought one captive, Thomas Reed. They all gathered about the poor man, asking him many questions."

In the spring of 1676, many Indians congregated in the vicinity of Mount Wachuset, north-west of Lancaster, where the access to them was said to be difficult, and the obstacles in the way of assailants formidable. For these or other reasons, the English never attacked their Wachuset holds. On the first of April, the Council at Boston directed Major Savage to leave men under Capt. Turner to assist the Hampshire towns, and to return homewards with the rest. He left Hadley* on the 6th or 7th of April, with four companies under Captains Mosely, Whipple, and Gillam, and Lieut. Drinker. The Council at Boston had desired him, March 20, to visit the Wachuset quarter on his return, but when the troops reached Brookfield, a council was held, and a majority decided not to attack the Nipmucks about Wachuset.

Major Savage left with Capt. Turner, 151 men, who were at the following places on the 7th of April, viz., at Hadley, 51, Northampton, 46, Hatfield, 45, and 9 had been sent to Springfield. There were other soldiers at Springfield and Westfield. Many of the men left by Capt. Appleton, in the preceding November, were still in the Hampshire towns. The Connecticut forces returned home two weeks or more before Maj. Savage departed. The troops were not sufficient to garrison the towns and go against the Indians up the river, and the latter were not molested until the 19th of May. When the fishing season arrived, they came down and established themselves about the falls, above Deerfield; and they planted corn at Squakeag, and even at Deerfield, without being disturbed. Philip left Connecticut River at or above Squakeag, not far from the 10th or 12th of April, and arrived at Wachuset about the 17th of April. He was in the same company with Mrs. Rowlandson, some of the way. He never again came to Connecticut River. The river Indians, and some Nipmucks and Narragansets remained.

The Nipmucks and others about Wachuset, issuing thence, assaulted many places which were not assailed the preceding year. A large number of the Narragansets, who had been pur-

*Mr. Samuel Nowel, the minister of the army, wrote to Major Gookin from Hadley, that a Hadley man, with whom the six Christian Indian guides quartered, allowed them pork and peas enough, but made them pay for their bread. Mr. Nowel interfered, and bread was allowed. This Hadley man is not named. These Christian Indians, though true and faithful, were insulted and abused in some places. All Indians were suspected and hated by many.

sued into the Nipmuck country, turned back, and the colonies of Plymouth and Rhode Island felt their fury. The extension of the war in February and March, far beyond its limits in 1675, the destruction of one town after another, and the difficulty of making any successful inroad upon the Indians, made the duties of the government and of the council of war extremely arduous and embarrassing, and some stout hearts were appalled, for a time.

Plan of deserting three Hampshire towns.—The Council formed an injudicious scheme for the protection and security of the people in Hampshire. In a letter to Major Savage, March 20, they urged the necessity of bringing the people of the five towns into two places. "The lesser towns, they say, must gather to the greater ones."* "Some that know those places best, do apprehend that Springfield and Hadley are the fittest places for fortifying and planting." "To remain in such a scattered state is to expose lives and estates to the merciless cruelty of the enemy." They wrote to Major Pynchon the same day, assuring him there was no other way but for all Springfield and Westfield to come together; "it is impossible to hold both towns." "The like advice we have given to the other towns, to come in all to Hadley, and fortify it well, and then by united strength, it may be kept, but otherwise all will be lost."

The people of Northampton determined to remain in their own town, and boldly meet the dangers which menaced them. In a letter to the Council, March 28, they say

"We dare not entertain any thought of deserting this plantation. The Lord has wonderfully appeared of late for our preservation, and we fear it would be displeasing unto him, if we should give up into the hands of our enemies, that which the Lord so eminently delivered out of their hands. If we should desert a town of such considerable strength, it may so animate the enemy, and discourage other plantations, as may prove no small prejudice unto the country. Besides there seems to us a great necessity for holding this place, for the relief of those forces that may be improved in following the enemy. There can be no prosecuting of the war in these parts to advantage, unless this and the two neighboring towns be maintained."

They suggest that Springfield is not the most convenient place for others to repair to. "The bulk of the town is burnt, most of their land lies remote; they are incapable we fear either to maintain themselves or others." If the Council will allow Northampton 50 soldiers, besides those they had, the town will feed them and pay their wages. This paper is in the hand-writing of Mr. Stoddard, and is signed by Solomon Stoddard, John

*They were not apprised that this direction would carry Hadley over to Northampton.

Strong, William Clarke, David Wilton, John Lyman and John King.

The people of Westfield were decidedly and resolutely against a removal to Springfield, and manifested a disposition to go to Connecticut, if they must remove. They believed that Westfield was more secure from the Indians than Springfield, and much better for husbandry. A few extracts follow from a letter to the Council, dated April 3d, written by Rev. Edward Taylor, and signed by Isaac Phelps, David Ashley and Josiah Dewey.

"Springfield on the east side has but few habitations left. Those on the west side are scattered about a mile up and down, some of which are hid with brambles. Most of its tillage ground is a great distance from the town, and not clear from brush; the danger of field employments is double to what ours is. Springfield hath been sorely under the blasting hand of God; it hath but in a lower degree than ordinary answered the labor of the husbandman.—To remove from habitations to none, from fortifications to none, from a compact place to a scattered one, from a place of less danger in the field to one of more, from a place under the ordinary blessing upon our labors to one usually blasted, seems to us such a strange thing that we find not a man amongst us inclining thereto."

Mr. Russell, for himself and others, corresponded with the Council of Connecticut respecting the war, and in regard to drawing the three upper towns into one. The Council, April 27, gave to him many reasons why the Hampshire towns should not be deserted; and they wrote the same day to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, giving similar reasons. They considered the towns up the river as "the principal granary" of Massachusetts.*

On the 28th of March, the Connecticut Council wrote a letter to the Indian sachems up the river, desiring an exchange of captives, and informing them that if they wished to treat, a messenger might come and return safely. A messenger came from the sachems with a writing about the first of May, and the Council sent back a writing, offering to give money for English captives and proposing a meeting at Hadley within 8 days, to treat of peace. No reply was received from the sachems.†

Extracts of a letter from Capt. William Turner to the Council of Mass., dated Hadley, April 25, 1676:

"The soldiers here are in great distress for want of clothing, both linen and woolen. Some has been brought from Quabaug, but not an eighth of what we want. I beseech your honors that my wife may have my wages due, to supply the wants of my family. I should be glad if some better person might be found for this employment, for my weakness of body and often infirmities will hardly suffer me to do my duty as I ought; and it would

*After April, I find nothing written about bringing the towns together—Hatfield was doubtless opposed, but no record remains.

†These chiefs were Sucquance, a Narraganset sachem; Wequaquat, a Springfield sachem; Sungumachoe, [Sancumachu,] the Hadley and Northampton sachem; and Wanchequit. They were at Suckquackheag [Squakeag.]

grieve me to neglect any thing that might be for the good of the country in this day of their distress.* I have sent lists of my soldiers at Boston and at Marlborough, and those left in these three towns on the 7th inst.† Hoping your honors will send a speedy supply for the soldiers, and order something for my family, I shall beg the Lord to be your counsellor and guide, and remain your honors' to the utmost of my power.

WILL. TURNER.

There is come into Hadley a young man taken from Springfield at the beginning of last month, who informs that the enemy is drawing up all their forces towards these towns, and their head-quarters are at Deerfield."‡

On the 27th of April, Capt. Samuel Holyoke and a few men from Springfield, shot at four Indians near the river. Two died in the river as they supposed, and one was taken, who died of his wounds. He said the Indians had 1000 fighting-men up the river, and three forts this side of Squakeag.

A letter dated Hadley, April 29, 1676, to the Governor and Council of Mass. written by Rev. John Russell, and signed by him, Capt. William Turner and some others of Hadley, Northampton and Hatfield, (probably committees of militia) noticed the rising spirit of the people.

"It is strange to see how much spirit, (more than formerly,) appears in our men to be out against the enemy. A great part of the inhabitants here, would our committees of militia but permit, would be going forth. They are daily moving for it, and would fain have liberty to be going forth this night. The enemy is now come so near us that we count we might go forth in the evening and come upon them in the darkness of the same night." [The going forth was three weeks later.]

Extracts of a Letter from Rev. John Russell, to the Secretary and Council of Connecticut.

Hadley, May 15, 1676.

Honored Sir,

Yours of May 5th I received on the 14th. The general visitation by sickness§ which you wrote of hath passed unto us also, most of our people being sorely exercised therewith: yet hath the Lord hitherto graciously spared lives; and likewise granted abatement of the violence of the disease unto most within three or four days after the first paroxysm. On Saturday last in the evening came in some of our messengers from Boston, signifying the Lord's mercy to us in granting a quiet Election in this troublous time. On the Election

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*Here was a true patriot. Some of the rulers of the country which he served so faithfully, had persecuted and imprisoned him. His wife, Mary Turner, in a petition to the Council, for some of his pay, says her husband voluntarily and freely offered himself, and was then in the service of the country, with his son and servants. The Council granted to her £7, April 24. William Turner, Jr. was a soldier at Hadley.

†These lists of soldiers sent down by Capt. Turner, are now in the Archives of Massachusetts.

‡This young man was John Gilbert, aged 18, son of Thomas Gilbert of Springfield, deceased. Mrs. Rowlandson found him above Northfield, sick and turned out into the cold. She befriended him and got him to a fire. He escaped from the Indians.

§Mather says that in April and May, "sore and (doubtless) malignant colds prevailed every where." He could not hear of a family in New England that wholly escaped the distemper. Many died.

day, May 3d, Mr. Hoar brought in Mrs. Rowlandson to Boston.* Mr. Hoar brought with him a letter subscribed by Philip, the old queen and sundry Sachems, containing a desire of peace, or rather an overture for a cessation, if they might quietly plant at Mendon, Groton, Quabaug, &c. on which the court called in the Elders to advise.† By ship from England our information is that the sufferings of Non-Conformists are increased and the aspect of times more threatening than of late years. There hath been an engagement in the Strait between the French fleet and 40 Dutch ships. The French though much exceeding in number were yet much worsted and broken; many ships taken, 6000 men slain. Peace, so much talked of between the French king and the Emperor with the confederates comes to nothing.‡

This morning about sunrise came into Hatfield one Thomas Reede§ a soldier who was taken captive when Deacon Goodman was slain. He relates that they are now planting at Deerfield and have been so these three or four days or more—saith further that they dwell at the falls on both sides of the river—are a considerable number, yet most of them old men and women. He cannot judge that there are on both sides of the river above 60 or 70 fighting-men. They are secure and scornful, boasting of great things they have done and will do. There is Thomas Eames his daughter and child hardly used; one or two belonging to Medfield and I think two children belonging to Lancaster. The night before last they came down to Hatfield upper meadow, and have driven away many horses and cattle, to the number of four score and upwards as they judge. Many of these this man saw in Deerfield meadow, and found the bars put up to keep them in. This being the state of things, we think the Lord calls us to make some trial what may be done against them suddenly, without further delay; and therefore the concurring resolution of men here seems to be to go out against them to-morrow at night so as to be with them, the Lord assisting, before break of day. We need guidance and help from heaven. We humbly beg your prayers, advice, and help if it may be. And therewith committing you to the guidance and blessing of the most High, Remain

Your worship's in all humble service,

JOHN RUSSELL.

Altho' this man speaks of their number as he judgeth yet they may be many more, for we perceive their number varies, and they are going and coming, so that there is no trust to his guess.

Superscription.
"These for the worshipful John Allyn, Esq. Secretary, to be communicated to the Council at Connecticut."

WILLIAM TURNER.
JOHN LYMAN.
ISAAC GRAVES.

The Falls Fight.

After information was obtained from Thomas Reed, who escaped from the Indians about the middle of May, the men of Hampshire and the soldiers abiding with them, determined to

*Mrs. Rowlandson and the party of Indians with whom she lived, left a "Thicket" above Northfield, not far from the 9th or 10th of April, and reached Wachuset about the 17th of April. Mr. Hoar came to ransom her April 30, and she left the Indians May 2. Philip seems not to have been a great distance from her when she was in the Thicket; and he was in the same company with her when she came in sight of Wachuset.

†Their advice is in Mr. Russell's letter, but is not copied here.

‡News from Europe was disseminated through the country verbally, and by letters, before newspapers were printed. In this case it was sent from Boston to Hadley, and from Hadley to Hartford.

§It is manifest from Reed's account, that the Indians were not very numerous about the falls. He appears not to refer to those who were at some distance above and below the falls. The Indian story about 1000 fighting-men deserves not a moment's attention.

assail the Indians at the falls* above Deerfield, with what strength they could raise among themselves. This expedition was a voluntary effort of the people and troops residing in these towns. About 150 or 160 mounted men from Springfield, Westfield, Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield, assembled at Hatfield, May 18, under Capt. William Turner as commander and Capt. Samuel Holyoke of Springfield, and Ensign John Lyman of Northampton. Hadley had two sergeants, John Dickinson and Joseph Kellogg. Rev. Hope Atherton of Hatfield accompanied the troops. Benjamin Wait and Experience Hinsdale were guides. Perhaps about half were inhabitants of these towns; the others were soldiers from eastern towns, stationed in Hampshire. They commenced their march from Hatfield to the falls, about twenty miles, in the evening of Thursday, the 18th† of May. They crossed Deerfield and Green Rivers, and halted a little west of Fall River, about half a mile from the Indian camp at the head of the falls, and left their horses, under a small guard. They then crossed Fall River, climbed up an abrupt hill, and came upon the back of the camp, about day-break.

"They found the Indians all asleep, without having any scouts abroad, so that our soldiers came and put their guns into their wigwams, before the Indians were aware of them, and did make a great and notable slaughter among them." "Some got out of the wigwams and fought, and killed one of the English; others did enter the river to swim over from the English, but many were shot dead in the waters, others wounded were therein drowned, many got into canoes to paddle away, but the paddlers being shot, the canoes overset with all therein; and the stream being violent and swift near the falls, most that fell overboard were carried upon the falls." "Others of them creeping for shelter under the banks of the great river, were espied by our men and killed with their swords. Captain Holyoke killing five, young and old, with his own hands."‡

The expedition had a calamitous issue. There were Indians on the opposite bank of the river, and at Smead's Island, below the falls. These crossed the river, and assailed the troops on the left and in the rear, after they had mounted their horses and begun their march. Capt. Holyoke covered the rear manfully, but "an English captive lad, who was found in the wigwams, spake as if Philip was coming with a thousand Indians, which

*These falls, now called Turner's Falls, are about three miles above Greenfield village, and are between Gill and Montague. Before a dam was built at the falls, this was one of the most favorable fishing stations on the Connecticut. Hoyt, in his Antiquarian Researches, describes the falls, and gives a detailed account of the fight at the falls and on the return.

†It has generally been represented that they marched on the evening of the 17th of May, and fought on the morning of the 18th. These dates are erroneous. The town records of Northampton and Hatfield both show that the persons from those towns who fell, were slain on the 19th of May. The narratives of Rev. Hope Atherton and Jonathan Wells indicate that the fighting was on the 19th.

‡Extracts from Mather, a Merchant of Boston, and Hubbard.

false report being famed among the soldiers, a panic terror fell upon many of them, and they hasted homewards in a confused rout."* They separated into several parties, and some of these were cut off. Captain Turner had skill and courage, but he was enfeebled by sickness, and had not bodily strength to act with his accustomed energy. He was shot as he passed through Green River, and his body was afterwards found a small distance from the river; he had been shot through the thigh and back. Capt. Holyoke conducted the retreat of a part of the troops to Hatfield, being followed by the Indians to the south end of Deerfield Meadow. Thirty-eight of the English were slain,† and all but one after they left the falls. A number were wounded. In June, scouts found places where they supposed the Indians tortured and burnt some of the captured men.

A few of the men wandered about two or three days. The fighting was on Friday. Jonathan Wells, of Hadley, was wounded, and after much suffering and several narrow escapes, reached Hatfield on Sunday. Rev. Hope Atherton, of Hatfield, after roving here and there, and, as he says, "subsisting the space of three days and part of another, without ordinary food," came

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*The complaint of Martha Harrison, which was substantiated by testimony before the Commissioners of Hadley, June 22, 1676, exhibits some incidents of this disorderly flight. Martha Harrison of Hadley, widow, makes complaint against John Belcher of Braintree, a soldier in Capt. Turner's company, for being the culpable occasion of the death of her husband, Isaac Harrison, a wounded man, riding upon his own horse, who fell from his horse, being faint, and this John Belcher, who was behind him, rode from him with Harrison's horse, though he entreated him not to leave him, but for God's sake to let him ride with him.

Stephen Belden of Hatfield, testified that he, riding behind Jonathan Wells, saw Isaac Harrison on the ground rising up, and heard him call to the man on his horse, 3 or 4 rods before, to take him up, saying he could ride now; the man rode away, and both Jonathan Wells and I called him to go back, and he would not. This was when we were returning from the fight at the falls.

There is no record of Belcher's being punished.—Many had lost their horses.—Mather says the soldiers were more numerous than the Indians that pursued them.

†Of those slain, about one-third belonged to the Hampshire towns. The eastern soldiers lost more than their proportion. The names of the eastern soldiers that were slain, have not been preserved, except those stationed in Northampton, which were recorded there, viz., Peter Gerrin, Thomas Roberts, John Langberry, Samuel Ransford, William Howard, John Foster, John Whitridge, Jacob Burton, Joseph Fowler, George Bugle (or Buckly,) Thomas Lyon and John Walker. James Bennet, an inhabitant of Northampton, and John Miller, perhaps an inhabitant, were also slain. Fourteen who went from Northampton were slain, besides Capt. Turner whose death is recorded with the others, though he resided much of the time in Hadley. [The notice of James Bennet's death, on page 142, is an error.]

Three Hatfield men were killed, viz., Samuel Gillet, John Church, and William Allis, Jr.

Westfield, though not named as participating in this expedition, had in it two citizens and seven garrison soldiers. Of the latter, three were slain, and others wounded.

into Hadley, on the east side of the river, about noon on Monday.*

Those in the falls-fight belonging to Hadley were Sergt. Joseph Kellogg, Sergt. John Dickinson, Samuel Boltwood, Noah Coleman, Nehemiah Dickinson, Isaac Harrison, John Ingram, John Smith, Joseph Selden, Joseph Warriner, Thomas Wells, Jr., Jonathan Wells, David Hoyt, Samuel Crow, Peter Montague, and Eliezer Hawks; and Nathaniel Sutliffe from Deerfield. John Preston was one of Capt. Turner's soldiers, who went from Hadley; he settled in that town.—Isaac Harrison and Nathaniel Sutliffe were slain, and perhaps John Dickinson and Samuel Crow.†

Mr. Russell, so often the scribe for militia officers and others in these three towns, wrote to Hartford as soon as the success and defeat were known, and desired assistance. The Council of War at Hartford on the 20th, ordered 80 men to be sent up to Northampton, under Capt. Benjamin Newberry, on Monday, May 22d.

Mr. Russell and some of the militia officers of Northampton and Hadley, wrote again to Hartford, May 22d.

Hadley, May 22, 1676.

Worshipful Sir,

Yours from the honored Council we received expressing your kind and tender care and love for us, with your preparation of succor and help for us with respect to such exigents as may prove distressing.

Some more of our soldiers have dropped in since our last; one on Saturday, one on Saturday night, two yesterday and one this morning; and about noon Mr. Atherton came into Hadley. So that now the number of those wanting is eight or nine and thirty. Some were wandering on the west mountains on Saturday, who were not wounded. Whether Providence may yet guide them in or no, we know not; we are not quite without hope of some of them.

As to the number of the enemy slain; many of the soldiers say they guessed them to be about four score that lay upon the ground. But sergeant Bardill [Bardwell] saith he had time and took it to run them over by tale going from wigwam to wigwam to do it, and

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*Mr. Atherton, in his relation of his sufferings and deliverances, does not tell how he crossed the river and got to Hadley. Approaching a party of Indians the second day, he says, "I tendered myself a captive. They accepted not the tender. When I spake, they answered not. When I moved toward them, they moved away from me." This singular conduct of the Indians has been attributed to their superstitious fear of an English minister, whom they considered a superior being. Some persons in those days, imagined that Mr. Atherton had been partially deranged, and had deceived himself. He did not admit this.

†The five towns had in the expedition, exclusive of eastern soldiers, about 75 men, and 68 of these left posterity that had 68 shares of land in Falltown, in 1736, viz., Springfield, 21, Northampton, 19, Hadley, 15, Hatfield, 9, Westfield, 2, and 2 had lived in Deerfield. A number of the soldiers settled in these towns. Four of the Hampshire men were living in 1736, 60 years after they fought under Turner and Holyoke, viz., Nathaniel Alexander of Northampton, Samuel Belden of Hatfield, Jonathan Wells of Deerfield, and James Mun of Colchester, Conn. Four of the eastern soldiers were also living.

also what was between the bank and the water, and found them above an hundred. He hath sometimes said six score but stands to it that there were above 100, 17 being in a wigwam or two a little higher up than the rest.

Likewise Wm. Drew, a soldier that seems to be of good behavior and credit, seeing two or three soldiers standing in a secure place below the bank, more quiet than he thought was meet for the time, he asked them why they stood there—saith they answered that they had seen many go down the falls and they would endeavor to tell how many. Hereupon he observed with them until he told fifty, and they said to him that those made up six score and ten. Some of them also were slain in their pursuit of ours where so many of ours fell. Hence we cannot but judge that there were above 200 of them slain.

Our Scouts being out this night have discovered that the enemy abide still in the places where they were on both sides of the river and in the Islands, and fires in the same place where our men had burnt the wigwams.* So that they judge either that Philip is come to them, or some considerable company from Squakeag, Poquiog and other places. Hereupon it seems most probable, if not concludable that their purpose is to abide here, at least for some space of time, as having the advantage of a place best suited to shift for their safety, being on both sides the river, on the Islands, and their fort close by Deerfield River, and amidst the desolate places fit for them to skulk in and escape by. Whence we would humbly propose it to your consideration, whether Providence doth not offer and call to the accepting this opportunity and improving of it speedily before it slip, and whether we may not look that the taking of them here, with a smaller help of English and Indians, may not be likely to be a greater advantage than greater numbers when they are removed hence? They have planted as is judged 300 acres† of choice ground at Deerfield; their fish is there not yet fit to carry away and their place such as they can shift almost away from our approach. So that we count them likely to abide awhile.

We are by reason of our fences being all plucked up‡ exceedingly disadvantaged for keeping horses, so that we shall be necessitated either to put them in some meadow two or three miles off our towns, or keep them very meanly, or send them home while the riders stay.

Might we receive a few lines from yourself respecting the premises, it would be matter of direction for us. We have not further to add but hearty thanks for your care of and love to us, together with prayers to God of blessing for his presence with and blessing upon you in all your weighty proceeds. We remain,

Your worship's in all humble service,

JOHN RUSSELL.
SAMUEL SMITH.
DAVID WILTON.
AARON COOK.

Superscription.
"These for the Worshipful John Allyn, Esq. Secretary, at his house in Hartford, to be communicated to the Hon'd Council there."

Loss of the Indians in the Falls-fight.—The reports that the Indians slain and drowned were about 230, or above 200, were evidently derived from the counts or guesses of Bardwell§ and Drew, and of those referred to by Drew. It can hardly be credited that men could have found time during or after the fight, to count the dead or drowning Indians. It is not unreasonable, however, to suppose that from 130 to 180 Indians, old and young, perished at the falls that morning. The extravagant confessions of some Indian prisoners swelled the number to 300, and even to 400. Other Indians, whose testimony Mather noticed, affirmed that

*The wigwams above the falls were burnt by the English. They contained many bodies of the slain.

†Probably not one-fourth of 300 acres.

‡They used the fences that were about the homelots in these towns, to make palisades.

§Robert Bardwell was one of Capt. Turner's soldiers, who had been in the Narragansett fight. He settled in Hatfield, and was a reputable man.

many who went down the falls, got safe on shore, and that they lost not above 60 men. Menowniet testified at Hartford that 40 Norwottucks (meaning river Indians) and Quabaugs, and 10 Narragansets, were slain at the falls. These 50 or 60 Indians include only fighting-men.

If the veil be raised, which partially covers some of the horrors of that morning, it will be seen that those wigwams above the falls contained men, women and children; that the slaughter was indiscriminate, and that many of those carried down the falls were not warriors. A great part of those that perished were river Indians, who, twelve months before, resided near the Hampshire villages.

The defeat of the Indians at the falls was one from which they never recovered. If they lost only 60 fighting-men, they lost more then fell in any action during the war, except in the Narraganset conflict.

Capt. Newberry came up to Northampton with about 80 men, on the 22d of May. He left three at Westfield, seven of their men having been slain or wounded, in the late expedition. In a letter of the 24th, from him and John Maudsley, they proposed to go up the river, if the council approved. And they further propounded, "whether it may not be advantageous to send up Samuel Cross and those dogs* he hath, if you see cause to have any thing done."

Attack on Hatfield.—On the 30th of May, the Indians appeared at Hatfield, when the men were out in the fields. Their first object was obviously to plunder and destroy property without the palisades, and one party placed themselves in the meadow near the ferry to Hadley, to hinder men from coming over; and later in the day, another party lay in ambush by the road to Northampton. The crossing of the river from Hadley, and passing through the meadow to Hatfield village, was a bold adventure of the English. The number of Indians may have been 250.—Mr. Russell wrote to Hartford the same day, but his letter is lost. An account from Mather, and a hasty letter from Capt. Newberry to Secretary Allyn, follow.

"The enemy fired about twelve houses and barns without the fortification, killed many of their cattle, drove away almost all their sheep, and spread themselves in the meadow

*Dogs have been used in many countries to hunt mankind, and sometimes to tear them in pieces. The northern parishes of England were required to keep blood-hounds to hunt freebooters, in the time of Charles II. Men who run away from slavery in the United States, are still hunted with dogs; and some years since, it was proposed by a distinguished officer, to purchase blood-hounds to aid the United States troops in the war against the Indians in Florida. Massachusetts tried dogs against Indians, in the last century, but there is no record that they ever killed or captured an Indian. They are inefficient against armed men.

between Hatfield and Hadley, Whereupon twenty-five active and resolute men went from Hadley to relieve their distressed brethren. The Indians shot at them ere they could get out of the boat, and wounded one of them. Ours nevertheless charged on the enemy, and shot down five or six at the first volley near the river. Then they made haste towards the town, fighting with a great number of the enemy, many falling before them. And though encompassed with a numerous swarm of Indians, who lay in ambush behind almost every tree and place of advantage, yet the English lost not one man, till within about an hundred rods of the town, when five of ours were slain; among whom was a precious young man whose name was Smith, that place having lost many, in losing that one man. It speaketh sadly to the rising generation when such are taken away. After this the enemy fled, having lost five and twenty in this fight."

Northampton, May the 30th, 1676.

Right worshipful,

Sir, by post from Hatfield, we received intelligence even now, that the Indians have done much spoil; many houses burnt without the fortification. Several men from Hadley went over for their relief, of which there are five killed and three wounded. Two of our men killed, Jobanna Smith and Richard Hall; John Stow wounded in the foot, and Roger Orvis is also wounded in the foot. John Smith of Hadley killed and two of their garrison soldiers.* There were about 150 Indians that fought them up the meadow, all like to be killed or taken but that men issued out from the town for their relief; none slain till almost come up to the town. Many more Indians then were at the town doing spoil at the same time that our men were fought with. They drew off and ambushed the way betwixt Northampton and Hatfield to lay wait for our forces, but fearing it beforehand, they [our forces] went not that way but drew over to Hadley—could not get to Hatfield by reason they lay so thick about the landing-place.†—Many cattle and horses slain and taken away. That is the substance of what intelligence we have to impart. The Lord sanctify his hand to us for our good, and be present with you in all your weighty concerns under hand. Intelligence from Boston you have already. Not else but cordial respects to yourself and all relations with you. I take leave, remaining

Your humble Serv't,

BENJAMIN NEWBERRY.

The Connecticut forces under Major Talcott.—In May, 1676, Massachusetts and Connecticut designed an expedition into Hampshire county. Their forces were to scour the country, and to visit Squakeag, the supposed head-quarters of the Indians. Major John Talcott at the head of 250 English on horses and 200 Indians on foot from Connecticut, left Norwich on the first or second of June, and arrived at Hadley on the 8th. He crossed the river to Northampton the same day with part of his forces, that being usually the head-quarters of the Connecticut troops. They took from Norwich 4000 pounds of bread, 1300 pounds of

*John Smith of Hadley, so highly praised by Mather, was in the falls-fight a few days before. He was a son of Lieut. Samuel Smith, and an ancestor of the Hatfield Smiths. The late Oliver Smith of Hatfield, the most wealthy man in Hampshire, was one of his descendants.

Jobanna Smith was from Farmington and Richard Hall from Middletown. The names of the two colony soldiers killed are unknown. None of the Hatfield people were slain.

†Some of his men did get to Hatfield, or two would not have been slain, and two wounded.

pork, 26 gallons of liquors, and other things.* Capt. Daniel Henchman and the Massachusetts troops were delayed, and did not arrive at Hadley until the 14th.

Major Talcott intended to attack the stronghold of the Indians near Mount Wachuset, but he received a letter from the Council, written May 31st, advising him "not to march to Watchossuck," [Wachuset.] This place was deemed formidable by the Council of Connecticut. Capt. Henchman was to take Wachuset in his way, but he came up in haste, and Wachuset was not assailed.

The eighth of June, 1676, was a day of much excitement in the river towns. An army of 450 men from Connecticut was a novel and animating spectacle. The inhabitants of Hadley gazed with eagerness upon the 250 mounted men, with their red silk banners, and especially upon the 200 Indians, as they marched up the street. The men on horses were almost all from the towns upon Long Island Sound, under Captains Sellick, Mansfield, and Denison. Most of the Hartford county troops were at Northampton under Capt. Newberry. The Indians were Pequots, Mohegans, Nianticks, Indians from Hartford county, and some from Fairfield. They formed a motley assemblage; their dress and arms were various, and their decorations diversified and fantastic. A collection of 200 friendly Indian warriors, was a sight which the inhabitants of these towns never saw before.

Extracts of a letter from Major John Talcott, to Dep. Gov. Treat and the Council at Hartford.

Northampton, June 8, 1676,
at 10 of the clock at night.

Hon'd Gent'm,

In pursuance of your orders, past from Norwich to Wabaquasset, at which place 'suppose was about 40 acres of corn, and a fort, but none of the enemy to be found; from thence made Chanagongum† in the Ninap‡ country, on the 5th of June, and took 52 of the enemy, of which 19 slain and one shot and made an escape; and on the 6th instant made towards Quabaug and gained it on the 7th day about 12 o'clock; took 2 of the enemy, who were laden with as much fish as they could carry, and each of them a gun, their horns full of powder, which were taken; we sent 27 women and children to Norwich under conduct of some of those we call honest Indians, and the other are come to Hadley with the army. By the last that was slain we receive intelligence that there is 500 fighting-men at Pacomtuck. This eighth instant we made Hadley with about 200 Indians and 250 English, but the Bay forces are not come. I past away from Quabaug a letter to the chief commander of the Bay forces, intended for conjunction with us in these parts, and upon advice with those of my council of war, judge that it is not prudent to divide our forces and engage the enemy on both sides of the river, being too weak, rationally expecting that they will endeavor to

*Trumbull and others are mistaken in supposing that this was the "hungry march." That march was in August.

†The name of a pond and Indian village in Dudley, called Chabanakongkomun by Gookin.

‡The Nipmuck country was also called Nipnet, Ninep, Ninap, &c.

make over to one side and so overpower us, it may be to our ruin and your loss, and judge it a bootless undertaking to drive but one side, knowing they will fly (if beaten) over to the other side and scornfully reproach us. I have quartered our soldiers and are waiting for your further orders. Mr. Fitch, Mr. Bulkley,* Capt. Newberry, Capt. Denison with all other of our officers and soldiers are in health, desiring their service to be presented to your worships, and do acknowledge the great goodness of God in saving and preserving us in the midst of all our difficulties. Gent'm, if you cause any bread to be made for this wilderness work, it had need be well dried; great part of our bread is full of blue mold, and yet kept dry from wet, and we shall need a barrel of powder at this time and 300 lbs. of bullets for carrying on the war here as we judge. We shall endeavor to procure bread here for our soldiers not knowing how bread can be conveyed up. Shall not trouble you further. Am Hon. Gent.

Your humble serv't,

JOHN TALLCOTT.

Please to send up those sent down for powder and bullets, with all possible speed. Remember flint stones.

Major Talcott wrote another letter from Northampton, June 11th. Had sent posts to Capt. Henchman, to hasten the Bay forces, and expected their arrival on the 14th at night. "Our delays in these parts do so exhaust their provision, that it is feared they cannot suit us with bread sufficient for the field." He sent down 40 or 45 horses under Lieut. Leffingwell, to bring what bread they could from Deac. Moore, a baker in Windsor.

Attack on Hadley.—On Monday, June 12th, the Indians appeared at Hadley, ignorant that 450 men had recently arrived in these towns. Major Talcott was on the west side of the river, and Capt. Swain, who had been sent up to take the place of Capt. Turner, had the command in Hadley. The object of the Indians seems to have been to plunder and destroy, without the fortification, as at Hatfield. It may be conjectured that a part of them designed to cut off those that went down to work in Fort and Hockanum meadows in the morning. There may have been 250 Indians engaged in this enterprise. They were our river Indians and other Nipmucks, with some Narragansets. This was their last effort in the county of Hampshire in 1676. The power of the Indians was fast declining. The following account is from Mather.

"June 12, the enemy assaulted Hadley. In the morning, sun an hour high, three soldiers going out of the town without their arms, were dissuaded therefrom by a sergeant who stood at the gate, but they alledging that they intended not to go far, were suffered to pass; within a while, the sergeant apprehended that he heard some men running, and looking over the fortification, he saw twenty Indians pursuing those three men, who were so terrified that they could not cry out; two of them were at last killed, and the other so mortally wounded that he lived not above two or three days; wherefore the sergeant gave the alarm. God in great mercy to these western plantations, had so ordered by his providence, that Connecticut army was come thither, before this onset from the enemy. Besides English, there were

*Rev. James Fitch of Norwich was the minister, and Rev. Gershom Bulkley, of Wethersfield, the surgeon of the expedition.

near upon two hundred Indians in Hadley, who came to fight with and for the English, against the common enemy, who was quickly driven off at the south end of the town. Whilst our men were pursuing of them here, on a sudden a great swarm of Indians issued out of the bushes and made their main assault at the north end of the town; they fired a barn which was without the fortification, and went into a house, where the inhabitants discharged a great gun* upon them, whereupon about fifty Indians were seen running out of the house in great haste, being terribly frighted with the report and slaughter made amongst them by the great gun. Ours followed the enemy, (whom they judged to be about five hundred, and by Indian report since, it seems they were seven hundred†) near upon two miles, and would fain have pursued them further, but they had no order so to do. But few of ours lost their lives in this skirmish, nor is it yet known how many the enemy lost in this fight. The English could find but three dead Indians, yet some of them who have been taken captive, confess that they had thirty men killed this day. And since we have been informed by Indians, that while the Indian men were thus fighting against Hadley, the Mohawks came upon their head-quarters, and smote their women and children, with a great slaughter, and then returned with much plunder."‡

Expedition up the river.—Capt. Henchman arrived at Hadley with the Massachusetts troops, and a company of Christian Indians, on the 14th of June. On Friday, the 16th, the forces moved up the river, Capt. Henchman on the east side, and Major Talcott on the west side. There was a severe thunder shower that day, but they reached the falls, where they found no Indians. There was a north-east rain-storm all the next day, and the night succeeding, which damaged their arms, ammunition and provisions, and they returned to the towns on Sunday, the 18th. They sent up scouts, on the east side of the river, as high as Squakeag, who could not discover the enemy. The soldiers ranging on the west side, above Deerfield, found the body of Capt. Turner, and conjectured that they found places where some of the English had been tortured to death by burning.

On the 28th of June, about 30 men went up towards the falls, and espied no Indians. They burnt a hundred wigwams upon an island, ruined an Indian fort, spoiled an abundance of fish which they found in Indian barns under ground, and destroyed 30 canoes. Some of the Indians had gone eastward, and others might have gone up the river to their Coasset. They were distressed and scattered.

Major Talcott and the Connecticut forces returned to that colony, June 20th, and a fortnight after, they were killing and capturing Indians in the colony of Rhode Island.

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*It is not known when and where Hadley obtained this "great gun," which was only a small cannon. Lt. Walter Filer of Windsor, in a letter written in October, 1675, remarks that "if the great gun at Springfield had been but mounted into Mr. Glover's chamber, it would have put the 100 Indians to rout at the top of the hill," &c. This Springfield cannon is not noticed by others.

†In this as in other instances, the wild conjectures of the English, were less extravagant than the reports of the Indians. There were not at that time seven hundred hostile Indian warriors in Massachusetts.

‡The reports of the Mohawks attacking our Indians, were false.

Capt. Henchman left Hadley the latter part of June, and he killed or took 84 Indians in coming up and returning.

Before Major Talcott and Capt. Henchman left Hampshire, there were near 900 soldiers in the county, viz., about 530 from Connecticut, including Indians; and between 350 and 400 from the eastern towns in Massachusetts. Only the garrison soldiers under Capt. Swain remained.

Wheat Harvest in Hadley.—The people were apprehensive that the Indians might return during the wheat harvest, and on the 11th of July, Mr. Russell, in behalf of the people, wrote to Secretary Allyn at Hartford, and requested a guard of thirty men, while they gathered the harvest from their out-fields. Mr. Allyn replied on the 14th, that they could not send men to Hadley, as their army was to march on the 17th, and their harvest had just come. He thought the Indians were brought low, and would be lower every day.

On the 18th of July, the people of Hadley adopted the following regulations in regard to their harvest.

"Ordered, that during the time of cutting and inning of corn* and grass, in Hockanum and Fort Meadow, there shall not be less than the whole number of garrison soldiers, and two out of each squadron, or eight inhabitants, left to secure the town as a garrison every day; the ordering of the garrison aforesaid to be under the inspection of the captain of the garrison soldiers and Lieut. Smith. Ordered that not less than forty nor more than fifty men, presume to go to labor in Hockanum or Fort Meadow as to harvest-work; and this number they shall dispose of in the best manner for their security and safety; and on those days when such a part are working, either in Hockanum or Fort Meadow, no person shall then be working in the Great Meadow, but the rest are to abide in the town as a security under penalty of three shillings. Tomorrow, July 19th, shall be the day for going to Hockanum, the 20th into the Great Meadow, the 21st into Hockanum, and so the week following."

The meadows north of Hadley village, on account of their exposure to the enemy, were not cultivated in 1676; and the North Meadow in Hatfield seems not to have been used in tillage.

Flight of Indians to Hudson's River.—In July, the Indians were in a disunited and depressed state. They suffered from famine and disease, and were hunted from place to place. Some were taken and others gave themselves up; most of these were women and children. Some fled to distant places. About the 19th of July, a party passed through Westfield, in their flight to Hudson's River. They seized some horses and cattle, and plucked up corn-stalks to suck for refreshment.

Another party crossed the Connecticut between Hadley and Springfield on Friday, the 11th of August, and passed near Westfield the next day. Major Talcott pursued them. Major Pyn-

*The corn was wheat. After making an allowance for the difference in style, it will be found that the wheat harvest at Hadley began near the end of July, and at Hartford, a few days sooner, in 1676.

chon gives an account of these things in a letter to the governor of Massachusetts. Extracts follow.

Springfield, Aug. 15, 1676.

The body of the Indians is drawn off towards Albany, where they are harbored under the government of Andros. We shall be in danger of being continually disturbed, if he harbors the enemy. Last Saturday, August 12th, near 200 Indians were discovered within three or four miles of Westfield. The people and soldiers then went out and made several shots on them and took a horse from them, but finding them so many, they sent word to me. I presently gave order for thirty to march thither, but they came too late; and then also Major Talcott's army came in (who has, they say, cut down all the Indian corn about Quabaug, &c.) They pursued them on Sabbath about noon, a day after the Indians were gone, and provisions not being ready at Westfield, they hastened somewhat short of provisions, and I doubt they will not overtake them till they come to Aussotinnoag.*

While I am writing, news comes that Major Talcott's army are most of them returned; only himself and 60 men and as many Indians have gone on. Finding his want of victuals, Maj. Talcott sent back most of his men, taking all their victuals, and discharging himself of his horses. An old Indian, whom he took, told him the Indians intended to rest at Oussotinoag, and that they had between 50 and 60 fighting-men, and 100 women, besides children. He hopes to get up with them and do some execution, which the Lord in mercy grant. We find by our scouts that this parcel of Indians went over the great river on rafts at the foot of the great falls, between us and Hadley, and their track comes from the Nipmuck country. The scouts found where they lay, within seven miles of our town, having about 25 fires.

My respects to your good lady and all the magistrates.

JOHN PYNCHON.

According to Hubbard, Major Talcott overtook the Indians at Ausotunnoog River, and fought with them, killing and taking 45, of whom 25 were fighting-men, with the loss of only one, a Mohegan Indian. The Council of Connecticut, in a letter to Gov. Andros, dated Aug. 19, say theirs slew 40 and took 15 captives. This engagement was on Tuesday morning, Aug. 15th, and is supposed to have taken place in or near the present township of Sheffield. Major Talcott was not stationed at Westfield, as intimated by Trumbull, but had recently come from the east.†

Major Pynchon advised Capt. Swain to send out soldiers and cut down the corn at Squakeag, and the work was done before the 15th of August,—and no Indians seen. He had also sent 30

*The name of the Housatonnuc was so spelled by John Pynchon. It was written by some Housetunack, and Ousatunick, in 1676.

†The third expedition of Major Talcott and his army is not mentioned by historians, except a slight notice by Capt. Church. They marched from New London, after the 20th of July, and crossed the Narraganset country into the colony of Plymouth. On the 31st of July, Massachusetts ordered bread, bacon, cheese, spirits, wine and tobacco, to be sent to Taunton, for Major Talcott's forces. As Major Talcott was returning, he was apprised of the fleeing of the Indians and pursued them. Old Col. Wadsworth of Durham informed Pres. Stiles that this was the hungry march; he had a manuscript history of it. The proclamation of Connecticut of Aug. 19th, appointing Aug. 30th as a day of Thanksgiving, noticed "the goodness of God to us in the great preservation he hath mercifully granted our men, in their last, long, and tedious march through the wilderness," &c. This was the "long and hungry march,"—from near Taunton River to the Housatonnuc.

men to Paquayag upon Miller's River, to cut down the corn there. On the 22d, the soldiers finished cutting down the corn at Deerfield; they saw six Indians near Deerfield River. Capt. Swain had orders to march homewards, and intended to go on the last day of August, but a part of the men remained a few days longer.* The soldiers had been in service many months; some were left by Capt. Appleton in November, 1675, and others came up with Capt. Turner in March, 1676. Some had formed attachments here, and became permanent residents.

Philip was slain on the 12th of August, 1676, at Mount Hope, by an Indian of his own nation. The hostile Indians had fled, or submitted, and the war appeared to be terminated, except in Maine. The people of Hampshire were afraid that those fugitives who had been received by the Hudson's River Indians, would make inroads upon their towns; and requests were made to Gov. Andros to deliver up some of the chiefs. He, not improperly, refused to do this. In April, 1677, the names of the principal men, supposed to be in New York, were sent to Gov. Andros, viz., Wequogan, Awassamaug, Pumanequin, Negonump, Apequanas alias John Sagamore, and Cochapesen. The first and the last were Springfield Indians. Gov. Andros said some of the Indians had "fled to Canada, some to the Senecas, and most other nations have got some." Our Norwottuck chief Sancumachu, was not named.

King Philip.—He was the terror of New England for fourteen months. Schemes were attributed to him which he did not contrive, and deeds which he did not perform; and he was charged with the atrocities and cruelties of others. He was not in the attacks upon the Hampshire villages in 1676; he was not concerned in the slaughters and desolations at Lancaster, Medfield, Plymouth, Groton, Warwick, Marlborough, Rehoboth, Providence, Chelmsford, and other places which might be named. But Philip was a savage and doubtless rejoiced in the havoc and bloodshed made by the fierce and furious Nipmucks and Narragansets.† Philip had but few followers and obeyers. He is said to have quarrelled with the Nipmucks at Wachuset.

The Mohawks.—In 1676, various delusive reports were circulated in New England, relating to what the Mohawks had done or

*On the 18th of August, the Connecticut captains were ordered to march to their respective counties and disband their companies. The war was considered at an end.

†The story published in some histories, that when Philip was near Albany, he killed some scattered Mohawks, and reported that the English had done it, in order to breed a quarrel between the English and Mohawks, does not deserve the least credit.

would do, against the hostile Indians, and they are found in the letters and histories of that day. Some of these came from New York and Albany, and from Gov. Andros himself, and some were derived from the "confessions" of Indian captives. No reliance can be placed on these reports and hearsays. There is no evidence that the Mohawks came into New England and killed any hostile Indians. The Council of Connecticut wrote to Gov. Andros, Aug. 31, that they were in the dark, as to the Mohawks pursuing and destroying our Indians; they knew not what services the Mohawks had done. (See page 123.) Possibly they had cut off a few stragglers.

Hatfield attacked in 1677.

On the 19th of September, 1677, a year after the war was apparently closed, some Indians made an unexpected and destructive inroad upon Hatfield. About eleven o'clock in the forenoon, when a greater part of the men were dispersed in the meadows, and others were employed upon the frame of a house without the palisades, a party of Indians suddenly assaulted the latter, and shot down three men, and proceeding to other buildings, killed nine more persons, wounded four others, took seventeen captives, and burnt seven buildings. This was a more calamitous assault than had been made upon any town in Hampshire during the two preceding years. All the persons killed, wounded and taken were women and children except five. All these women and children lived in the northern part of the village, and probably without the palisade.*

The Indians proceeded with their captives to Deerfield the same day, where a few people were preparing to rebuild their houses; of these they killed one and captured four.† They resumed their march up the Connecticut with twenty-one captives, the next morning, and they stopped on the east side of the river, about thirty miles above Northfield,‡ where they built a long wigwam, and remained about three weeks.

They were pursued as far as Northfield, but not overtaken. To aid in the pursuit, Connecticut sent up Capt. Thomas Watts with 50 men. Had they come upon the Indians, the prisoners would have been in danger of the tomahawk.

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*Gookin says the buildings burnt stood without the line.

†One of these Deerfield captives was Quintin Stockwell, and in 1684, Rev. Increase Mather published a Narrative of his Captivity, from his own words.

‡This distance is Stockwell's guess. Their stopping-place may have been 15 or 20 miles above Northfield.

During the three weeks' stay of the Indians above Northfield, some of them proceeded to Wachuset, and brought back with them about eighty women and children. Benoni Stebbins, who was taken at Deerfield, going with them towards Wachuset, escaped, and returned to his friends. Others of these Indians came down and there was a parley* between them and the English, and it was agreed to meet again on the Sabbath, Oct. 14th, to make a treaty for the redemption of the captives. Hadley, Hatfield and Northampton sent down to Hartford for assistance in case of an attack, and for a suitable person to advise. The General Court of Connecticut, on the 11th, sent up Major Treat with 40 men to give assistance if needed. The endeavors of these towns and of Connecticut, to ransom the prisoners, were frustrated, and the Indians did not attend the meeting on the 14th.

Benoni Stebbins reported that the Indians who had been at Hatfield were about twenty-seven, including four women, and that they were of the old enemy, formerly neighbors, who had fled to Canada. Stockwell calls a part of them Wachuset Indians.

The Hadley mill which had been preserved by a small garrison in 1675 and 1676, was burnt by Indians in October, 1677. The Hadley record does not note the day.

Sometime in October, the captors and the captives again moved up the river. They crossed the country to Lake Champlain, and after some delays, arrived in Canada in winter weather. These sufferers from Hatfield and Deerfield, were the first that were ever forced to leave their homes in New England, and travel through the dreary wilderness, to Canada. Hundreds were afterwards compelled to do the same.

The persons killed, taken and wounded, at Hatfield, Sept. 19, 1677, were as follows:—

Killed.—Sergt. Isaac Graves and his brother, John Graves; John Atchisson; John Cooper of Springfield, aged 18; Elizabeth, wife of Philip Russell and her son Stephen, aged 3 years; Hannah, wife of John Coleman, and her babe Bethiah; Sarah, wife of Samuel Kellogg, and her babe Joseph; Mary, wife of Samuel Belding; Elizabeth Wells, aged two years, daughter of John Wells; in all, 12.

Taken.—Sarah Coleman, aged four years, and another child of John Coleman; Martha, wife of Benjamin Wait, and her 3 daughters, Mary, aged 6, Martha, 4, and Sarah, 2; Mary, wife of Samuel Foote, and a young son, and daughter Mary, aged 3; Hannah, wife of Stephen Jennings, and two of his children by a previous wife; Obadiah Dickinson and one child; Samuel, son of Samuel Kellogg, aged 8; Abigail, daughter of John Allis, aged 6; Abigail, daughter of William Bartholomew, who lived at Deerfield before the war; in all, 17.

Wounded.—A child of John Coleman; wife and daughter of John Wells; wife of Obadiah Dickinson.

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*Hubbard reports that the Indians attempted to take Hadley mill, and missing their end, pretended a kind of parley.

Buildings burnt.—John Coleman's barn; John Allis's barn; Obadiah Dickinson's house; Benjamin Wait's house and barn; Samuel Kellogg's house and barn.

At Deerfield.—John Root was taken and then killed; and Sergt. John Plympton, senior, Quintin Stockwell, Benoni Stebbins, and Samuel, son of Philip Russell, aged 8 or 9, were taken.

At both places, there were 13 killed and 21 taken. After the escape of Benoni Stebbins, the captives were 20. Of these, three were slain in Canada, viz., Sergt. Plympton, Samuel Russell, and Mary, daughter of Samuel Foote. Seventeen returned to their friends, with an addition of two babes born in Canada.

The Canada babes.—The two babes born in Canada were females; one was a daughter of Benjamin Wait, born January 22, 1678; the other a daughter of Stephen Jennings, born March 14, 1678. To commemorate the captivity in Canada, Wait's child was named Canada, and Jennings' child, Captivity, and these names they ever retained. Canada Wait married Joseph Smith, son of the John Smith of Hadley, who was slain in Hatfield meadow, May 30, 1676; she was the grandmother of the late Oliver Smith and his five brothers. Stephen Jennings removed to Brookfield, and his daughter, Captivity, married Abijah Bartlett of that town.

Benjamin Wait and Stephen Jennings, men of energy and perseverance, undertook to redeem their wives and children, and the other captives. They obtained a commission from the government of Massachusetts, and set out from Hatfield on the 24th of October, and went by way of Westfield to Albany. The ruling men frowned upon their enterprise, and after they had proceeded to Schenectady, brought them back by force to Albany, and sent them down to New York to Gov. Andros, under pretence of some new order from him. Capt. Brockhurst interceded for them, and they were sent back with a pass, and arrived at Albany, Nov. 19. Here they again met with discouragements, and were obliged to hire a Mohawk Indian to conduct them to Lake George. This savage was more humane and friendly than the governing men in the colony. The lake being open, he fitted up for them a canoe, about Dec. 16, and drew for them a draught of the lakes they were to pass.* They went down Lake George, and carried their canoe two miles upon their backs, to Lake Champlain, where they were hindered by ice and head-winds many days, and reached Chamblee on the 6th of January, 1678. At Sorell and the vicinity, they found the captives. They went down to Quebec, where they were civilly entertained by the French governor, who granted them a guard of eleven persons towards Albany. They left Quebec on the 19th of April, and Sorell on the 2d of May, having redeemed all the captives. The French had been kind to them. They arrived at Albany, on Wednesday, the 22d of May.

*They were ignorant of the country, being the first New England men that ever passed down Lakes George and Champlain to Canada.

From Albany, a messenger was sent to Hatfield with the following letters, written by two plain men. They are natural and unstudied, and coming from the heart, must have reached the hearts of others, especially Wait's.

Albany, May 22, 1678.

Loving wife,

Having now opportunity to remember my kind love to thee and our child, and the rest of our friends, though we met with great afflictions and trouble since I see thee last, yet here is now opportunity of joy and thanksgiving to God, that we are now pretty well, and in a hopeful way to see the faces of one another, before we take our final farewell of this present world. Likewise God hath raised up friends amongst our enemies, and there is but three of us dead of all those that were taken away—Sergeant Plympton, Samuel Russel, Samuel Foot's daughter. So I conclude being in haste, and rest your most affectionate husband, till death makes a separation.

QUINTIN STOCKWELL.

Albany, May 23, 1678.

To my loving friends and kindred at Hatfield,

These few lines are to let you understand that we are arrived at Albany now with the captives, and we now stand in need of assistance, for my charges is very great and heavy; and therefore any that have any love to our condition, let it move them to come and help us in this strait. Three of the captives are murdered,—old Goodman Plympton, Samuel Foot's daughter, Samuel Russell. All the rest are alive and well and now at Albany, namely, Obadiah Dickinson and his child, Mary Foot and her child, Hannah Jennings and 3 children, Abigail Allis, Abigail Bartholomew, Goodman Coleman's children. Samuel Kellogg, my wife and 4 children, and Quintin Stockwell. I pray you hasten the matter, for it requireth great haste. Stay not for the Sabbath, nor shoeing of horses. We shall endeavor to meet you at Canterhook [Kinderhook;] it may be at Housatonock. We must come very softly because of our wives and children. I pray you, hasten them, stay not night nor day, for the matter requireth haste, Bring provisions with you for us.

Your loving kinsman,

BENJAMIN WAITE.

At Albany, written from mine own hand. As I have been affected to yours all that were fatherless, be affected to me now, and hasten the matter and stay not, and ease me of my charges. You shall not need to be afraid of any enemies.

They remained in Albany five days, and on Monday, May 27, walked twenty-two miles to Kinderhook, where they met men and horses from Hatfield. They rode through the woods to Westfield, and soon all reached Hatfield in safety. The captives had been absent eight months, and Wait and Jennings, seven months. The day of their arrival was one of the most joyful days that Hatfield ever knew. The ransom of the captives cost above two hundred pounds, which was gathered by contribution among the English.

Copies of the letters of Stockwell and Wait were carried to Medfield, on the 29th of May, and Rev. John Wilson, of that place, immediately sent them to the governor and council at Boston, who had previously appointed the 6th of June, as a day of fasting and humiliation. After receiving these letters, they issued an additional notice to the public, May 30th:—

"Knowing that the labor, hazard and charge of said Benjamin Wait and his associate have been great, we recommend their case with the captives for relief, to the pious charity of the elders, ministers and congregations of the several towns; that on the fast day, they manifest their charity by contributing to the relief of said persons. And the ministers are desired to stir up the people thereunto. For quickening this work, we do hereby remit a copy of Benjamin Wait's letter,* to be read publickly either before or upon that day; and what is freely given, is to be remitted to Mr. Anthony Stoddard, Mr. John Joyliff and Mr. John Richards, or either of them, who are appointed to deliver and distribute the same for the ends aforesaid." Signed by Edward Rawson, Secretary.

CHAPTER XVI

Fears on account of the attack upon Hatfield—Hadley fortifications—Number of persons slain in Hampshire—Buildings burnt—Benevolence—Cost of the war—Head-quarters at Mr. Russell's—War taxes in Hampshire—Colony expenses in Hampshire—Soldiers' wages—Flint locks and match locks—Praying Indians—Noises in the air—Garrison at Quabaug—Posts—Hadley Mill, the parley, &c.—Surgeon—Ferry-men and others—Scenes in Hadley.

The sudden and unlooked for onset upon Hatfield excited much apprehension. It was feared that other parties of Indians would fall upon the frontier towns. A few soldiers were stationed at Hatfield for a year after Sept. 1677, and some at Hadley for six months in 1678. The fortifications about the Hampshire towns were repaired or rebuilt, and kept in order several years, and men went to their labors and to public worship, with their arms in their hands. In Oct. 1677, the General Court ordered that the Hampshire towns should endeavor to new model the situation of their houses, so as to be more compact, and men from the five towns were appointed a committee, to regulate the same. They were not able to effect much, except at Westfield.

Hadley Fortifications, &c.—In Feb. 1677, the town voted to fortify the meeting-house; the selectmen were to call out men and teams for the work. They also voted that every male inhabitant above 16 years of age, should bring arms and ammunition to meeting on Lord's days and at Lectures, or forfeit a shilling for every neglect.

The meeting-house appears to have been surrounded with a palisade. One object of this was to provide a place of refuge, to which the women and children could flee, and which the men could defend. Men carried arms to meeting because it was im-

*When Benjamin Wait wrote this letter to the people of Hatfield, he little thought that it would be read in all the pulpits of Massachusetts.

portant that they should be near their arms, in case of an attack upon any part of the village. They undoubtedly carried arms to the meeting-house in 1675 and 1676.

Hadley repaired the east fortifications in 1677. In Jan. 1678, the town voted not to include the five houses at the north end, but would give to the owners land to build upon within the palisade. On the 10th of December, 1678, they voted to build a new fortification on the east side; the stuff to be ten feet in length and three inches thick, set two feet into the ground; and if rails were used, they were to be substantial. The west fortification was to be repaired. Every man was to make his proportion of the palisade according to the town list of estates. Men made their proportion on their own land, where it could be done. In April, 1684, the town voted to keep up the fortification on the east side. The east palisade extended from Nathaniel Dickinson's lot on the south, to William Partrigg's lot on the north, and included the buildings on those lots. (See page 24.) The length was not far from a mile. The only gate on that side was one in the middle highway. Each squadron built a watch-house in 1678 or 1679.

Persons slain at different places in Hampshire county, in 1676 and 1677, including 3 killed in Canada.

1676.		1677.	
March. In the expedition of Majors Savage and Treat, towards Millers' River,	1	Sept. 19. At Hatfield,	12
At Westfield, "on the last snowy day,"	2	" " At Deerfield,	1
March 14. At Northampton,	5	In Canada,	3
March 26 and 27. Below Springfield,	6		—
In West Springfield,	1		16
April 1st or 2d. In Hadley, near Mount Holyoke,	3	Slain in three years.	
May 19. In and after the Falls fight,	38	In 1675,	145
May 30. At Hatfield,	5	In 1676,	64
June 12. At Hadley,	3	In 1677,	16
	—		—
	64	Total,	225
		More than 80 of these belonged to the county.	

Buildings burnt.—The number of dwelling-houses burnt in Hampshire was not less than one hundred and ten, but many of them were small, cheap buildings. The number of barns burnt was less. The houses consumed in the three towns destroyed, Brookfield, Northfield and Deerfield, may be estimated at 45; Springfield, 33, Westfield, 3, Northampton, 10, Hatfield, 16,* Hadley, none, Suffield, some, and Swampfield,† a few. Of the five

*Hatfield said in a petition, April, 1678, that they had lost from one-third to one-half of their dwelling-houses, the greater part of their kine, sheep and horses, and many barns.

†The deputies of the General Court, in May, 1680, say that, "of ten towns in Hampshire, five are wholly dissipated." They include Swampfield or Sunderland in the ten towns. There must have been a few buildings there in 1675, before the war.

towns remaining, Hatfield, in proportion to her population, suffered the greatest loss of life and property. The loss of property by Springfield village, separate from the town, was greater. Hadley lost the least property, and Westfield the fewest lives. It is not known that Hadley had a single dwelling-house burnt.

Boston and other places in Massachusetts often made generous contributions for suffering families, and for the redemption of captives. The people of the river towns were kind towards the sufferers among them. Connecticut contributed liberally for the relief of other colonies in 1676 and 1677. The contribution of Windsor in 1676 was equal to 170 bushels of Indian corn. Connecticut relieved some in Hampshire.—There was much compassion and benevolence in New England.

Cost of the War.—The disbursements in this war, according to the records of the commissioners at Hartford, in Sept. 1678, were as follows:—

Massachusetts, ...	£46,292
Connecticut, ...	23,173
Plymouth, ...	11,743
	£81,208

Massachusetts had expended 6 or 7000 pounds on the war in Maine. Exclusive of this, each colony had disbursed not far from its share. Connecticut refused to aid in defending Maine, as it did not belong to Massachusetts when the confederation was formed. Plymouth paid 1000£ for the eastern war. The expenses of war were to be borne by the colonies in this proportion:—Massachusetts, 100, Connecticut, 60, Plymouth, 30. The property destroyed by the Indians, and many expenses of towns, are not embraced in the 81,000 pounds. Bancroft's statement that "the disbursements and losses equalled half a million of dollars," seems not excessive.†

Head-quarters in Hadley.—During the war, the head-quarters were at the house of Rev. John Russell, and he entertained the

†Trumbull has a statement that about 600 inhabitants of New England were slain in this war, 12 or 13 towns entirely destroyed, and about 600 buildings burnt. In a note, he expresses an opinion that the loss was much greater. Secretary Rawson of Mass. wrote, Jan. 4, 1677—"By sending to our several towns, we find 660 families, consisting of 2265 persons, in distress, and yet want returns from 13 towns."

Connecticut lost and suffered much less than other parts of New England. She had no enemies within her borders, except a few stragglers from other colonies. Her own Indians were helpers and not foes. She performed her duty honorably as one of the New England confederacy.

principal officers.* Two requests or petitions for pay, in September and October, 1677, were signed by his friends, and one of them by his wife Rebecca Russell, but not by him. The whole sum charged was then £78.13.8. They say that the "chief gentlemen improved in the affairs of the war were entertained there, which called for provisions answerable, and was of the best to be had."† He had "to draw divers barrels of beer, and much wine, and fruit suitable to the company; and had no more credit for such company by the week or meal than other men for ordinary entertainment." "The great cumber, trouble and burden upon his wife," are noticed.—The account was paid.

War Taxes in Hampshire.—A country rate was one penny on every pound of estate in the lists, and 1s. 8d. on each poll. In 1675, there were 10 country rates ordered; in 1676, 16 rates; in 1677, 9 rates, making 35 country rates laid in three years. A few of them were for ordinary expenses. A single country rate on the five Hampshire towns, in October, 1675, was as follows:—Springfield, £26.5.5, Northampton, £22.2.10, Hadley, £18.10.9, Westfield, £11.16.0, Hatfield, £8.12.0. Each rate was the same in 1676, and apparently nearly the same in 1667, but there were some abatements for losses in war. The Hadley country rates in three years were 35 times £18.10.9, or about 648 pounds, in country pay. The taxes were equally heavy in all parts of the colony.

Colony expenses in Hampshire.—The Hampshire towns, especially the upper ones, fed so many troops and horses, and furnished so many other things for the army, that they had very heavy charges against the colony, and their taxes were paid in this way. Hatfield was allowed £788 until May 1st, 1676, Northampton, 697£, and Hadley much more than either; and there were large disbursements by these towns for the colony after May 1, 1676, amounting to about 800£ in Hadley and Hatfield. In October, 1680, the sum still due to Hadley was £900, to Hatfield, £400,

*The two judges, Whalley and Goffe, were undoubtedly at Peter Tilton's and Lieut. Samuel Smith's during the war. They could not have been concealed at Mr. Russell's.

†Men in office, civil and military, lived well in those days. And the laboring classes and soldiers had a good supply of substantial food. The following "estimate of what will serve 500 soldiers one month" was made Feb. 15, 1676, by the Committee of War.

15000 biscuit, 20 barrels pork, 30 barrels beef, 1000 pounds of bacon and 1000 pounds of cheese (or 10 cwts.) 50 bushels Indian corn parched and beaten into nocake [Indian, *nokehick*;] 300 small bags for each man to carry nocake; stockings and shoes, 200 pairs of each; shirts and drawers, 100 of each; 50 waistcoats, 100 wallets, 6 barrels powder, 1200 pounds, (or 12 cwts.) of shot, [bullets,] 2000 flints, 300 bushels of oats and 100 bushels barley, for horses.

and to Northampton and the other towns, about £600. The colony paid the £1900 before 1684.

Pay of garrisons.—Northampton, Hadley, and Hatfield paid their own garrison soldiers in the winter of 1675-6, and until May, without the aid of the colony.

The wages of soldiers in this war were six shillings per week in Massachusetts, and food. They received clothing when they remained in service some weeks, or months. The six shillings was in "country pay." The diet or board of soldiers was about 5s. per week; less in some places.

Match locks and flint locks were both in use when the war began, but the latter superseded the former, and few match locks were used in 1676. Match locks and muskets with rests were not fitted for Indian warfare. The Indians did not use match locks, and had not perhaps at any time. They were excellent marksmen.

Friendly Indians.—Connecticut managed Indians more wisely than Massachusetts. They were generally pagans, but she treated them kindly, and Dep. Gov. Leete wrote in April, 1676, that no Indians belonging to Connecticut had become hostile. In Massachusetts, a great prejudice arose among the people against all Christian Indians because a few had proved false, and their enmity knew no bounds. Honest and faithful praying Indians were falsely accused, insulted, robbed, imprisoned, some shot at and wounded and others murdered. There was a savage antipathy against all Indians. But whenever the Christian Indians were employed in the service, they were brave and faithful, and the hatred of the people gradually abated, and after April, 1676, the Christian Indian soldiers were constantly employed, and performed signal services.

Noises in the Air.—Mather says—"It is certain that before this war broke out, viz. on Sept. 10, 1674, in Northampton, Hadley and other towns thereabouts, was heard the report of a great piece of ordnance with a shaking of the earth, and a considerable echo, when there was no ordnance really discharged at or near any of those towns."

Such noises in the air have occurred not unfrequently in different countries. There is nothing portentous in them.

Garrison at Quabaug.—This was kept up through the spring, and perhaps through the summer of 1676. Quarters were built for soldiers, who were furnished with provisions and ammunition, carried from Marlborough on the backs of horses. Sometimes 15 men conducted 30 horses, and were escorted by 20 troopers. In the early part of May, it was expected that Hadley and other

towns on the river would supply the garrison with provisions, to be conveyed on horses as before, but for some reason the plan failed at that time.

Posts traveled between Connecticut River and Boston during the war, except in the winter, and were not harmed. Nathaniel Warner of Hadley, who came from Brookfield, was a post to Boston many times in 1675 and 1676.

Hadley Mill.—It is remarkable that this lonely mill, about three miles north of the village, was not destroyed by the Indians in 1675 or 1676. The garrison kept there seems to have been very small—sometimes only 2, 3 or 4 men. The accounts of the attack on the mill, and the parley in 1677, do not agree. Stockwell's Narrative differs from other statements.* "The burning of the corn-mill by the enemy" is noticed in the Hadley records, not elsewhere.

Doct. William Locke came to Hadley with Capt. Lothrop, and was there more than a year, as a physician and surgeon. He wrote to Mr. Rawson for medicines for wounded men, May 30, 1676—5 kinds of emplastrum, 2 or 3 kinds of oil, and many other things, and added, "old linen as much as you can get."

The Hadley ferry-men were busy during the war. Soldiers were frequently crossing the river, sometimes by hundreds. Joseph Kellogg, at the lower ferry, received of the colony in 1677, 40 pounds for the ferriage of soldiers, and for a team lost in the service. Samuel Partrigg, who had the direction of the upper ferry, received 20 pounds, Oct. 1677, for ferrying soldiers.

Samuel Porter took care of most of the wounded soldiers at Hadley, and laid out much for their provision and comfort. So says the record of the General Court, September, 1676. There was due to him for what he had expended on the country's account about 200£.

Richard Montague baked for the soldiers, and Timothy Nash repaired their arms.

Hadley was not a dull place in the war. The houses were often filled to overflowing, companies of soldiers were arriving and departing, armed men appeared daily in the broad street, and the red flag waved in the breeze. There were various scenes and occurrences in those cluttered dwellings, both serious and ludicrous. Nothing disreputable is recorded.

I have intended to confine this history of the war, chiefly to the county of Hampshire.

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*Can it be that the women and children that came from Wachuset (page 176) are the same that Gookin says were carried away with Wannalancet, from near Chelmsford, by a party that came from Canada with those that assailed Hatfield?

Birthplace of Bishop Huntington

Birthplace of General Joseph Hooker

CHAPTER XVII

Bounds of Hadley and Additions—Grant of 1673—Grant of 1683—Land at the Falls—Grant of 1727—Survey of 1739—Controversy with Hatfield, 1707—1733—New House-lots—Addition to old Houselots—New Street and Lots—Grants of land—Skirts of Forty Acres and Hockanum—Fort River Pastures—Hadley Swamps.

THE General Court determined in October, 1663, that the bounds of Hadley, on the east side of the river, should be five miles from their meeting-house place, up the river, five miles down the river, and four miles east from the most eastern part of the river. The people of Hadley asked for an enlargement of their township, at the October session, 1672. They recurred to their old difficulties,—their small divisions of land, the high price paid the Indians, the 200£ paid to Mr. Bradstreet, and the loss of one-third of their productive land and many of their company to make Hatfield. They continued:—

"The common feeding place* of our working cattle, whereby we carry on our husbandry, is without our town-bounds, and our want of hay ground is such as necessitates us to seek out some remote, boggy meadow, either to take hay from or carry our cattle to, that we may keep them alive; our interval land by reason of the high situation of it being seldom flooded, and so not continuing to yield grass as in the plantations lower down the river, and as here formerly."

They asked for an addition to make their plantation equal to 8 miles square. They said the greater part of their wood-land was "barren pine plain, capable of very little improvement."—Rev. John Russell wrote the petition, and 38 persons signed it, viz.,

John Russell	Thomas Welles	Isaac Harrison
Peter Tilton	Timothy Nash	William Markham
John Russell, Sr.	Samuel Gardner	Thos. Dickinson
Aaron Cook	Samuel Church	John Smith
Richard Goodman	Samuel Moody	Samuel Partrigg
John Crow	Chileab Smith	Samuel Porter
John Dickinson	Joseph Baldwin (Jr.)	Andrew Warner
Philip Smith	Edward Church	Caleb Watson
John Hubbard	Richard Montague	William Lewis
Joseph Baldwin	Samuel Gardner, Jr.	Nathaniel Dickinson
Thomas Coleman	William Gaylor	Edward Scott
Daniel Hovey	Joseph Warriner	Henry Clarke
Francis Barnard	Mark Warner	

In General Court, May 7, 1673:—"In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Hadley, for the settlement of the bounds thereof, it is ordered, that their bounds shall run from their meeting-house five miles up the river, five miles down the river, and six miles from their meeting-house eastward."

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*Their common feeding place was probably in the present town of Amherst, and much of it east of the four miles.

In May, 1683, the selectmen of Hadley, in the name of the town, petitioned for an addition to their southern bounds, of three miles in width, running four miles east from the river. They represented that their young people were straitened for want of enlargement, and removed to remote places; and "the inhabitants are shut up on the east and north by a desolate, barren desert," referring to the pine lands.

In General Court, May 16, 1683:—"In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Hadley, the Court judgeth meet to grant, as an addition of land, to the township of Hadley, four miles square, provided that Major Pynchon may have his five hundred acres, part of a former grant to him, and formerly taken up within that tract; to be laid out in such form as the selectmen of Hadley and he shall agree, and that said land be of the township of Hadley."

This grant was useless to Hadley while the French and Indian wars continued. It was not surveyed until October, 1715, when John Chandler, Jr. of Woodstock, was employed to lay out these 16 square miles or 10,240 acres. The north line began on the river, below the mouth of Stony Brook and ran eastward, on the old boundary line, 1500 rods; the east line was 1060 rods; the south line was the boundary of Springfield, 1420 rods; and the western limit was the river. This appears to have been the first measurement of land in Hadley, by the aid of the surveyor's compass. Hadley then extended from Springfield to Sunderland, above thirteen miles.

At the same time, Mr. Chandler surveyed Major Pynchon's 500 acres at the south-west corner of the addition. The north line was 460 rods in length, the east line 240 rods, the south line, on Springfield border, 180 rods,* and the western boundary was the river, running south-easterly, and the great falls. In 1726, William Pynchon of Springfield, sold to John Taylor of Hadley, two-thirds of the five hundred acres, for twenty shillings an acre, in the currency of that day, equal to about one dollar and thirty or forty cents. It is probable that Taylor purchased the other third. The 500 acres embraced the site of the present village at South Hadley Canal,† and the water privileges at the falls on the east side of the river. For upwards of fifty years, after 1726, the land was occupied by the Taylors and others for agricultural purposes; and the water of the river carried a saw-mill. In the fishing season, many people resorted to the place, and there was noise and bustle, but during most of the year, few dwellings in the township were more retired and sequestered than those in this nook. There

*I traced portions of the three lines without difficulty in 1848. A part of the north line was uncertain.

†This was written in 1848.

were no freight boats, no shops nor inns; and few sounds were heard by the river's side but the roaring of the falls and the screaming of the loon.

In November, 1727, twenty-one persons, who resided south of Mount Holyoke, in Hadley, and intended to form a precinct there, sent a petition to the General Court, asking for the land between the addition laid out in 1715, and the equivalant lands, afterwards Belchertown. This tract, called four miles long and two wide, or eight square miles, was granted. This addition is now the south-eastern part of Granby. The township of Hadley after this grant, contained about eighty square miles.

In April, 1739, Oliver Partridge of Hatfield, was employed to survey the township of Hadley, according to the grant of 1673. He first ascertained the point or place that was exactly six miles due east of the old meeting-house, and from that point measured north five miles and south five miles; and from each extremity of this line of ten miles, he run a line directly west to Connecticut River. These three lines, with the river, were the bounds of Hadley according to the grant of 1673. His south line was 7 miles and 94 rods, east line 10 miles, and north line 4 miles and 142 rods. A line running east from the Connecticut, at the mouth of Mohawk brook, long considered the dividing line between Hadley and Sunderland, Mr. Partridge found to be 55 rods too far south at the east end, and 50 rods at the west end, and that Sunderland possessed 457 acres of land that belonged to Hadley. Sunderland petitioned against the removal of the old line. In December, 1740, the General Court accepted of Mr. Partridge's plan, with the exception of the north line, which, they decided, should remain where it had been, and Hadley was to have 457 acres elsewhere, near Sunderland. This equivalent was taken up adjoining the Connecticut above the "fishing bar" at Deerfield Falls, and was called the "Hadley Farm above Sunderland." It was sold by Hadley in 1749.*

Another contest between Hadley and Hatfield.—Hadley had another controversy with Hatfield, which continued a quarter of

*When the boundaries of Hadley and the other old townships in Hampshire were definitely established, the direction of the lines was taken by the magnetic needle, without regard to the true meridian. This was done when the deviation of the needle from the true north point, was 8 degrees or more, to the westward. This variation is readily perceived by examining upon a map the east and north lines of the former townships of Springfield and Hadley, and the north lines of other townships upon the river. The lines of Mr. Chandler and Mr. Partridge were according to the compass, without any allowance for the variation of the needle, which in 1739 was about 8 degrees to the west. It is less now (1848) and the direction of the lines is consequently not the same by the compass as in 1739.

a century, or from 1707 to 1733. Several Hadley men had removed to Hatfield, and others had sold their lands on the west side to Hatfield men, and in 30 or 40 years many lots of land in the Ponsets, which had belonged to persons in Hadley, were possessed by residents in Hatfield; yet they were a part of Hadley, and taxed for the benefit of that town. The people of Hatfield disliked this state of things, and sought for a change. In December, 1707, Hatfield voted to search records and consult able lawyers. In May, 1709, they petitioned the General Court that the river might be the boundary between the two towns, and the land on the west side pay taxes to Hatfield. The people of Hadley, in August, instructed their representative, Daniel Marsh, "to defend Hadley against so unjust a petition." The General Court heard the parties Nov. 4, 1709, and "ordered that the petition be dismissed, and that it be recommended to the selectmen and inhabitants of Hadley, to accommodate their neighbors of Hatfield, on consideration of the many advantages Hadley has over and above Hatfield." Hadley was not disposed to comply. Several letters passed between the towns in January and February, 1710, and they disputed respecting the advantages which Hadley was said to have over Hatfield in the division of 1669. Hatfield affirmed that their meadow land was not so good as that of Hadley; that their great meadow was inferior to any meadow possessed by Hadley; and that their uplands were poor and mountainous, and inferior to those of Hadley; the latter having some valuable tracts of upland both north and south of Mount Holyoke. As to the agreement of 1669, Hatfield said that 40 years made a difference in circumstances, and this difference required corresponding changes. Hadley, on the other hand, averred that Hatfield had privileges in some respects better than those of Hadley; and they thought the agreement of 1669 "ought to be binding on the consciences of all good people."

In May, 1710, Hatfield again requested the General Court to make the river the boundary between the towns; this petition was renewed in 1712 and in 1715. Committees were appointed in 1715, 1716 and 1718, but nothing decisive took place. Hadley strenuously opposed all the efforts of Hatfield. A petition was sent by Hatfield in 1730, and after a delay of three years, a committee, on the 2d of November, 1733, reported that Connecticut River should be the bound between Hadley and Hatfield, and their report was accepted by all branches the same day.

Additional Homelots.—The 47 homelots originally laid out, were the only ones granted for some years. Three lots granted

in 1670, were not taken up. In March, 1669, the town gave to Joseph Warriner, a houselot 7 rods by 12, "in the middle of the street," near the north end, and he built a house and barn, and lived upon this lot, until about 1690, when he sold to Eleazar Warner for 28 pounds, and removed to Enfield.

Between the river and the four small houselots at the north end of the east tier, the land was used as a street, perhaps 20 or 30 rods in width or more. In 1672, the town began to grant this for houselots and other uses, leaving a highway south of the lots. The following grants next to the river were made:—

1st, or most western lot,	to John Preston,	1 acre,	in 1679,
2d, or next lot east,	to Joseph Barnard,	2 "	1673,
3d, . . .	to Dr. John Westcarr,	2 "	1673,
4th, . . .	to Isaac Harrison,	2 "	1672,
5th, . . .	to William Gaylord,	2 "	1672,
6th, . . .	to Peter Montague,	2 "	1673,
7th, . . .	to Henry White,	3 "	1680,
8th, . . .	to Isaac Warner, some acres,		in 1681,

extending up the river towards Coleman's brook, west of the highway to Forty Acres.

One or two houses were built upon these river lots before the Indian war, and there were five houses upon this north highway which were not included in the palisade. All these small lots, on both sides of the highway, were washed away by the river more than 100 years since.

While attacks from the Indians were feared, some small houselots were granted in or near the street in 1677, 1678 and 1679, viz., to John Preston next to Samuel Gardner's houselot; to John Ingram from the town homelot, which came back to the town in 1696; to Edward Scott, on the south side of the south highway into the meadow; to Quintin Stockwell, within the fortification, which he did not occupy.

Mark Warner, in 1680, had a grant forty rods long and three rods wide, from the middle highway, next to Mr. Russell's houselot, to build on. He removed to Northampton, but he claimed this land, and the town did not allow his claim. Their dispute was not at an end in 1712.

In March, 1679, the town voted to build a house for Thomas Webster (or buy an old one,) and set it in the middle highway into the meadow, on a piece of common land adjoining the pound, and not far from the house William Webster lived in. Thomas Webster had been driven from Northfield and lost his property. William Webster was also poor. Two sons of Gov. Webster lived some years in this highway, near the east end, in small houses built by the town. The pound was near them. One of the

buildings long remained for a poor family to live in, and was called the town-house.

Hadley fortunately passed through the war and the ensuing years of danger, without disfiguring and obstructing her spacious street, by permanent inclosures and buildings.

Addition to the old Houselots.—The plain upon which Hadley village was built, was, like most other terraces or levels in the vicinity of Connecticut River, lowest on the side farthest from the river. On the east side of this plain, next to the bank of the higher plain where the middle street is, there was low, swampy land, which was not included in the homelots. In January, 1674, the town permitted the homelots of John Russell, Jr., of the Town, Thomas Wells, John Hubbard, Samuel Porter and John Dickinson, to be extended "from the rear as now fenced up, to the bank eastward." In 1675, five or six of those living on the lower part of the street were allowed to extend their homelots "to the bank on the east side of the swamp," or as it was sometimes expressed, "to the hill over the low valley." In Feb. 1675, the town sold to Doct. John Westcarr, for 10 pounds, the low land, south of the middle highway, in the rear of five homelots, viz., those of John Barnard, Andrew Bacon, Nathaniel Stanley, Thomas Stanley and John White. It was called 6 acres and 96 rods, apparently 16 rods by 66. All the east homelots were extended to the bank or hill except the five.

A new Street and new Homelots.—In 25 years after the planting of Hadley, buildings had not been erected on more than four or five homelots, in addition to the first forty-seven. The number of familes had not much increased; they were near 50 in 1662, and in 1685, they did not exceed 60. Some of the first settlers died without children, several returned to Connecticut, and a number of young men settled at Hartford, Hatfield, and other places. There was, however, a considerable increase of young persons.

The tract of land east of the old homelots was denominated the Pine Plain; the trees had been cut off, and it was covered with brush. In 1679, the town voted to clear it of brush, that it might be fit for feeding. In 1682, it was again ordered that the pine plain should be cleared.

On the 12th of February, 1684, the town voted that a tier of lots should be laid out upon the pine plain, "excepting or sequestering 20 rods in breadth for a highway at the rear of the old homelots; to run from the north end of the town to Fort Meadow, and eastward of said way the lots aforesaid to be laid out, to begin at Joseph Smith's lot at the north end, and run as far as there is

common land to the Fort Meadow, leaving highways into the woods." A committee of five was appointed to lay out the lots. They were lots of eight acres, or 16 by 80 rods.

In 1687, most of the lots were granted to individuals, on condition that they built upon them within three years. Another Indian war commenced the next year, and no man would build without the fortification. In 1690, the grants were renewed and again in 1692. In 1699, after the return of peace, 26 lots between the north highway and the Bay road, were recorded. Some lots were granted east of these, and provision was made for a highway 16 rods wide, 120 rods east of the other. There were other lots of eight acres between the Bay road and Fort Meadow.

Record of the lots on the Pine Plain, April 5, 1699, beginning at the north highway, and proceeding southward. Sixteen lots were north, and ten south, of the highway which was a continuation of the middle highway into the woods.

1 Luke Smith, 8 acres, irregular,
2 Samuel Smith, 80 rods by 16,
3 Samuel Porter, " "
4 George Stillman, " "
5 Joseph Smith, " "
6 William Rooker, " "
7 Samuel Partrigg, " "
8 Peter Montague, " "
9 Ebenezer Smith, " "
10 Nathaniel Warner, " "

Highway 8 rods wide.

11 Not granted 1699. Given to John Montague, Jr. 1713. 80 by 13½.
12 Samuel Ingram, 80 by 10,
13 Samuel Boltwood, 80 by 16,
14 Widow Hannah Porter, 80 by 16,
15, 16 Timothy Nash's heirs, 2 lots, 80 by 32.

Highway 10 rods wide.

17 Daniel Marsh, 80 by 16,
18 Experience Porter, "
19 Thomas Selden, "
20 John Taylor, "

Highway 3½ rods in front, and 5 in rear.

21 John Smith, 80 by 16,
22 Nathaniel White, "
23 Thomas Hovey, "
24 Capt. Aaron Cook, "
25 John Kellogg, "
26 NehemiahDickinson, "
Road to Brookfield and the Bay.

A few frames were put up on this new street, but another Indian and French war commenced in 1703, and continued about ten years, and the street was not inhabited. At the end of half a century from the first settlement of Hadley, the inhabitants were confined to the old forty-seven homelots, and five or six small lots subsequently added. Some of the lots had two houses on them, and several houses had two families. About 1713, men began to build houses on the new street, and in 1720, fifteen families resided in them.

Grants of Land.—In 1673, a piece of high interval upon the Connecticut, having Mill River on the south, and School Meadow fence on the north, was in part given to three men, and in part reserved for the use of the town. In 1699, the town's part was given to four persons. The number of acres in this parcel of

land may have been forty or fifty. There was a saw-mill near the south-east corner in 1696.

In 1672, the town sequestered for their own use a piece of land called 8 acres, at the north end of the upper School Meadow. It was used by Rev. Mr. Hopkins, and perhaps by preceding ministers. The town sold it to Deac. Jason Stockbridge for 500 dollars about 30 or 40 years since. It was then swampy and bushy, but is now (1848) a productive meadow, containing about 15 acres.

In 1673, the meadow land north of the preceding lot, and a strip of high interval, extending to Sunderland line, west of the pine plain, were granted to four men, except one acre and a half near the mouth of Mohawk brook, which the proprietors of Swampfield were allowed to fence in, February, 1675, to get good ground for their fence.

Skirts of Forty Acres.—In March, 1675, the town gave to the proprietors of Forty Acre Meadow, liberty to remove their fence eastward, and run it round the boggy meadow, and under the mountain side, &c.—The addition enclosed within this fence, was denominated the Skirts of Forty Acres. The Skirts were fully fenced in 1669.* The fence began at Connecticut River south of Coleman's brook, thence ran near the bank, round the boggy meadow, upon the hill or plain to the stone bridge; thence on east side of some lots, and upon the hills to the saw-mill dam; and from the saw-mill house on the north side of Mill River, to the School Meadow fence, enclosing the interval north of Mill River. The fence from the Connecticut round to the saw-mill dam, and thence to the School Meadow fence was 935 rods, (estimating the river-bank fence and two gates equal to 30 rods.) This was proportioned among 38 proprietors. The fence was proportioned and rebuilt for the last time in 1748, and was then 739 rods to Mill River, and 172 rods from the School grist-mill to the School Meadow fence. On the 2d of August, 1753, the proprietors voted that Forty Acres be no more fed as a common field, and notice was given that the General Field was dissolved. This field, which bore the name of Forty Acres, contained 382 acres. The Skirts had about twice as many acres as the Meadow.

The old ditch which belonged to the Forty Acre fence, may still be traced in many places, on the plain, on banks, and hill sides. In 1748, there were 166 rods of stone wall in this fence. Very few rods of stone wall can now be found in Hadley. The fence, after it included the Skirts, twice crossed the main road,

*The committee that desired the town to appoint men to proportion the fence, desired also "the presence of God to abide with you."

and all travelers through that part of Hadley, had to open and shut two gates.

The farm of Charles Phelps, Esq., so much admired by President Dwight,* and so well described by him, included a large portion of Forty Acre Meadow and Skirts. It is still possessed by his son Charles P. Phelps, Esq. and son in law, Rev. Dan Huntington, (1848.)

Hockanum Meadow had its Skirts, of about 140 acres. They included the land between the river and meadows on the west, and the mountain path, or old Springfield road, on the side of Mount Holyoke, on the east.

Fort Meadow Skirts embraced the swamps and low lands east and south-east of the meadow, and separated from it by Fort River. They were estimated at 110 acres.

Fort River Pastures or Swamp.—In January, 1682, the town gave to the proprietors of Fort Meadow the low land "up the river from Fort Meadow fence to Lieut. Kellogg's 40 acres and above his 40 acres, to make them equal to Forty Acre proprietors with their Skirts." The Skirts of Fort Meadow were not sufficient for this purpose. "The outlets where cattle go over Fort River to feed" were not included in the grant, and they were to give allotments to two or three persons who were not proprietors. Joseph Kellogg's 40 acres were a former grant, near the south end of Spruce Hill, and the old road to Brookfield was through this lot.

This tract of land was laid out to 22 persons in the year 1699. Three highways were left;—one 4 rods wide in the lower part, one 14 rods wide including the road to Brookfield, which was then some rods above where it now is, and one three rods wide across Joseph Kellogg's lot, "from hill to hill, where the former county road went." The lower lots extended across the river and the river valley from the hill on one side to the hill on the other, but eleven lots east of Spruce Hill, had for their northern boundary, the "Nashaway path," an old path formerly traveled when the way to Boston was through Nashua (Lancaster.) The whole width of all the lots was 720 rods, or 2 miles and 80 rods, and the number of acres, 251. These pastures extended eastward almost to the present road and bridge near Dickinson's tannery.

Spruce Swamp is the long swamp, west of the bank called Spruce Hill. Lots were not permanently granted here till 1699. Four men had nearly the whole, viz., Samuel Boltwood had the northern part; next south of him was John Smith, orphan; 3d, John Montague; and 4th, Peter Montague, 2d. The latter pur-

*Travels in New England, Vol. I., page 357.

chased of the town in 1714, all the southern part of Spruce Swamp down to the Log-bridge, near the present road to Amherst, for 20 pounds. Much of this swamp is now valuable land.

Old Swamp was some distance east of Spruce Swamp and was not extensive. Lands were granted there in 1680 and after. It was some years before they were fenced.

Partrigg's Swamp and Nut Meadow were east of Mount Warner. In 1680, John Warner, from Brookfield, had a grant of 20 acres in Partrigg's Swamp, and his son, Mark Warner, 12 acres. Henry White had 20 acres in Nut Meadow. The Warners' lots returned to the town because they were not improved within seven years. White retained his.

The swamps named Partrigg's, Hubbard's, New, Taylor's, and some others, were not appropriated until the Inner Commons were laid out. The lots previously granted in some of them, came back to the town.*

The Great Swamp was in the northern part of Hadley, stretching into Sunderland. It still remains an extensive swamp. In 1714, five lots, recorded as eight acres each, were granted on the eastern side of this swamp, beginning where the brook from the swamp unites with Mill River, and extending northward about half a mile. A sixth lot seems to have been added. These lots, or portions of them, were cleared and fenced, and used for mowing, and some of them are still mowed. In the spring of 1846, some of the lowest, wettest lots, presented a fine, green appearance, but the grass was mostly sedge. They are in Amherst, westward of the meeting-house in the north parish. The rest of the Great Swamp was a part of the Inner Commons.

When Hadley had been settled forty years, there were very few fenced fields, except the intervals and homelots. For many years after 1700, the woods continued to be the main pastures. There were a few inclosures in the swamps and skirts. Next to intervals, the swamps were most sought after, one hundred and fifty years ago. These produced tall, coarse grass, which was needed for hay. Hadley often complained of a deficiency of hay-ground.

Individuals were sometimes allowed to occupy the highways into the meadow, between homelots, as pastures, on condition of making a gate and fence at one end for the town. They made another gate and fence at the other end for themselves, and those who passed through these ways, opened and shut two gates.

John Nash, in 1699, was allowed the use of the Middle Lane

*Some of the lands called swamps in former days, were only moist ground, and are now sufficiently dry.

for ten years, if he maintained a gate and fence at the west end of the lane. He also kept a gate not far from the east end, near the pound. He had the use of the same a second ten years. The pound was a few rods west of the end of the lane.

CHAPTER XVIII

Coined Money—Taxation in 17th century—Hampshire country rates—War rates and charges in Hampshire—Money rates—How rates were paid—Grain for taxes—Hadley rates, 1682 and 1687—Changes in Hadley.

The people of New England kept their accounts, and made their computations in pounds, shillings, pence and farthings, more than 150 years. Their pound at first was the pound sterling of England. The English pound of twenty shillings originally contained a pound of silver, Troy-weight, but from 1601 to the present century, a pound, or twelve Troy ounces, of standard silver, have been coined into 62 shillings in England. When our fathers came from England, the silver coins in circulation were crowns, half crowns, shillings, and pieces of six pence, four pence, three pence, two pence, one penny, and half a penny. There had been silver farthings. A crown was five shillings, or one-fourth of a pound, and weighed 464½ grains. A shilling weighed 92$\frac{9}{10}$ grains, or one-fifth as much as a crown.

Massachusetts began to coin money in 1652, and their mint was in operation, at times, more than 30 years. Pieces of a shilling, six pence, three pence, and two pence were coined. There was a pine tree on one side of the coins, and they are sometimes called pine-tree money. The shillings contained three pennyweights, or 72 grains, of standard silver, and the lesser pieces weighed proportionably. They were current throughout New England for a century, and passed readily in some other colonies. As the Boston shillings weighed only 72 grains, while the English shillings weighed 92$\frac{9}{10}$ grains, twenty shillings or a pound of the former were equal to only fifteen shillings and six pence of the latter; or 100 Boston pounds were equal to 77½ sterling pounds. The Boston money was 22½ per cent. lighter than the English money, but of the same purity.

This coinage introduced a new currency into Massachusetts which differed but little from the New England currency of the 18th century. The new currency was more completely established in 1672, when the value of pieces-of-eight, (Spanish dollars,) of full weight, was fixed at six shillings, though worth only four shillings and six pence in England. There was a departure from the English currency in 1642, when rix-dollars and pieces-of-

eight were made current at five shillings, or six pence more than their sterling value. The new coins of 1652 made a much greater change, and the people of Massachusetts generally ceased to reckon and compute in sterling money.* Connecticut raised the value of pieces-of-eight to six shillings in 1683.

Dollars.—Those mentioned by Shakespeare and his cotemporaries were German or Dutch coins. The Spanish coins of about the same value were seldom named dollars until near the middle of the 18th century. In Great Britain and her colonies, they were called pieces-of-eight,† because they contained eight rials, or reals. Rial is a Spanish name for the coin worth nine pence or twelve and a half cents. The quarter of a piece-of-eight (now 25 cents,) was sometimes called a double rial, or two rials. There were half rials, similar to the pieces worth six and a quarter cents.

Our fathers made their shillings lighter than the English, for the purpose of keeping them at home, and they forbid their exportation. The laws which govern trade had more influence than the acts of legislators, and large quantites of the new coins were sent to England to pay for goods. The balance of trade was always against the colonies, and their silver and gold were exported.‡

Pine-tree coins in Hadley.—Some men in Hadley collected and laid up pine-tree money. John Pynchon records in his account book, that on the 7th of November, 1678, he borrowed New England money in Hadley, and agreed to pay in New England money, in three years, as follows:—

Of Lieut. Samuel Smith, . . .	£50.0.0
" Lieut. Philip Smith, . . .	25.0.0
" Mr. Peter Tilton, . . .	12.0.0
" Capt. Aaron Cooke, Jr. . .	10.0.0
	97.0.0

He says he sent the money to Antigua, "to promote the design of plan-

*Sterling currency practically ceased some years before 1652, or soon after the General Court began to fix the prices of grain in 1640. William Pynchon's accounts in Springfield from 1645 to 1650, were not kept in sterling; the prices at Hartford in those years were not in sterling.

The error of some, that New England currency did not supersede that of old England until long after 1652, is corrected by Felt in his account of Massachusetts Currency,—a book full of valuable information.

†From their Spanish name.

‡The inventories of some wealthy merchants in Boston show that they were able to collect considerable sums, and that a large part was pine-tree money. Henry Webb, who died in 1660, had in English money, £148.6.2; Spanish money, £328.11.9; New England money, £860.6.2. Henry Shrimpton, who died in 1666, had in English money, £121.3.6; in Spanish pieces-of-eight, £99.8.3; New England money, £483.6.5. Antipas Boyse, who died in 1669, had in English money, £1.4.0; in pieces-of-eight and halves, quarters, &c., £49.5.0; in New England money, £230.0.0.

tation and sugar work there." A speculation in the West Indies.

In 1704, by a proclamation of queen Anne, regulating the value of foreign coins in the English colonies, pieces-of-eight of a certain weight, rix-dollars and French crowns, which were valued at four shillings and six pence in England, were to pass in the colonies for six shillings each, and halves, quarters and less pieces in proportion. Coins at these rates were long called "proclamation money." By this order, a shilling in the colonies was virtually made equivalent to nine pence in England; and a pound of twenty shillings, to fifteen shillings sterling. This differed but little from the value of Massachusetts shillings in 1652, and of pieces-of-eight in 1672. The proclamation was not much regarded in the colonies; paper money deranged everything. But whenever there was a specie currency in New England, the piece-of-eight, or Spanish dollar was valued at six shillings, and it was sometimes referred to as a standard. Commonly silver at six shillings and eight pence per ounce, seemed to be the standard. Yet an ounce of such silver as that of the dollars coined before 1772, was worth 6s. 10⅔d.; was valued at 7s. in 1705.

Copper Coins.—The English formerly had an aversion to copper coins, and used silver farthings and half pence. Under Elizabeth and long after, tradesmen and others cast lead tokens for change. Some copper farthings and half pence were coined under James I., Charles I. and Charles II., and many were issued under William III., and they became abundant under the Georges. But few reached New England previous to 1700, and they did not become plenty until 1749, when money was sent over to repay Massachusetts for the expenses of the Louisburg expedition, including 100 casks of coined farthings and half pence, mostly the latter. Massachusetts, in 1750, ordered that they should pass at the rate of three farthings for a penny, and they were of the same value in an act of 1784. An English half penny was equal to two-thirds of a New England penny. As the English name, half pennies, did not express their true value, it was given up, and they were called coppers. Merchants' books previous to the revolution show that coppers were current at two-thirds of a penny each. The county court sometimes fixed the fare at ferries in coppers, instead of pence. The prices of many small things were in coppers.*

*The old coppers, which had for some years been reduced to the value of half a penny, were no longer to pass as money after a certain day, in the spring of 1805. Congress had so ordered. It was an exciting time among the boys in some places, when the day approached, for many had treasured up a large number of coppers. They were disposed of to peddlers and traders. There was a brisk trade in Barlow pen-knives, raisins, fish-hooks, and knick-knacks. It was supposed that the "bungtown coppers," as they were called in this vicinity, had forever ceased to circulate, but some of them still remain.

Taxation* in the 17th century.—Agricultural products, peltry, and other commodities, including the Indian shell-beads, called wampum, were the medium of trade in the British colonies for a long time. Money was seldom seen, except in and about commercial places. From 1640 to 1700, the farmers of Massachusetts generally made their purchases, and paid their debts and taxes with the produce of their farms, and not with the precious metals. Common laborers, artificers, soldiers, representatives, school-masters, ministers† and magistrates were commonly paid for their services in something that was not money. There were exceptions in Boston, and some other towns near the coast, especially in the latter part of the 17th century. In the remote county of Hampshire, gold and silver were more scarce than in other parts of the colony. Very small as well as large sums were paid in produce. Church-members were under the necessity of paying the sacramental charges in wheat.‡

The produce currency continued until 1702, though partially interrupted by the colony bills, first issued in 1690 and 1691. The no-money currency was followed by the paper money currency, which continued about half a century.

Taxes were formerly denominated Rates, and some kinds are still so called in England. In Massachusetts, there was the Country Rate, similar to the Province and State Tax of later times; the County Rate, to defray county charges; the Town Rate levied to discharge town debts; and the Minister's Rate, which was made and collected by itself. There were minor rates, in towns, as the herdsman's rate, the shepherd's rate, &c.

A single country rate was ordinarily an assessment of one shilling and eight pence on males over 16 years of age, and of one penny per pound on real and personal estate. Each town was to make yearly a list of all male persons over 16, and a true estimate of all real and personal estate. Artificers and others who had higher wages than common laborers, were to be rated accordingly. This system of taxation, in many respects, resembled that of the present day. The polls paid a larger share of the tax than they now do.

The expense of the government of Massachusetts, for 25 years previous to Philip's war in 1675, averaged between 1800 and 2000

*Felt's "Statistics," Vol. I., give a History of Taxation in Massachusetts.

†In 1657, all the ministers in old Suffolk county, except those of Boston, were paid in grain, other produce and labor, viz., the ministers of Roxbury, Dorchester, Braintree, Hingham, Weymouth, Dedham and Medfield.

‡The Northampton church voted in 1666 that each member should contribute towards the charge of the sacrament, three half pecks of wheat for a year.

pounds a year, according to treasurers' accounts which remain. The greater part was paid in grain and other commodities, at provision pay prices. The expense of the Indian war was equal to that of 25 years of peace. From 1681 to 1685, the yearly expenditure was between 3000 and 4000 pounds, partly occasioned by the war. A small duty or impost on wines, strong waters and some other imported articles aided in defraying the public expenses.

Early country rates in Hampshire.—In 1657, Springfield was rated in a single country rate, £12.15.7, and Northampton, £9.9.9; in 1658, Springfield, £12.2.3, and Northampton, £12.2.3. In those years, one country rate and one-fourth were levied. The freight of the grain, paid by the colony, amounted to near one-third of the rates.

Hadley first appeared in the country rate in 1662. The single rate of that town was £21.14.0, Northampton, £21.15.0, Springfield, £16.14.0. One-fourth was added to these sums for a quarter rate. It cost the colony £4.16.9 to convey the grain of the Hadley rate to Boston. In 1663, Hadley agreed with the treasurer, to deliver the wheat for the rate in Hartford, at 5s. 6d. per bushel.

Hampshire rates.	1669–70.	1674.	1675 and 1676.
Springfield,	£18.19.2	£26.13.2	£26.5. 5
Northampton,	23. 1.1	23. 8.6	22.2.10
Hadley,	25. 0.8	18. 2.5	18.10.9
Westfield,		12.11.7	11.16.0
Hatfield,		10.17.2	8.12.0
Brookfield,		5. 0.6	

These towns paid so much on a single rate in these years. Hadley in 1670, before Hatfield was set off, was rated higher than Northampton, Springfield, Concord, and Hingham; and almost as high as Roxbury and Dedham.

War Rates and Charges in Hampshire.—See page 182.—10 country rates were laid in 1675, 16 in 1676, 9 in 1677, 3 in 1678, 5½ in 1679, and 4 in 1680, or 47½ rates in 6 years. These rates were levied on nearly all the towns in the colony. 3½ of them were money rates, to be paid in silver. About 36 rates were rendered necessary by the war. The Hadley country rates in 6 years were not less than 870 pounds.

The charges of the people of Hampshire against the colony, for supplies and services in the war, allowed by the government, are believed to have exceeded 5000 pounds, in country pay. The charges of Hadley exceeded 2000 pounds. The sum of 1900 pounds due to the county in Oct. 1680, is not rightly proportioned on page 182. The sum due to Hadley was about 1100 pounds, Hatfield, 450, Northampton, 200, Westfield, 140, Springfield, less than 10.

The disbursements for the war, by the three colonies, on page 181, were estimated as money.

Money Rates.—The government of Massachusetts borrowed money to carry on the war, and purchased Maine for 1250 pounds in money.* Agents in England must have money, and there were

*However cheap this may seem, it was a dear bargain to Massachusetts.

other calls. Some rates, payable in silver, were ordered in 1677 and in succeeding years. These money rates did not trouble the Hampshire towns which the colony owed, but when the silver was actually demanded of any town, there was a great outcry. Springfield, in May, 1685, sent a petition against the payment of rates in money. They said it was impossible to procure money, and desired the General Court to consider their remoteness from the Bay, and give them liberty to pay their country rates in corn, as formerly, "and no more require money of your moneyless petitioners." Suffield sent a doleful petition at the same time:—"We are forced to cry out, have pity on us, have mercy on us, forgive our last year's money rates. Oh, do not distress us, do not distract your poor petitioners. Do not, for charity's sake, enjoin us to pay one penny more in money. Let it be enough for us to pay in corn, when we can raise it." The Court gave to these two towns liberty to pay money rates in corn at two-thirds of the country pay prices. The deputies of Northampton and Hadley, Joseph Hawley and Samuel Partrigg, immediately requested the same liberty for all the other towns "in the remote county of Hampshire." The deputies granted it, but the magistrates refused, at that time. — In December, 1694, Hatfield chose two men, to join those from other towns in the county, at Springfield, and petition against money rates, "money not being to be had here."

How Rates were paid in Hampshire, in the 17th century.

The County Rate was paid in grain, like that of the colony, and at the same price.

The Minister's Rate, payable in grain at town prices, was given to the constable to collect. He had the accounts of those who had during the year, paid the minister wholly or partly in grain, meat, labor, or in any other way. He went to the inhabitants, and received the balance of the rate in grain, and carried it to the minister. There was no delay; the collection was completed in a short time, and the grain was deposited in the chamber of the minister. Chambers were the granaries in those days. The minister sent some of the grain to Boston to pay for books and goods. The old custom among ministers, of subsisting at each other's houses in their journeyings, was necessary as well as convenient. They had plenty of eatables, and could easily entertain a brother minister and his wife and others, but many of them had not money to pay inn-keepers.

Town Rates were levied to pay the deputies' expenses, a part of the school-master's wages, for building bridges, killing wolves,

ringing the bell, and many other services done for the town. No money was paid, and there was no town treasurer, and nothing for one to do.

In Hadley, when a town rate was made, there was another paper with the names of all whom the town owed, and the sum due to each. The selectmen or constable made an adjustment with each person. If a man's credit was considerably more than his tax, his own rate was taken out, and those of some others with whom he had agreed, and the balance was paid to him in grain. Those who had little or no credit, paid their rates in grain, and by making turns with others whom the town owed. Thus the town rate was paid and the town debts discharged without much delay.

It may be well to give some examples of the manner of paying town debts without money.

In 1681, Hadley owed Lieut. Philip Smith £9.17.10. He received his pay as follows:—

His own rate,	£1.11. 3
Part of Goodman Nash's rate,	10. 9
Nathaniel Smith's rate,	2. 1
Part of John Dickinson's rate,	1. 8
Joseph Baldwin, Jr.'s rate,	7. 3
Part of Capt. Cook's rate,	6. 0
Samuel Northam's rate,	4. 2
Part of Samuel Barnard's rate,	5. 1
Part of Wm. Webster's rate,	2. 0
16¾ bushels peas at 2s. 6d.	2. 1.10
3½ " sum. wheat at 3s.	10. 6
10 " winter wheat at 3s. 3d.	1.12. 6
18½ " Indian corn at 2s.	1.17. 0
More peas,	5.10
	9.17.11

In 1681 the town owed Samuel Boltwood £3.16.3. He was paid in the same manner.

By his own rate,	£0.12.10
His father Boltwood's rate,	0. 2. 7
Part of rate on Lewis's land,	4. 8
Joseph Baldwin, sr's rate,	5.11
Part of Joseph Hovey's rate,	5. 8
Part of Eliezer Hawk's rate,	3. 3
Part of Thomas Dickinson's rate,	3. 0
Paid Samuel Partrigg for S. B.	15. 0
Recording for S. B.	0. 4
11½ bushels Indian corn at 2s.	1. 3. 0
	3.16. 3

In 1684, the town owed Lieut. Samuel Smith £6.9.9, and paid him:—

In his rate,	£1.13. 8
Nehemiah Dickinson's rate,	1.7 . 4
William Rooker's rate,	7 .11
In corn (grain),	3. 0 .5½
By John Smith,	4½
	6. 9. 9

In 1700, the town owed Widow Mary Church 30 shillings and paid her:—

	s.	d.
By her own rate,	5.	5½
Part of Samuel Smith's rate,	5.	4½
Moses Cook's rate,	2.	7½
Samuel Church's rate,	5.	0
Stephen Taylor's rate,	1.	8
Josiah Church's rate,	2.	4
Part of Jos Church's rate,	1.	11
Part of Samuel Partrigg's rate,	5.	7
	1.10.	0

The rates and debts in Hatfield were settled in the same way by grain and by exchanging debts against the town for rates against individuals. Things were not very different in some parts of the colony.

The town debts of Hadley continued to be balanced by grain until 1707, or later. In 1709, they were adjusted with money, that is, province bills. The people of Hampshire had had some pine-tree shillings, Spanish rials and pieces-of-eight, wampum, and perhaps a few colony bills, but their principal currency, since the settlement of these towns, had been the valuable but cumbrous products of their lands. That the paper money was a great relief to them after 1702, may be readily conceived. Yet after some years, the value of the bills was greatly lessened by excessive issues, and much mischief was produced.

The industrious and frugal people of Massachusetts were moderately prosperous, both under the No-Money System, and the Too-much-money System, when not oppressed with the burdens and calamities of war.

Grain* for taxes in the 17th century.—See page 94.—The prices fixed by Massachusetts and Connecticut for grain, when received for country rates, were much higher than the prices paid for grain in money. In most of the last twenty-three years of the century, in Massachusetts, and of the last twenty, in Connecticut, one-third of the tax of every person that paid in money, was to be abated. The country prices of grain reduced one-third, were accounted money prices, or "pay as money," but were not real cash prices; they were in Massachusetts, as follows:—wheat, 3s. 4d., barley, malt, peas and rye, 2s. 8d., Indian corn, 2s.; and in Connecticut, wheat, 2s. 8d. to 3s., peas and rye 2s., Indian corn, 1s. 8d.

The town prices for grain in Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield, for the payment of the town and minister's rates, were quite as low as the Massachusetts prices reduced one-third. And the money prices for grain in these towns were about twenty-five per cent. lower. There were so few money transactions in Hampshire that the real value of grain in silver can hardly be ascertained. Wheat at 2s. 6d., peas and rye, at 2s. and Indian corn, at 1s. 4d., were sometimes called money prices in Hadley.

Madam Knight of Boston, who was in Connecticut in 1704, noticed three kinds of pay and corresponding prices:—1st, pay, which was grain, pork, &c. at prices set by the General Court; 2d, pay as money, which was pay aforesaid, one-third cheaper than the prices set by the assembly; 3d, money, as pieces-of-eight, rials, Boston or Bay shillings, and Indian beads. The knife of a trader was 12 pence in pay, 8 pence in pay as money, and 6 pence in money.

*Corn was the word used by our fathers for English grain, including peas, as it still is in England. The word grain, is not found in the Hadley records before 1692.

HADLEY RATE, for building Fort River Bridge in 1681. The rate was made in January, 1681–2. The 79 names of persons taxed are those of the heads of families, a few unmarried men, and some non-resident land-holders. The number of families did not exceed 60. The tax on a poll was 2s. 3d. The six highest taxes were those of Samuel Porter, Philip Smith, Samuel Partrigg, Aaron Cooke, Chileab Smith, and Peter Montague. The 23 lots on the east side of the street, omitting the small ones at the north end, and the 20 lots on the west side, as originally granted, (see page 24,) are here numbered, from the top, on the east side, and from the bottom, on the west side, and most of the occupants in 1681 can be found. Many changes had taken place, and a number of the lots were occupied by tenants.

North lots.	s.	d.
Robert Boltwood,	2	9
Simon Beaman,	3	10
Henry White,	8	2
John Hayley,	2	11
Joseph Warriner,	3	7
East side of street.		
1 Samuel Partrigg,	29	6
2 Peter Montague,	25	3
John Smith,	0	8
3 John Warner,	8	3
4 Lt. Philip Smith,	31	5
5 John Montague,	14	11
Joseph Smith,	3	8
6 John Dickinson,	11	1
7 Samuel Porter,	38	6
8 Samuel Northam,	4	2
Samuel Belding, sr.	14	0
9 John Hubbard,	6	5
10 Town lot.		
11 Mr. John Russell.		
Middle highway.		
12 Samuel Barnard,	8	1
13 Joseph Hovey,	16	9
14 David Hoite,	4	11
15 Samuel Lane,	5	0
Timothy Wales,	4	2
16 Nathaniel White,	18	4
17 Mr. Peter Tilton,	17	5
18 Mark Warner,	5	1
" Nathaniel Warner,	5	6
Lewis land,	16	4
19 Widow Goodman,	21	1
20 Capt. Aaron Cooke,	29	4
Andrew Leavens,	2	3
21 Thomas Hovey,	6	11
Thomas Elgarr,	2	6
22 Nehemiah Dickinson,	19	3
John Roberts,	2	6
23 Samuel Smith,	17	10
Edward Scott,	2	9
Non-residents.		
Thomas Dickinson,	11	3
Nathaniel Dickinson,	1	7
Edward Church,	12	7
Daniel Warner,	2	3

West side of street.	s.	d.
1 Lt. Joseph Kellogg,	20	9
" Joseph Kellogg, Jr.	2	7
2 Thomas Hale,	11	1
" William Markham,	10	7
" William Rooker,	5	3
3 School Lot, (N. Ward's.)		
4 Samuel Moody,	20	0
5 Jonathan Marsh,	14	2
" Daniel Marsh,	23	7
Thomas Croft,	3	7
6 Wm. Goodwin's lot.		
7 John Taylor,	12	9
8 Timothy Nash,	22	5
John Goodman,	2	7
9 John Marsh, sr.	16	11
10 Andrew Warner,	7	1
" Jacob Warner,	10	5
11 Stephen Terry's lot.		
" John Kellogg,	3	1
12 Henry Clarke's land,	8	5
Middle highway.		
Wm. Webster,	4	1
Thomas Webster.		
13 Joseph Selding,	9	9
" Thomas Selding,	6	10
14 Samuel Church,	15	4
Martin Kellogg,	4	1
15 Eliezer Hawks,	7	2
" Gershom Hawks,	7	3
16 Joseph Barnard,	5	10
" Francis Barnard,	12	3
" Goodwife Barnard,	7	6
Nathaniel Smith,	2	3
17 Samuel Boltwood,	13	10
" Isaac Warner,	9	2
18 Joseph Baldwin, sr.	6	4
" Widow of J. Baldwin, Jr.	7	8
19 Chileab Smith,	26	2
20 John Ingram,	8	2
" John Gardner,	12	7
John Preston,	3	2
Non-residents.		
John Cowles,	1	7
Philip Russell,	1	7
Thomas Loomis,	4	1

On the record, the sum total of the 79 rates is £41.14.8. Not quite correct. I added those names and lots that have no tax against them.

HADLEY RATE, for the town debts of 1686, made in the early part of 1687. The number taxed was 82. The families had not increased in five years, and did not exceed 60. The tax on polls was 2s. 1d. The homelots are numbered as in 1681–2. In placing the names on the old town rates, they began with those that lived at the north end, came down on the east side of the street, and went up on the west side. The names were arranged as the people lived, or by house-row.

North lots.	s.	d.
Joseph Smith,	4	4
Simon Beaman,	1	1
Isaac Warner,	12	5
John Hayley,	6	9
East side of the street.		
1 Samuel Partrigg,	27	3
2 Peter Montague,	27	0
John Smith's heirs,	4	6
3 John Smith,	12	5
" Samuel Smith, son of Ph.	11	9
4 Widow of Ph. Smith,	18	3
" Philip Smith,	5	7
Mr. George Stileman,	3	0
5 Widow of R. Montague,	4	9
" John Montague,	8	7
Thomas Croft,	8	8
6 John Dickinson,	11	10
7 Samuel Porter, sr.	27	7
8 Hezekiah Porter,	7	10
9 Daniel Hubbard,	16	10
10 Town lot.		
11 Mr. John Russell,	15	5
Middle Highway.		
12 Samuel Barnard,	8	7
13 Bacon's lot.		
14 John Smith, son of Philip,	7	1
15 Samuel Porter, Jr.	13	6
16 Nathaniel White,	16	7
Nathaniel Goodwin,	2	1
Joseph Chamberlain,	2	1
17 Mr. Peter Tilton,	14	1
John Lawrence,	4	2
18 Lewis land,	4	0
19 John Goodman,	14	8
20 Capt. Aaron Cooke,	27	11
Andrew Leavens,	2	1
21 Thomas Hovey,	8	8
22 Nehemiah Dickinson,	27	4
23 Samuel Smith, sr.	14	10
" Mrs. Dorothy Russell,	1	6
Young men.		
Thomas Coleman,	2	1
Thomas Elgarr,	2	1
Simon Smith,	2	1
Eleazar Warner,	2	8

West side of the street.	s.	d.
1 Lieut. Jos. Kellogg,	18	1
" Edward Kellogg,	2	1
" Martin Kellogg,	2	7
2 Thomas Hale,	10	9
" William Markham,	9	9
3 School lot.		
John Kellogg,	7	0
4 Samuel Moody,	20	4
5 Jonathan Marsh,	16	2
" Daniel Marsh,	26	11
6 Wm. Goodwin's lot.		
7 John Taylor,	12	1
8 Timothy Nash,	24	6
9 John Marsh,	11	1
10 Widow of And. Warner,		10
" Jacob Warner,	10	11
11 Widow of R. Goodman,	5	7
12 Henry Clark's lot.		
Middle Highway.		
13 Joseph Selding,	9	3
" Thomas Selding,	8	4
14 Widow of Sam'l Church,	14	6
15 Gershom Hawks,	7	3
16 Francis Barnard,	13	9
17 Samuel Boltwood,	12	5
Nathaniel Smith,	2	11
Wm. Rooker,	15	11
Joseph Hovey,	4	6
18 Joseph Baldwin, (3d,)	7	1
" Widow Baldwin,	3	6
19 Chileab Smith,	32	5
" Sam. Smith, his son,	4	9
20 John Ingram,	12	1
Samuel Gardner,	2	1
Nathaniel Warner,	8	7
John Preston,	8	10
Joseph Warriner,	5	3
Non-residents.		
Eliezer Hawks,	3	11
Thos. Dickinson,	9	10
Mr. Jonathan Russell,	9	5
John Hawks,	2	1
Daniel Warner,	6	9
Edward Church,	11	0
John Cowles,	2	10
Nathaniel Dickinson,	2	10
Samuel Belding, sr.	13	6

The aggregate of this tax is recorded as £41.8.2. Not quite exact.

The rate for the debts of 1686, is the last that can be found for a great number of years. This and some preceding rates were recorded by Samuel Partrigg. His plain, legible hand ceases at Hadley in 1687. He removed to Hatfield. His son Samuel resided in Hadley.

Changes in Hadley.—Notices follow of some of the changes in the owners and occupiers of homelots in Hadley, from 1663 to 1687. The names of the proprietors in 1663 are on page 24. The names of owners and dwellers in 1681 and 1687, are in the lists of persons taxed, on pages 203 and 204. Many homelots remained in the same family till after 1687; these in general are not noticed.

The north dwellers.

Robert Boltwood was at the mill in 1681, but was not taxed for the mill. John Clary was at the mill in 1684. Joseph Smith, cooper, began to have the care of the mill, Nov. 1687.

Isaac Harrison built a house on his lot next to the river. His widow married Henry White, who lived in the same house some years, but removed to Deerfield. Joseph Smith bought the house and lot, 1685, for 33 pounds.

William Gaylord, in 1672, bought for 20 pounds, the western lot of the four, adjoining Partrigg's houselot on the north, with a house. It was a triangular lot, first granted to Adam Nicholls, and contained three acres. Two acres, on page 24, is a mistake. Gaylord's widow married John Haley. This houselot belonged to the Gaylords for a long time.

John Taylor had the lot next east, (and not John Ingram, as on page 24.) He sold the lot and house to Doct. John Westcarr, and bought John Webster's homestead. Doct. Westcarr's widow married Simon Beaman; they removed to Deerfield, and George Stileman, or Stillman, bought the lot and house in 1687.

John Ingram had the lot east of Taylor's, and retained it, but he bought a part of Samuel Gardner's place, and lived there.

William Pixley had the lot east of Ingram's. He removed to Northampton, and the lot long remained without a resident.

Joseph Warriner had a lot in the street, near the north end.

East side of the street.

Peter Montague married the widow of Noah Coleman, and lived on the Coleman houselot.

John Warner from Brookfield, lived some years on Lt. Samuel Smith's lot. In 1687, John Smith, orphan, son of John Smith who was slain in 1676, and Samuel Smith, son of Philip, owned the lot, and lived on it.

Joseph Smith lived on John Dickinson's lot from 1681 to 1685, and Thomas Croft, in 1687. This second John Dickinson removed to Wethersfield.

The widow of Thomas Wells married Samuel Belding of Hatfield, and he was taxed for her estate. Samuel Northam bought half the houselot. He removed to Deerfield, and Samuel Porter bought this half and Hezekiah Porter lived on it, 1687. Widow Porter bought the other half of the Wells lot.

John Hubbard removed to Hatfield, and his son Daniel lived on his place in Hadley.

The town houselot was vacant, 1681 and 1687.

Mr. Russell was taxed in 1687.

Samuel Barnard had of his father, Francis B., the lot that had been John Barnard's.

The Bacon lot and the two Stanley lots were long occupied by tenants. John Smith, son of Philip, owned Nathaniel Stanley's lot in 1686. Samuel Porter owned Thomas Stanley's lot, and his son Samuel lived on it in 1686. Some years later, Lieut. Nehemiah Dickinson purchased Andrew Bacon's lot. The tenants, Joseph Hovey, David Hoyt, Samuel Lane and Timothy Wales removed. Hoyt went to Deerfield and Lane to Suffield. Perhaps Hovey was an owner for a time.

Mark and Nathaniel Warner, sons of John W., appear to have lived some years in the house of William Lewis, he having removed to Farmington. Mark settled in Northampton. Daniel Marsh seems to have purchased the Lewis lot.

Thomas Hovey purchased Thomas Dickinson's houselot in 1679. Dickinson removed to Wethersfield.

Samuel Smith, son of Rev. Henry Smith of Wethersfield, lived on the lot of his mother, the widow of John Russell, sr.

West side of the street.

Thomas Hale had a part of Markham's houselot, having married one of Markham's daughters. He removed to Enfield.—William Rooker lived on Markham's lot and elsewhere.

Nathaniel Ward's house was occupied by the Hopkins School, and sometimes had a family in it. John Kellogg seems to have lived in this house some time.

John Crow removed to Hartford. Jonathan and Daniel Marsh purchased his lot. Some years after, Daniel lived on the lot of his father, John Marsh.

William Goodwin removed to Farmington. John Crow had his houselot, and his son Samuel Crow lived on it; Samuel's two children, Samuel and Mary, had the lot.

John Taylor bought John Webster's houselot.

The widow of Richard Goodman owned the lot that had belonged to her father, Stephen Terry.

Henry Clarke's lot was purchased by Rev. John Russell. Was sold by Rev. Jonathan Russell to Aaron Cooke.

William and Thomas Webster lived in small houses in the middle highway.

Edward Church removed to Hatfield. Sold his houselot to Joseph and Thomas Selding, or Selden, sons of Thomas Selding of Hartford, deceased.

Eleazar Hawks removed to Deerfield. Gershom died in a few years. Nathaniel Kellogg bought the Hawks lot.

Joseph Barnard, who had lived with his father, Francis B., removed to Deerfield. "Goodwife Barnard" had been wife of John Dickinson and owned some of his estate.

Isaac Warner lived on a corner of Boltwood's lot many years. Was taxed at the north end in 1687. He removed up the river.

John Ingram owned a part of Samuel Gardner's lot.

John Preston had a small lot and house adjoining Gardner.

Most of the non-residents that were taxed, resided in Hatfield.

These heads of families remained in Hadley a few years, and removed before 1687, viz., James Beebee, Edward Grannis, Mr. John Younglove, John Catlin and John Clary, Jr. John Lawrence resided in Hadley some years, and removed after 1687. A single man named Thomas Aacy lived in Hadley some years.

CHAPTER XIX

Generals Whalley and Goffe—Hutchinson's Account—President Stiles's History—The Russell house and the Judges' chamber.

THE appearance of Gen. Goffe at Hadley, Sept. 1, 1675, when the Indians attacked the place, is noticed on pages 137–139, with some remarks of President Stiles. His supposition, that the people in the meeting-house were "suddenly surrounded and surprised by a body of Indians," must be unfounded. The Indians, with a defenceless village a mile in length before them, would not have surrounded a building which contained thirty or forty armed men. The attack was undoubtedly upon the outskirts of the town, probably at the north end. The approach of the Indians may have been observed by Goffe from his chamber, which had a window towards the east. There is no reason to believe that there was a very large body of Indians, but the people, being entirely unaccustomed to war, needed Goffe to arrange and order them. The Indians appear to have fled, after a short skirmish.

The Russell Church and Hotel

The latter occupies the site of the home of Rev. John Russell, in which the regicides were sheltered

Old Academy Building, Built in 1817

Edward Whalley was brought up to merchandize. When the contest began between king Charles and the parliament, he, in middle life, took up arms in defence of the liberty of the subject, and distinguished himself in many sieges and battles. He was a cousin of Oliver Cromwell. Noble says, "from a merchant's counter, to rise to so many and so high offices in the state, and to conduct himself with propriety in them, sufficiently evinces that he had good abilities, nor is his honesty questioned by any."

William Goffe was a son of Rev. Stephen Goffe, a puritan divine, rector of Stanmore in Sussex. He left the counter when a young man, repaired to the parliament army, and his merit raised him to be a colonel of foot, and afterwards a general, and a member of parliament. His wife who was Whalley's daughter, he left in England, and he kept up a constant correspondence with her while in exile in New England. His last letter to her is dated at Hadley in 1679.

Both Whalley and Goffe were of the sixty-seven judges who passed sentence upon king Charles I. and of the fifty-nine who signed his death warrant, Jan. 29, 1649. When the restoration of Charles II. was determined, they found it necessary to escape from England.

Governor Hutchinson was in possession of Goffe's diary and his papers and letters, which had long been in the library of the Mathers in Boston. Hutchinson was a tory, and his house was rifled by a mob in 1765, and the Journal of Goffe and other papers relating to the judges are supposed to have been destroyed. From them he had published in 1764, a short Account of Whalley and Goffe, in his first volume of the History of Massachusetts. Some extracts are subjoined:—

"In the ship which arrived at Boston from London, the 27th of July, 1660, there came passengers, Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goffe, two of the late King's Judges. Colonel Goffe brought testimonials from Mr. John Row and Mr. Seth Wood, two ministers of a church in Westminster. Colonel Whalley had been a member of Mr. Thomas Goodwin's church. Goffe kept a journal or diary, from the day he left Westminster, May 4, until the year 1667; which together with several other papers belonging to him, I have in my possession. Almost the whole is in characters, or short hand, not difficult to decypher. The story of these persons has never yet been published to the world. They did not attempt to conceal their persons or characters when they arrived at Boston, but immediately went to the Governor, Mr. Endicot, who received them very courteously. They were visited by the principal persons of the town; and among others, they take notice of Colonel Crown's coming to see them. He was a noted Royalist. Although they did not disguise themselves, yet they chose to reside at Cambridge, a village about four miles distant from the town, where they went the first day they arrived. They went publicly to meetings on the Lord's day, and to occasional lectures, fasts, and thanksgivings, and were admitted to the sacrament, and attended private meetings for devotion, visited many of the principal towns, and were frequently at Boston; and once when insulted there, the person who insulted them was bound to his good behavior. They appeared grave, serious and devout; and the rank they

had sustained commanded respect. Whalley had been one of Cromwell's Lieutenant-Generals, and Goffe a Major-General. The reports, by way of Barbadoes, were that all the Judges would be pardoned but seven. When it appeared that they were not excepted, some of the principal persons in the Government were alarmed; pity and compassion prevailed with others. They had assurances from some that belonged to the General Court, that they would stand by them, but were advised by others to think of removing. The 22d of February, 1661, the Governor summoned a Court of Assistants, to consult about securing them, but the Court did not agree to it. Finding it unsafe to remain any longer, they left Cambridge the 26th following, and arrived at New Haven the 7th of March, 1661. One Captain Breedan, who had seen them at Boston, gave information thereof upon his arrival in England. A few days after their removal, a hue and cry, as they term it in their diary, was brought by the way of Barbadoes; and thereupon a warrant to secure them issued, the 8th of March from the Governor and Assistants, which was sent to Springfield and other towns in the western part of the colony; but they were beyond the reach of it."

The Governor adds in a long marginal note, "They were well treated at New-Haven by the ministers, and some of the magistrates, and for some days seemed to apprehend themselves out of danger. But the news of the King's proclamation being brought to New-Haven, they were obliged to abscond. The 27th of March they removed to Milford, and appeared there in the day time, and made themselves known; but at night returned privately to New-Haven, and lay concealed in Mr. Davenport the minister's house, until the 30th of April. About this time news came to Boston, that ten of the Judges were executed, and the Governor received a royal mandate, dated March 5, 1660-61, to cause Whalley and Goffe to be secured. This greatly alarmed the country, and there is no doubt that the court were now in earnest in their endeavors to apprehend them: and to avoid all suspicion, they gave commission and instruction to two young merchants from England. Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirk, zealous royalists, to go through the colonies, as far as Manhados [New York] in search of them. They had friends who informed them what was doing, and they removed from Mr. Davenport's to the house of William Jones, where they lay hid until the 11th of May, and then removed to a mill, and from thence, on the 13th into the woods, where they met Jones and two of his companions, Sperry and Burril, who first conducted them to a place called Hatchet-Harbour, where they lay two nights, until a cave or hole in the side of a hill was prepared to conceal them. This hill they called Providence-Hill: and there they continued from the 15th of May to the 11th of June, sometimes in the cave, and in very tempestuous weather, in a house near to it. During this time the messengers went through New-Haven to the Dutch settlement, from whence they returned to Boston by water. They made diligent search, and had full proof that the regicides had been seen at Mr. Davenport's, and offered great rewards to English and Indians who should give information, that they might be taken; but by the fidelity of their three friends they remained undiscovered. Mr. Davenport was threatened with being called to an account, for concealing and comforting traitors, and might well be alarmed. They had engaged to surrender, rather than the country or any particular persons should suffer upon their account: and upon intimation of Mr. Davenport's danger, they generously resolved to go to New-Haven, and deliver themselves up to the authority there. They let the Deputy-Governor, Mr. Leete know where they were; but he took no measures to secure them; and the next day some persons came to them to advise them not to surrender. Having publicly shewn themselves at New-Haven, they had cleared Mr. Davenport from the suspicion of still concealing them, and the 24th of June went into the woods again to their cave. They continued there, sometimes venturing to a house near the cave, until the 19th of August—when the search for them being pretty well over they ventured to the house of one Tomkins, near Milford meeting-house, where they remained two years, without so much as going into the orchard. After that, they took a little more liberty, and made themselves known to several persons in whom they could confide, and each of them frequently prayed, and also exercised, as they termed it, or preached at private meetings in their chamber. In 1664, the commissioners from King Charles arrived at Boston—Upon the news of it, they retired to their cave, where they tarried eight or ten days. Soon after, some Indians in their hunting, discovered the cave with the bed; and the report being spread abroad, it was not safe to remain near it. On the 13th of October, 1664, they set out for Hadley, near an hundred miles distant, travelling only by night; where Mr. Russel, the minister of the place, had previously agreed to receive them. Here they remained concealed fifteen or sixteen years, very few persons in the col-

ony being privy to it. The last account of Goffe, is from a letter, dated *Ebenezer*, the name they gave their several places of abode, April 2, 1679. Whalley had been dead some time before. The tradition at Hadley is, that two persons unknown, were buried in the minister's cellar. The minister was no sufferer by his boarders. They received more or less remittances every year, for many years together, from their wives in England. Those few persons who knew where they were, made them frequent presents. Richard Saltonstall, Esq. who was in the secret, when he left the country and went to England in 1672, made them a present of fifty pounds at his departure; and they take notice of donations from several other friends. They were in constant terror, though they had reason to hope after some years, that the enquiry for them was over. They read with pleasure the news of their being killed, with other judges, in Switzerland. Their diary for six or seven years, contains every little occurrence in the town, church, and particular families in the neighborhood. They had indeed, for five years of their lives, been among the principal actors of the great affairs of the nation. They had very constant and exact intelligence of every thing which passed in England, and were unwilling to give up all hopes of deliverance. Their greatest expectations were from the fulfilment of the prophecies. They had no doubt, that the execution of the Judges was the slaying of the witnesses. They were much disappointed, when the year 1666 had passed without any remarkable event, but flattered themselves that the Christian æra might be erroneous. Their lives were miserable and constant burdens. They complain of being banished from all human society. A letter from Goffe's wife, who was Whalley's daughter, I think worth preserving. After the second year, Goffe writes by the name of *Walter Goldsmith*, and she of *Frances Goldsmith;* and the correspondence is carried on, as between a mother and son. There is too much religion in their letters for the taste of the present day: but the distresses of two persons, under these peculiar circumstances, who appear to have lived very happily together, are very strongly described.

Whilst they were at Hadley, February 10, 1664–5, John Dixwell, another of the Judges, came to them; but from whence, or in what part of America he first landed, is not known. He continued some years at Hadley, and then removed to New-Haven. He married at New-Haven, and left several children. After his death, his son came to Boston, and lived in good repute; was a ruling elder of one of the churches there, and died in 1725. Colonel Dixwell was buried in New-Haven.

It cannot be denied, that many of the principal persons in the colony greatly esteemed these persons for their professions of piety, and their grave deportment, who did not approve of their political conduct. After they were declared traitors, they certainly would have been sent to England, if they could have been taken. It was generally thought that they had left the country; and even the consequence of their escape was dreaded, lest when they were taken, those who had harbored them should suffer for it. Randolph, who was sent to search, could obtain no more knowledge of them, than that they had been in the country, and respect had been shewn them by some of the Magistrates. I am loth to omit an anecdote handed down through Governor Leverett's family. I find Goffe takes notice in his journal of Leverett's being at Hadley.—[This anecdote is on page 138.]

Rev. Ezra Stiles, president of Yale College, published "A History of three of the Judges of King Charles I.," Whalley, Goffe and Dixwell, in 1794, and dedicated it "to all the patrons of real, perfect and unpolluted liberty." He collected a great abundance of traditionary information from the towns about New Haven, and from Hadley.—He found that the Providence Hill of Whalley and Goffe was West Rock, about two and a half miles northwest of New Haven; and that their cave was not in the side of the hill, but in a pile of rocks on the top of West Rock.

The judges were not out of danger while secreted at Hadley, as public inquiry was made after them by men sent from England.

They led so recluse and concealed a life at Hadley, that there are few anecdotes concerning them while there. They were well supplied with means of subsistence, partly from England and partly from friends here. Peter Tilton was often at Boston and donations could be safely made through him, and the judges sometimes resided at his house. Goffe thus wrote to his wife respecting her superannuated father, Whalley, in August, 1674:—

"He is scarce capable of any rational discourse, his understanding, memory and speech do so much fail him, and he seems not to take much notice of any thing that is either said or done, but patiently bears all things and never complains of any thing. The common question is to know how he doth, and his answer for the most part is, very well, I praise God. He has not been able of a long time to dress, undress or feed himself, without help; it is a great mercy to him that he has a friend who takes pleasure in being helpful to him."

Whalley died in Hadley not far from 1676, and Goffe's last letter is dated April 2, 1679, and he may have died as early as 1680. It is certain that Whalley died in Hadley, and there is very little doubt that Goffe died there also. The tradition, concerning which President Stiles enlarges, that Whalley or Goffe, or both, were buried at New Haven, seems to be fabulous. Pres. S. believed that both died in Hadley, and that Whalley was buried at Russell's and Goffe at Tilton's. The surmise of some, that their bodies were removed from Hadley to New Haven, is certainly false, in regard to Whalley, and it is believed to be equally unfounded as to Goffe. The necessity of secrecy would have prevented the removal, as it must have been done by oxen and cart. The bones of Whalley had not been found when Pres. Stiles wrote his History in 1793.

The following letter from Rev. Samuel Hopkins of Hadley, to President Stiles, contains various traditions, some of which must be rejected. The time of Peter Tilton's death, which Mr. Hopkins could not find, was July 11, 1696.

Hadley, March 26, 1793.

"Reverend Sir,

Since I received yours of the 11th ult. I have taken pains to enquire of the oldest people among us, what they heard said, by the eldest persons in town since their remembrance, respecting Whalley and Goffe, their residence in this town. The tradition among all of them is, that both of them were secreted in the town; that the inhabitants at that time knew very little of them, or where they were concealed, except those in whose houses they were. And the tradition among them in general is, that one of them died in this town (those who remember which, say Whalley)—that the other, Goffe, after the death of Whalley, left the town, and that it was not known where he went. With respect to the one who died in this town, the tradition in general is, that he was buried in Mr. Tillton's cellar.

Most of whom I have enquired for tradition say, that while they were here the Indians made an assault upon the town: that on this occasion a person unknown appeared, animating and leading on the inhabitants against the enemy, and exciting them by his activity and

ardour; that when the Indians were repulsed, the stranger disappeared—was gone—none ever knew where, or who he was. The above is the general tradition among us.

I shall now notice some things which were in the tradition, as given by some, differing from the above, or adding somewhat to it.

According to the tradition given by some, Whalley and Goffe were not concealed the whole of the time at Mr. Russell's and Mr. Tillton's, but part of the time at one Smith's.* This I find in the family of the Smiths.

An old man among us says, he remembers to have heard the old people say, there was a fruitless search (by order of the government, as I understand it) of all the houses in Hadley; but that they (to use his words) searched as if they searched not. That after Whalley's death, Goffe went off, first to Hartford, afterwards to New-Haven, where he was suspected and in danger of being known, by his extraordinary dexterity with the sword; shown (as he tells the story) on a particular occasion. And in apprehension of danger, he went off from New-Haven. Here tradition, according to him, ends with respect to Goffe.

Another, still older says, that he heard both his father and his grandfather say, that Whalley and Goffe were both secreted at Mr. Russell's at first; who for their security, in case of search, made a retreat for them between his chambers, and behind his chimney. That one of them died at Mr. Tillton's and was buried behind his barn. That after his death Goffe went off into the Narragansett; was there set upon, and in danger of being taken; went from thence to the southward; was heard of as far as Pennsylvania, or Virginia, and nothing heard further of him.

The tradition among some, connected with the family of the Marshes, is, that Whalley and Goffe both died in Hadley.

Not many years after my settlement in Hadley, (1754) one, who was then quite an old man, told me, among other things, that the tradition of the one that died in town was, that he was buried in Mr. Tillton's garden, or in his cellar. With respect to the place of his burial, I am of opinion, that it was kept secret, and was unknown. It seems to have been a matter of conjecture among the inhabitants;—in Tillton's cellar,—in his garden—or behind his barn—as they imagined most probable. Of his being buried under a fence between two lots, I do not find any thing;—nor of his being afterwards removed. I have searched for his monument, and do not as yet by any means find the time of Tillton's death. Should I hereafter, I will inform you.

SAMUEL HOPKINS."

Extracts from Stiles's History of the Judges.

I was at Hadley, May 21, 1792. The reverend Mr. Hopkins carried me to Mr. Russell's house, still standing. It is a double house, two stories and a kitchen. Although repaired with additions, yet the chamber of the Judges remains obviously in its original state unmutilated, as when these exiled worthies inhabited it. Adjoining to it behind, or at the north end of the large chimney, was a closet, in the floor of which I saw still remaining the trap door, through which they let themselves down into an under closet, and so thence descended into the cellar for concealment, in case of search or surprise. I examined all those places with attention, and with heart-felt sympathetic veneration for the memories of those long immured sufferers, thus shut up and secluded from the world for the tedious space of fourteen or sixteen years, in this voluntary Bastile. They must have been known to the family and domestics; and must have been frequently exposed to accidental discoveries, with all their care and circumspection to live in stillness. That the whole should have been effectually concealed in the breasts of the knowing ones, is a scene of secrecy truly astonishing!

On my return from Hadley, passing through Wethersfield, on the 25th of May, I visited Mrs. Porter, a sensible and judicious woman, aged 77. She was a daughter of Mr. Ebenezer Marsh, and born at Hadley, 1715, next door to Mr. Tillton's, one of the temporary and interchanged residences of the Judges. This house was in her day occupied by deacon Joseph Eastman. She had the general story of the Judges, but said she knew nothing with certainty concerning them, but only that it was said they sometimes lived at Mr. Russell's, and

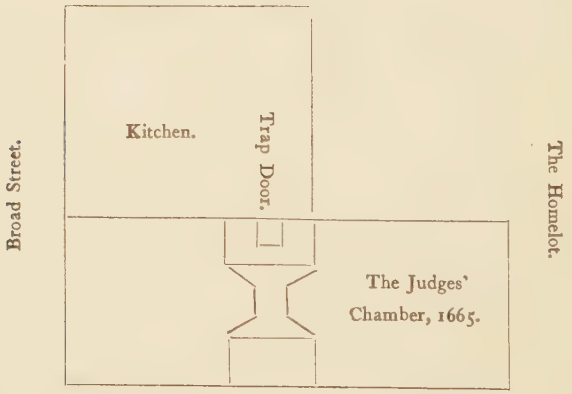
*Lieut. Samuel Smith is meant.

sometimes where deacon Eastman lived. That one was buried in Mr. Russell's cellar, and another in Mr. Tillton's lot. As she said she had nothing certain, I pressed her for fabulous anecdotes. She said she was ashamed to tell young people's whims and notions. But in the course of conversation she said, that when she was a girl, it was the constant belief among the neighbors, that an old man, for some reason or other, had been buried in the fence between deacon Eastman's and her father's. She said the women and girls from their house and deacon Eastman's used to meet at the dividing fence, and while chatting and talking together for amusement, one and another at times would say, with a sort of skittish fear and laughing, "who knows but what we are now standing on the old man's grave?" She and other girls used to be skittish and fearful, even in walking the street, when they came against the place of that supposed grave; though it was never known whereabouts in that line of fence it lay. She supposed the whole was only young folks' foolish notions; for some were much concerned lest the old man's ghost should appear at or about that grave. But this lady was very reluctant at narrating these circumstances and stories, to which she gave no heed herself.

In repeatedly visiting Hadley for many years past, and in conversation with persons born and brought up in Hadley, but settled elsewhere, I have often perceived a concurrent tradition that both died there, and were buried somewhere in Hadley unknown, though generally agreeing that one was buried at Russell's.

Mr. Russell's Dwelling House.

Stiles's History contains a representation of the outlines of the house, and of the Judges' Chamber. The following is an imperfect copy, made without the aid of an engraver.



One part of the house was built as early as 1660, and the town aided Mr. Russell to build an addition in 1662. It appears from the inventory of Mr. Russell's estate in 1693, that the north, or kitchen part of the house, had a kitchen, lodging room, buttery and closet, with chambers over them; also a study; and that the south part had two lower rooms, named hall and parlor, with hall

and parlor chambers over them; and a great and little cellar* and garrets, are mentioned. Furniture and other articles were appraised in all these rooms.

The town purchased of Rev. Samuel Russell of Branford, in 1694, the house and the old homelot of 8 acres, and 4 acres added to the east end of this lot and the town lot, to extend them to the bank, making 12 acres, for 120 pounds, or about 400 dollars in money. The town gave the buildings and ten acres to their second minister, Mr. Isaac Chauncey, in 1696. His son, Josiah Chauncey, sold the same homestead in 1749, to Samuel Gaylord, who resided upon it, as did his son, Samuel Gaylord; and his grandson, Chester Gaylord, still owns the western half of the lot, and lives upon it.

Chester Gaylord was born in 1782, and is now (April, 1858) in his 76th year. The following information is derived from him:— Before he was born, his father took down the north or kitchen part of the Russell house, and rebuilt it in nearly the same place, two stories high in the front westward, and one in the rear,† and the old cellar remained. The south building, in his younger years, remained apparently in its original state. He judges that it was 42 or 44 feet in length and about 20 feet in width. There was no cellar under it. The south side was the front. It had two large rooms below, with an old fashioned chimney and a front entry and stairs between them. Above were two spacious chambers, and overhead appeared the joists and garret-floor, whitewashed; and Mr. G. thinks the walls were boarded and not plastered, but is not certain. North of the chimney, was an enclosed place with two doors, used as a passage between the chambers and for other purposes. The floor boards of this passage or closet were laid from the chimney to the north side, and the ends went under the boards that enclosed the apartment. One board, at least, was not fastened down, and it could be slipped two or three inches to the north or south, and one end could then be raised up.‡ Mr. G., when a boy, had many times raised this board and let himself down into the space below, and restored the board to its place above him. He was then in a dark hole, which had no opening into any of the lower rooms; if there was once a passage into the kitchen cellar, it had been closed. There is a

*The great and little cellar were only one cellar, divided by a partition, and it was not large.

†President Stiles understood that the house had been "repaired with additions."

‡The trap door which Pres. Stiles saw in May, 1792, could have been nothing else but this board. It was not such a trap door as is pictured in his plan of the house.

tradition that the judges were once concealed in this dark place behind the chimney, when searchers went through the passage above. They could easily lift the board, and hide themselves in this under closet.

The south part of the Russell house was pulled down when Mr. Gaylord was about 13 years old, or in 1795, and the present house was built, which is 44 by 40 feet, and extends above 20 feet farther south than the old one. The kitchen part was all north of this, and Mr. Gaylord's father and his family lived in it, while he was building the new house. As the stones of the old cellar wall were needed for the new cellar, the building was supported by props in part, and the wall removed. In taking down the middle part of the front wall, next to the main street, the workmen discovered, about 4 feet below the top of the ground, a place where the earth was loose, and a little search disclosed flat stones, a man's bones, and bits of wood. Almost all the bones were in pieces, but one thigh bone was whole, and there were two sound teeth. Doct. S. H. Rogers, who then resided in Hadley, examined the thigh bone, and said it was the thigh bone of a man of large size. This and the other bones were laid on a shelf, and in a short time they all crumbled into small pieces, and were not preserved. John Hopkins took the teeth, and he gave away one or both. No other grave was found behind the cellar wall. Mr. G. supposes the flat stones, from their position, were laid on the top of the coffin.

These bones must have been those of Gen. Whalley, who was buried near 120 years before. Perhaps he died before Mr. Russell began to entertain the officers in the Indian war in 1675. If so, only Goffe removed to Mr. Tilton's.

On the 18th of May, 1680, Sir Edmund Andros wrote from New York, to the Governor and Assistants of Connecticut, that he had been informed that Col. Goffe was kept and concealed by Capt. Joseph Bull and his sons at Hartford, under the name of Mr. Cooke. Warrants were issued to the constables of Hartford, directing them to search diligently the buildings of Joseph Bull and sons, and other places. They did not find Col. Goffe nor any suspected stranger. Secretary Allyn wrote to Gov. Andros, June 11, 1680, desiring the names of the informers, and said the people of Hartford were much abused by these false reports.

President Stiles was an ardent republican, and believed that criminal kings should be tried and punished, as well as other men. He said in conclusion:—

"The enlightened, upright and intrepid judges of Charles I. will hereafter go down to posterity with increasing renown, among the Jepthas, the Baraks, the Gideons, and the Washingtons, and others raised up by providence for great and momentous occasions: whose memories, with those of all the other successful and unsuccessful, but intrepid and patriotic

defenders of real liberty, will be selected in history, and contemplated with equal, impartial and merited justice: and whose names, and achievements, and SUFFERINGS will be transmitted with honor, renown, and glory, through all the ages of liberty and of man."

Mr. Tilton's letter to his wife.—The following letter, published by Hutchinson, though not relating to the judges, may be inserted with propriety in the History of Hadley. It is occupied chiefly with foreign affairs, and furnishes another example of the manner in which European news was spread in this country, before newspapers were printed here.

Boston, 18 3 mo. [May 18,] 1672.

"Dear Wife,

This opportunity gives occasion of these lines; we have had a quiet and peaceable election, no alteration or addition. O what a price doth Divine Patience yet betrust us with, when he is drawing out the sword and arraying himself with the garments of vengeance as to other kingdoms, and when it is more than probable many garments are tumbling in blood. As to the news from England, all men, both wise and others of more ordinary capacities, look on the effect or produce thereof will be as black a day in the world, as the world hath known. The late actions in England in commissioning their fleet to seize and fall on the Hollanders, of which I wrote you in my last, breaking their league, joining with the French, assisting them with soldiers out of England, and with their principal harbors to receive a numerous army, and shutting up the exchequer, whereby many are outed of their estates contrary to all law, are things that both in England and here, by men of all sorts, are looked upon as strange, horrid, and ominous. There is another ship expected, one Jonas Clarke, if not stopped by the embargo or otherwise, in which one Dr. Hoare, a minister, is expected. Remember me to mine and thine, with my love to all with you. I cannot forget you before the Father of Spirits night and day. The good will of Him that dwelt in the bush be with you, cause his face to shine upon you all, and give you peace. So prayeth still,

Yours unfeignedly to love,

PETER TILLTON."

Mr. Tilton's letter has a postcript, chiefly relating to a fast appointed by the General Court for themselves, to be on the "fourth day," (Wednesday) of the next week. Mr. Tilton wrote to his family:—"My dear ones, forget not him who hath you all on his heart, and whose desire it is to leave himself and his all, with that merciful high-priest who hath the keys of life and death. Farewell. Farewell."

CHAPTER XX

The Militia and their postures and arms—Hadley militia—Hampshire Troop—Change in fire-arms—New Militia Law—New Military book—Bayonets—Colors—Calling the roll—Watches—Alarms.

MILITIA companies in Massachusetts and Connecticut were organized and armed in nearly the same manner as soldiers in England. "The Compleat Body of the Art Military," by Lieut. Col. Richard Elton, was published before 1649, and a Supplement by another was published with it in London, 1668. Many persons in New England had Elton's book. Major John Pynchon had one; and Capt. Aaron Cooke of Northampton had one, which he gave in his will, to his son, Capt. Aaron Cooke of Hadley. The manner in which our fathers performed the manual exercise, with the matchlock musket and rest, may be learned from what Elton calls "The Postures of the Musket," in the edition of 1668.

The Postures of the Musket.

Stand to your arms.
Take up your bandoleers.
Put on your bandoleers.
Take up your match.
Place your match.
Take up your rest.
Put the string of your rest about your left wrist.
Take up your musket.
Rest your musket.
Poise your musket.
Shoulder your musket.
Unshoulder your musket and poise.
Join your rest to the outside of your musket.
Open your pan.
Clear your pan.
Prime your pan.
Shut your pan.
Cast off your loose corns.
Blow off your loose corns and bring about your musket to the left side.
Trail your rest.
Balance your musket in your left hand.
Find out your charge.
Open your charge.
Charge with powder.
Draw forth your scouring stick.
Turn and shorten him to an inch.
Charge with bullet.
Put your scouring stick into your musket.
Ram home your charge.
Withdraw your scouring stick.
Turn and shorten him to a handful.
Return your scouring stick.
Bring forward your musket and rest.
Poise your musket and recover your rest.
Join your rest to the outside of your musket.
Draw forth your match.
Blow your coal.
Cock your match.
Fit your match.
Guard your pan.
Blow the ashes from your coal.
Open your pan.
Present upon your rest.
Give fire breast-high.
Dismount your musket, joining the rest to the outside of your musket.
Uncock and return your match.
Clear your pan.
Shut your pan.
Poise your musket.
Rest your musket.
Take your musket off the rest and set the butt end to the ground.
Lay down your musket.
Lay down your match.
Take your rest into your right hand, clearing the string from your left wrist.
Lay down your rest.
Take off your bandoleers.
Lay down your bandoleers.
Here endeth the postures of the musket.

He gives, also, funeral, saluting and other postures; and the postures of lighter muskets, which were used without rests, but were fired with a match.

"The Postures of the Pike" are given; some of them are handle, raise, charge, order, advance, shoulder, port, comport, check, trail, and lay down, your pikes. The pikes in England were 16 feet in length; in Connecticut, 14 feet.

His musket signified a hand-gun with a matchlock. The cock was that part of the lock which held the burning match that was applied to the powder in the pan. Muskets were generally large and heavy, and required a forked staff or rest to support them when presented to a fire. The rests had a crotch or crescent at the top, and a sharp iron at the bottom to fasten them in the ground. The musketeer had a rest in his hand, or hung to it by a string, in nearly all his exercises.

Bandoleers.—Musketeers carried their powder in little wooden, tin, or copper, cylindrical boxes, each containing one charge; twelve of these boxes were fixed to a belt two inches wide worn

over the left shoulder, and the boxes and belt were called bandoleers. Usually the primer containing the priming powder, the bullet-bag and priming-wire were fastened to the leather belt. These and the little long boxes hung upon the belt, and made much rattling. This belt with its dangling appendages, had some resemblance to a string of sleigh-bells. The match-cord was tied to the bandoleer-belt.

A Foot Company Paraded.

The following representation is from Elton, but his company was larger. m. signifies a musketeer, p. a pikeman, and D. a drummer. The sergeants stood at the corners.

Captain.

1st Sergeant. Ensign. 4th Sergeant.

m. m. m. m. m. m. D. p. p. p. p. p. p. D. m. m. m. m. m. m.
m. m. m. m. m. m. p. p. p. p. p. p. m. m. m. m. m. m.
m. m. m. m. m. m. p. p. p. p. p. p. m. m. m. m. m. m.
m. m. m. m. m. m. p. p. p. p. p. p. m. m. m. m. m. m.

3d Sergeant. Lieutenant. 2d Sergeant.

In the Directions for training a Company of Horsemen, in the Supplement to Elton, are the following seventeen commands. The book details the motions made in performing each command.

1. Horse, i. e., mount your horse.
2. Uncap your pistol case.
3. Draw your pistol.
4. Order your pistol.
5. Span your pistol.
6. Prime your pistol.
7. Shut your pan.
8. Cast about your pistol.
9. Gage your flasque.
10. Lade your pistol.
11. Draw your rammer.
12. Lade with bullet and ram home.
13. Return your rammer.
14. Pull down the cock.
15. Recover your pistol.
16. Present and give fire.
17. Return your pistol.

Twenty commands are given for handling the carbine with a snaphance or firelock, when used by horsemen.

The militia laws of Massachusetts enacted previous to 1660, ordered that two thirds of each foot company should be musketeers; and that each musketeer should have a musket, with a priming-wire, worm, scourer, and mold for bullets, a sword, rest, bandoleers, one pound of powder, twenty bullets and two fathoms (twelve feet) of match. About one third of the company might be pikemen, and each was to have a pike, corslet, head-piece. sword and snapsack. In 1666, each pikeman might have either a corslet, buff coat or quilted coat. It required 64 men for a full company. Such a company had a captain, lieutenant, ensign, clerk, sergeants, corporals, and drummers. Sergeants carried a halbert. Towns were to keep powder, musket-bullets and match.

A troop of horsemen was not to exceed 70 soldiers. Each trooper was to have a good horse, saddle, bridle, holsters, pistols or carbine, and sword. A troop had a captain, lieutenant, cornet, quarter-master, clerk, trumpeter, and corporals. Each

trooper was obliged to keep a good horse at all times, and was allowed by the colony five shillings a year.

All males above 16 years of age were to attend military exercises and service, except those exempt by law. The Court of Assistants and County Courts had power to discharge men for just cause; and in Hampshire, men who could not train by reason of age, weakness, or lameness, applied to the Court and were freed from training.

Companies were to be exercised six days every year. There was to be a regimental training once in three years. John Dunton, who came to Boston to sell books in 1686, says it was the custom to have a prayer at the beginning and ending of a training. Where he trained, the captain made the prayers.

In Hampshire, towns not having a full company of 64 men, had no captain; the soldiers were commanded by a lieutenant, ensign, or sergeant. It was not until 1657 that the Springfield company had three commissioned officers; John Pynchon was captain, Elizur Holyoke, lieutenant, Thomas Cooper, ensign. Northampton had a small train-band in 1658; and in 1661 the soldiers chose William Clark, lieutenant, and David Wilton, ensign. In 1663, they chose Aaron Cooke, senior, for captain, who had held the same office in Windsor. He removed to Westfield and remained there about ten years, and when he returned, was again captain of the company. The first captain of Hadley was Aaron Cooke, junior, in 1678; of Westfield, John Maudsley in 1686; of Hatfield, John Allis, under Andros in 1687 or 1688; and Samuel Partrigg succeeded him in 1689. At Deerfield, Jonathan Wells was appointed captain in 1692-93, partly in reference to the garrison. John Lyman was appointed ensign at Northfield in 1686.

Hadley militia.—On the 11th of May, 1661, the town "voted that there shall be a training on the 16th inst. Voted that the town will buy Mr. Pynchon's colors that he wrote to the town about; and desire brother Lewis to buy a good drum for the town." On the 16th of December, 1661, Richard Goodman and William Allis were chosen "to view all the arms in the town, and see if they are according to law." The train-band of Hadley chose Samuel Smith, lieutenant, John Russell, senior, clerk, and Richard Goodman, sergeant, and they were approved by the county court in March, 1663. The band also chose Aaron Cooke, Jr. ensign-bearer, and John Dickinson and Joseph Kellogg, sergeants, and they were approved by the court in September, 1663. In March, 1664, the town voted to pay Zechariah Field twenty

shillings for the drum they had of him; and in April, they voted to buy a new drum. Samuel Smith was lieutenant, and Aaron Cooke, Jr. ensign, about fifteen years, including the trying time of Philip's war. In May, 1678, Lt. Smith requested to be freed from military trust, being, as he said, "near eighty years of age." He was discharged, and Aaron Cooke, Jr. was appointed captain, Philip Smith, lieutenant, and Joseph Kellogg, sr. ensign. Philip Smith was chosen lieutenant of the troop the same year. The officers of the Hadley company previous to 1700 were as follows:—

Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.
	1663. Samuel Smith.	1663. Aaron Cooke, Jr.
1678. Aaron Cooke, Jr.	1678. Philip Smith.	1678. Joseph Kellogg.
	1679. Joseph Kellogg.	1679. Timothy Nash.
	About 1692. Timothy Nash.	About 1692. Chileab Smith.

Aaron Cooke performed the duties of captain until 1713, when he was 72 years of age. According to the inscription on his grave-stone, he was a captain 35 years. His father, Aaron Cooke, of Northampton, acted as captain until his death in 1690, at the age of 80.

The Hampshire Troop or Company of Horsemen.—In March, 1663, divers persons of the soldiery met at Northampton and "there listed themselves into a Troope," and chose officers, viz., Capt. John Pynchon of Springfield, for captain; Ens. David Wilton of Northampton, lieutenant; Lieut. William Allis of Hadley, cornet; and Henry Woodward of Northampton, and George Colton of Springfield, quarter-masters. These officers were approved by the county court. There were ten troopers from Hadley, viz., Mr. Henry Clark, William Lewis, Thomas Coleman, Nathaniel Dickinson, sr., Thomas Dickinson, Philip Smith, Andrew Warner, Samuel Billing, John Coleman, William Allis. The last three lived on the west side of the river. In 1669, Springfield had 21 troopers, Northampton, 18, Hadley, 14. In 1674, Springfield had 19, Northampton, 13, Hadley, 7, Hatfield, 6, Westfield, 5. The dress and equipments of the troopers were more costly and showy than those of the foot soldiers, and they may have deemed their service more honorable. The expensive "trooping scarf" of Capt. Pynchon was embellished with gold lace, and silver glittered on his sword and belt and on other parts of his arms and dress. The other officers wore silk scarfs or sashes. When this company met in one of our villages for exercise, it was a day of excitement for the young, who heard the shrill trumpet, and admired the proud banner, and prancing steeds, and the gay appearance and quick motions of the men. The officers of the Hampshire troop of cavalry, previous to 1700, as far as they can be found, were the following:—

Captains.

1663. John Pynchon of Springfield.

Lieutenants.

1663. David Wilton of Northampton.
1672. William Allis of Hatfield.
1678. Philip Smith of Hadley.
John Taylor of Northampton.

Cornets.

1663. William Allis of Hadley, (Hatfield)
1672. Joseph Whiting of Westfield.
1678. Joseph Parsons of Northampton.
1685. Thomas Dewey of Westfield.
Nehemiah Dickinson of Hadley.

Quarter-Masters.

1663. Henry Woodward of Northampton.
George Colton of Springfield.
1683. Samuel Partrigg of Hadley.

Regimental Officers.—The regiments of Massachusetts had only one officer, denominated major, or sergeant-major. In May, 1671, Capt. John Pynchon was appointed Sergeant-Major of the Hampshire regiment. He was the first regimental officer of the county. About 1687, Gov. Andros made him a colonel, and Capt. Aaron Cooke of Northampton, a major. After the fall of Andros, they retained only the offices they had before. Under the new charter, Massachusetts established the offices of colonel and lieut. colonel. Connecticut had no colonel and lieut. colonel until they were appointed by Gov. Andros about 1678.

Indian guns.—The Indians, before and during Philip's war, did not use matchlock muskets, but lighter guns with flint locks or snaphances. They were not troubled with burning match and cumbrous rests. In these things they acted wisely.

Change of Fire-arms in the 17th century.—The early legislators of Massachusetts, following the example of England, ordered the matchlock and rest, and the pike for foot soldiers. Yet flintlocks and guns without rests were among the people. The pistols and carbines of the troopers, and some fowling pieces and other guns, were fired with flints without rests. Some soldiers in New Haven, Plymouth and other places had firelocks and flints, though matchlocks and match were much more common among soldiers. It is believed that firelocks, often called snaphances, were gradually displacing matchlocks, before the Indian war began. John Pynchon sold flints after 1666, and he sold match also. In September, 1673, Massachusetts General Court desired Mr. Hezekiah Usher to purchase in England, "five hundred new snaphances or firelock muskets."* After Philip's war began, men soon perceived that matchlocks and pikes, however efficient in European warfare, were of little avail against nimble, skulking Indians, who did not face their enemies in the open field, and flintlocks were used whenever they could be obtained. Many expeditions against the Indians were made on

*292 were obtained, which cost here, in Boston money, 19 shillings each.

horseback, by men who carried carbines or longer arms, and much scouting was done on horses, and these horsemen were not cumbered with match and rests. In November, 1675, Connecticut ordered a "stock of flints" to be sent to New London for the expedition against the Narragansets. In November, 1675, Massachusetts ordered that every town should provide and keep six flints for every listed soldier in the town. In the preceding October, Massachusetts ordered that all troopers should furnish themselves with carbines, and all pikemen with fire-arms. Before 1676, a revolution was effected, and pikes and matchlocks were generally laid aside. Pistols were accounted useless against Indians. In February, 1676, the Massachusetts committee of war estimated that two thousand flints were necessary for an expedition of 500 men—no match.

A great change had practically taken place, yet the law for matchlocks and pikes continued unrepealed. A few matchlocks were used in 1676, but there is no allusion to pikes. Boston had some pikemen in 1686. New England generally discarded matchlocks, rests and pikes many years before they were laid aside in old England.

New Militia Law.—In the new law of Massachusetts, in 1693, matchlocks, match, rests and pikes were entirely disregarded. Foot soldiers were to have a firelock-musket with a barrel $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length at least or other good fire-arms; a snapsack, a collar with 12 bandoleers or a cartouch box, one pound of powder, 20 bullets, 12 flints, a sword or cutlass, a worm and priming wire. Towns were to keep flints.

Troopers were to have a horse worth five pounds and not less than 14 hands high, with a saddle, bit, bridle, holsters, pectoral and crupper; a carbine with a barrel not less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, and a belt and swivel; a case of pistols, a sword or cutlass, a flask or cartouch box, a pound of powder, three pounds of bullets, twenty flints, boots and spurs. They had no allowance from the colony.

Males from 16 to 60 years of age were to train, except those usually exempted. Negroes and Indians were among the exempts. There were four training days in a year, and a regimental muster once in three years. When soldiers were levied, a man impressed must go, or pay five pounds. A few years after, he must pay 10 pounds, or be imprisoned 6 months.

"The Complete Soldier," a book of 96 pages, giving instruction in military exercises, was printed in Boston in 1701, and a second edition with additions, of 124 pages, appeared in 1706. It was

collected from Elton, Bariff and others, by Nicholas Boone of Boston. It was undoubtedly the first military book published in the British colonies. It directs the soldiers to appear "with their hair or periwigs tied up in bags, and their hats briskly cocked." This must have been an English direction.

Bayonets.—The French had daggers which they screwed into the muzzle of their guns, but as the guns could not be fired with such bayonets on, they contrived to fasten the daggers or bayonets on the outside of the muzzle by a socket.—The Massachusetts General Court voted about "bagonets," in 1700, and in 1711 they ordered the Boston regiment to have "goose-necked bayonets" with a socket, instead of swords or cutlasses. The order did not extend to the other regiments. Bayonets were of little use against Indians, and few were seen in Hampshire until the French wars which ended in 1748 and 1763.

Cartridges, or paper cases with powder, were carried by some dragoons in a carduce box in Philip's war. Cartouch boxes as well as bandoleers, for foot soldiers, are in the law of 1693. The cartouch, cartridge or carduce box often appears in Hampshire after 1700, especially among the troopers. The powder horn continued to be used by many of the infantry.

The Fife.—The "ear-piercing fife," noted by Shakespeare, was discontinued in the English army after his time, and was not restored until 1747, having been neglected more than a century in England and America.

Colors or Flags.—Militia companies procured rich and expensive colors in the 17th century. In 1660, John Pynchon sold to Ens. Wilton of Northampton for the militia company, colors, staff, tassel and top for 5 pounds. The next year, he sold to Hadley, for the use of the soldiers, colors, staff, tassel and top for 5 pounds. These flags were long and of costly silk. In the state house at Hartford, a few years since, was a part of a flag, of substantial red silk, with the date, 1640, upon it. Those of Northampton and Hadley may have been red. Sumptuous flags seem to have continued down to the Revolution. Timothy Pickering, in 1775, censured the enormous waste of silk used for colors, and said "three or four square yards of silk are taken to make one color." When the wind blew, the ensign had much trouble, and had to gather the flag in folds in his hands. Pickering would reduce it to about a yard in length.—The pine tree was a favorite symbol with Massachusetts; and Felt says the battle of Bunker Hill was fought under colors having a pine tree on them; and the state flag for vessels in 1776, was white with a green pine tree.

The flag was an ensign, and the bearer was an ensign-bearer, usually called ensign, and sometimes ancient. In Shakspeare, Pistol was Falstaff's ancient. In the early records of Connecticut, Ensign Stoughton of Windsor, was called Ancient Stoughton.

Calling the Roll.—The manner of doing this has not changed much in 250 years. Justice Shallow called some of Falstaff's soldiers—Thomas Wart! Here, sir. Francis Feeble! Here, sir. In Beaumont and Fletcher, a sergeant called the roll—William Hammerton, pewterer! Here. George Greengoose, poulterer! Here. In Shakspeare, when Peter Quince called the names of the players, the answer was—Here, Peter Quince.

Watches.—The early laws ordered watches in time of peace, in every town, from the first of May to the end of September. They were usually under the care of the constables. There was some distrust of the Indians. The watchmen began to examine nightwalkers after ten o'clock.—Military watches were required in the several towns in time of war, and when danger was apprehended, under the charge of the military officers. Every town was ordered to provide a watch-house, and candles and wood. Sometimes warding, or day watching was required. Watches were kept up in these river towns much of the time for a century. The people in those days bore without murmuring, these and other burdens, which their descendants would deem intolerable.

Alarms in the night were made by firing three guns, followed by the beating of drums, and there were other ways of alarming the people. A hundred years later, in the Revolutionary war, the inhabitants of these towns were several times aroused from sleep, by the firing of three guns. The beating of drums succeeded.

Prices of military articles in Pynchon's account books, 1652 to 1680.—New drums, 35 to 40 shillings, drum heads, 3s., bandoleers, 3s. to 3s. 9d., snapsacks, 2s., belts, many kinds, 1s. 2d. to 9s., pike heads, 3s., worm, 6d., scourer, 6d.; match, much at 2d. a fathom, some 4d. and 6d. a fathom; a horn powder flask, 5s., a powder horn, 8d.; guns, various prices, generally between 20 and 30s., a few above 30s., a fowling piece, 25s., gunlocks, 6s. 8d. to 8s. 4d.; common sword or cutlass, 12s. to 15s., better ones, 20s. Flint is always in the singular in these accounts, as flint, 6d., 8d., &c.

The equipment of troopers in Hampshire was expensive. A pair of pistols and holsters cost 37 shillings, saddle and furniture, 37s., boots, 20s., carbine, 25 to 30s., sword, cutlass or rapier, 20s. Some had a silk scarf, and a trooping coat. John Pynchon's "trooping scarf with gold lace" was valued at 70 shillings after his decease.

In Hampshire, only a small part of the soldiers were pikemen at any time, and none carried pikes after the Indian war. In other parts of New England, the proportion of pikemen seems to have been much less than in England. The early laws did not require that one-third of the soldiers should be pikemen.

The captains and lieutenants of foot companies had a sword, a half pike or leading staff, &c.

CHAPTER XXI

Witchcraft in Europe—In New England—In Hampshire county—Mary and Hugh Parsons of Springfield—Mary Parsons of Northampton—Death of John Stebbins of Northampton—Case of Mary Webster of Hadley—the witch mania of 1692—Various notices relating to Witchcraft.

It was formerly the belief of all Christendom, that some persons called witches, were possessed of supernatural power, by an agreement with the devil, whereby they could procure advantages to themselves, and inflict evils on their enemies; and witchcraft was a capital crime by the laws of the different nations of Europe. The famous bull of pope Innocent VIII., in 1484, denouncing witchcraft, gave fury to the delusion. It is estimated that in about two hundred years, upwards of a hundred thousand were put to death for witchcraft in Europe;* and some calculate that not less than a hundred thousand suffered in Germany alone.† At the time of the Reformation, Protestants were not only burnt as heretics, but many were put to death under the pretence that they were sorcerers.

The witch mania raged extensively in both Catholic and Protestant countries. The reformers were as firm believers in witchcraft as the catholics. The madness prevailed in Italy, France, Germany, Switzerland, &c. before it manifested itself in Great Britain. From the date of the statute of queen Elizabeth against witchcraft in 1562, the persecution of witches commenced in England, but did not reach its height until the 17th century. Bishop Jewell, in his sermons before the queen, used to conclude them by a fervent prayer, that she might be preserved from witches. He informed her that witches and sorcerers had marvelously increased within a few years. In 1593, the income of forty pounds, derived from the confiscated property of three persons executed for witchcraft, was appropriated for an annual lecture upon the enormity of witchcraft, to be preached by a doctor or bachelor of divinity, of Queen's college, Cambridge; and this annual sermon was continued 125 years or more. King James I. was a constant enemy of witches, and a chief encourager of those who persecuted them, first in Scotland and next in England. He wrote a famous treatise on demons and witches, and after the act of parliament against witchcraft in 1603, persecution burst forth furiously in England, and in eighty years the number of those put to death, has been estimated at about thirty thousand;‡ and some thousands in Scotland.

*Blackwood's Magazine. †Encyclopædia Americana. ‡Ibid.—These estimates are as I find them, but they seem to me too high.

In Europe, kings and nobles, popes and bishops, judges and lawyers, learned ministers of various denominations and other men of erudition, were fully persuaded of the existence of modern witches, who had entered into a compact with Satan.—Among those accused of witchcraft were many unprincipled persons, who had endeavored to effect their wicked ends by the devil's aid, and if they were not witches, it was not for want of the will. These included some noble ladies and others in high life. Some undertook to teach the magic arts, and not a few thus instructed, really believed they had made a covenant with the devil. Others feigned witchcraft, and boasted of their power, in order to extort favors from the superstitious. Yet a great majority of the sufferers were innocent.

The first planters of New England believed that their Bibles affirmed the existence of witches, and it may be easily conceived that they were firm believers in the reality of witchcraft, in an age when this belief was nearly universal in Europe.

Witches in Connecticut.—Winthrop's History, under 1647, says one of Windsor was executed at Hartford for a witch. The records of Connecticut do not allude to any trial or execution of a witch in 1647. On the 7th of December, 1648, Mary Johnson, at Hartford, was found guilty of familiarity with the devil by her own confession, and was executed. One or two persons were tried for witchcraft in Hartford in 1651; it is not known whether any one was executed. In 1651, Goody Bassett of Stratford was executed for witchcraft, probably at Fairfield. In 1653 or the early part of 1654, Goodwife Knap was hung at Fairfield for a witch. In January or February, 1663, a woman named Greensmith, apparently wife of Nathaniel Greensmith, was hung at Hartford for witchcraft. In March, 1665, Elizabeth Seger was found guilty of witchcraft by a jury at Hartford, but the court set her free. In October, 1669, Katharine Harrison of Wethersfield was found guilty of witchcraft by a jury at Hartford, but the court did not approve the verdict, and afterwards dismissed her. In September, 1692, Mercy Disborough, wife of Thomas Disborough of Compo in Fairfield, and two or three other women, were tried at Fairfield for witchcraft, and all were acquitted except Mercy Disborough, who was found guilty and sentenced to death. She appears not to have been executed.

King James I. averred that witches thrown into the water would float and not sink, and he thought this was a "good help" to detect them. The experiment was tried at Fairfield, and Mercy Disborough and Elizabeth Clawson were bound, hands

and feet, and put into the water, and witnesses testified that they "swam like a cork." Yet E. Clawson was acquitted, and M. Disborough was not condemned because she floated.

In Massachusetts, Margaret Jones of Charlestown, was hung for witchcraft at Boston, June 15, 1648—the first execution for this offense in this colony. Widow Anne Hibbins of Boston, was executed as a witch in 1656, and two or three others are reported to have suffered in Massachusetts previous to 1692, and in the year 1692, twenty were executed at Salem.—In the colonies of New Haven and Plymouth, no one was condemned for witchcraft, before or after their union with other colonies.

Witchcraft in Hampshire County.

The first case of supposed witchcraft in Hampshire county, occurred at Springfield, in 1651. Mary Parsons, wife of Hugh Parsons of that town, was sent to Boston and imprisoned on suspicion of witchcraft, and for murdering her child. She was tried for both offenses by the General Court, May 13, 1651. The charge in the first indictment was, that being seduced by the devil, about the end of February last, at Springfield, she consulted with a familiar spirit, making a covenant with him, and had used divers devilish practices by witchcraft, to the hurt of the persons of Martha and Rebecca Moxon, against the word of God, and the laws of this jurisdiction. Her plea was, not guilty; and the court found the evidences insufficient and cleared her. The two Moxons were children of Rev. George Moxon of Springfield.

Mary Parsons had a son named Joshua, born Oct. 26, 1650, whom she killed March 4, 1651, according to the Springfield record. She was charged in the indictment at Boston, May 13, 1651, with willfully and most wickedly murdering her own child, to which she pleaded guilty, and was condemend to die by the General Court. She was reprieved until the 29th of May. She was a deranged woman, and one like her would not have been found guilty of murder, 50 years later.

Hugh Parsons of Springfield, was tried at a Court of Assistants at Boston, May 12, 1652, a year after the trial of his wife. He was accused of having familiar and wicked converse with the devil, and of using divers devilish practices or witchcrafts, in March last, and at other times, to the hurt of divers persons. The jury found him guilty, but the magistrates not consenting to the verdict, the case came before the General Court, May 27, 1652, who judged that he was not guilty of witchcraft. After this, he removed from Springfield.

Mary Bartlett, wife of Samuel Bartlett of Northampton, died in July, 1674, and her husband, her father, James Bridgman, and others, were suspicious that she came to her end by unnatural and unlawful means; and that Mary Parsons, wife of Joseph Parsons, senior, of Northampton, had caused her death by witchcraft. Mary Parsons was a respectable woman, and her husband was one of the most wealthy men in Northampton. She may have been somewhat proud and high-spirited, and thereby have excited some ill-will.

The county court met at Springfield, Sept. 29, 1674; and though the trial of persons accused of capital offenses did not belong to this court, they sometimes inquired into such cases. Samuel Bartlett procured divers testimonies on oath from Northampton, and Mary Parsons, knowing what was doing, and that she was implicated, did not wait for a summons, but "voluntarily made her appearance in court, desiring to clear herself of such an execrable crime." The matter was referred to an adjourned court at Northampton, which met January 5, 1675, and Samuel Bartlett produced his witnesses. "Goodwife Parsons being called to speak for herself,* she did assert her own innocency, often mentioning how clear she was of such a crime, and that the righteous God knew her innocency, with whom she had left her cause." The court "appointed a jury of soberdized, chaste women to make diligent search upon the body of Mary Parsons, whether any marks of witchcraft might appear, who gave in their account to the court on oath, of what they found." The court ordered all the testimony, including the report of the women, to be sent to the Governor and Magistrates at Boston, leaving further proceedings with them. Mary Parsons was ordered to appear before the Court of Assistants at Boston, if so required by them, and her husband, Joseph Parsons, was bound in a bond of 50 pounds, for her appearance.

Mary Parsons appeared before the Court of Assistants, March 2, 1675, and the grand jury presented an indictment against her. She was imprisoned in Boston until May 13, when she was tried. She was accused of entering into familiarity with the devil, and committing several acts of witchcraft on the person or persons of

*Mary Parsons, as well as her mother, widow Margaret Bliss of Springfield, had sufficient ability and confidence to speak before a court. There were other women, who sometimes managed their own business at courts, and spoke when necessary. This was not deemed improper. Mary Parsons was invited "to speak for herself." In 1667, a woman spoke in a town meeting in Windsor, in a case which concerned her, and not without effect. In 1677, widow Editha Holyoke of Springfield, went into court and "spoke in the case," relating to her share of her husband's estate.

one or more. She pleaded not guilty, and the jury brought in their verdict that she was not guilty, and she was discharged.

Some testimony was presented to the county court against John Parsons, son of Joseph and Mary Parsons, but the court did not find much weight in it, and dismissed him.

On the 7th of March, 1679, John Stebbins of Northampton, died in an unusual manner, and a jury of inquest, composed of eleven Northampton men and Doct. Thomas Hastings of Hatfield, examined the body. They found "several hundred spots, small ones as if they had been shot with small shot, which were scraped and under them were holes into his body," and some other things not usual. There were suspicions of witchcraft. The county court met at Northampton, April 29, 1679, and Samuel Bartlett, brother of Stebbins's widow, was allowed to bring in such testimony as he could find. The court sent the testimonies to the Governor and Magistrates, but no one was prosecuted.*

Mary Webster of Hadley.

The most notable witch in Hampshire county was Mary Webster, the wife of William Webster of Hadley. Her maiden name was Mary Reeve, and they were married in 1670, when he was 53 years old, and she probably some years younger. They became poor, and lived many years in a small house in the middle highway into the meadow,† and were sometimes aided by the town. Mary Webster's temper, which was not the most placid, was not improved by poverty and neglect, and she used harsh words when offended. Despised and sometimes ill-treated,‡ she was soured with the world, and rendered spiteful towards some of her neighbors. When they began to call her a witch, and to abuse her, she perhaps thought with the "Witch of Edmonton," in the old play, who said, "'Tis all one, to be a witch, as to be accounted one." Many stories of the sorceries by which she dis-

*There is a tradition that John Stebbins had been at work in a saw-mill some days before his death, and that some of the boards and logs, by the aid of witches, made strange movements, whereby he was injured.

†This highway was then six rods wide, and on the north side towards the east end, were the pound, the house of William Webster, and for a time, that of Thomas Webster. About three rods wide from the north side were sold in 1797, and added to the adjoining homelot, which is now owned by John S. Bell, and the pound and William Webster's house are supposed to have been on the land now occupied for a garden and barn yard by Mr. Bell.

‡At the September Court, 1680, Ann Belding, a girl in her 16th year, daughter of Samuel Belding of Hatfield, was charged with "purposes and practices against the body and life of Mary, wife of William Webster of Hadley." She acknowledged, and was fined one pound to Wm. Webster, and four pounds to the county. Her father engaged to pay. This is a strange affair, and cannot be explained.

turbed the people of Hadley have been lost, but a few traditions have been preserved:—

Teams passing to and from the meadow went by her door, and she so bewitched some cattle and horses that they stopped, and ran back, and could not be driven by her house. In such cases the teamsters used to go into the house and whip or threaten to whip her, and she would then let the team pass. She once turned over a load of hay near her house, and the driver went in and was about to chastise her, when she turned the load back again. She entered a house, and had such influence upon an infant on the bed or in the cradle, that it was raised to the chamber floor and fell back again, three times, and no visible hand touched it. There is a story that at another house, a hen came down chimney and got scalded in a pot, and it was soon found that Mary Webster was suffering from a scald. The story of her bewitching Philip Smith is retained, but is less prominent than the others.*

Mary Webster appeared before the county court at Northampton, March 27, 1683. The court was composed of John Pynchon of Springfield, Peter Tilton and Philip Smith of Hadley, William Clarke and Aaron Cooke of Northampton. Samuel Partrigg of Hadley was clerk. The following is from the record.

Mary, wife of William Webster of Hadley, being under strong suspicion of having familiarity with the devil, or using witchcraft, and having been in examination before the worshipful Mr. Tilton, and many testimonies brought in against her, or that did seem to centre upon her, relating to such a thing; and the worshipful Mr. Tilton aforesaid binding her to appear at this court, and having examined her yet further, and the testimonies aforenamed, look upon her case, a matter belonging to the Court of Assistants to judge of, and therefore have ordered said Mary Webster to be, by the first convenient opportunity, sent to Boston gaol and committed there as a prisoner, to be further examined there as aforesaid, and the clerk is to gather up all the evidences and fit them to be sent down by the worshipful Mr. Tilton, to our honored governor, that he may communicate them to the magistrates, as he shall judge meet, or further order prosecution of said matters.

She was sent down to Boston in April, 1683, and the Court of Assistants was held at Boston, May 22d; Gov. Bradstreet, Deputy Gov. Danforth and nine Assistants being present. The record of the court follows:—

Mary Webster, wife of William Webster of Hadley, being sent down upon suspicion of witchcraft and committed to prison, in order to her trial, was brought to the bar. The grand-jury being impannelled, they, on perusal of the evidences, returned that they did indict Mary Webster, wife to William Webster of Hadley, for that she, not having the fear

*These stories and others were told with gravity by old persons, seventy years ago, and were believed by some and laughed at by others. There were certain persons who were noted as tellers of witch stories in Hadley, as in other towns. Widow Rebekah (Crow) Noble was a famous story teller.

of God before her eyes, and being instigated by the devil, hath entered into covenant and had familiarity with him in the shape of a warraneage,* and had his imps sucking her, and teats or marks found on her, as in and by several testimonies may appear, contrary to the peace of our sovereign lord, the king, his crown and dignity, the laws of God and of this jurisdiction—The court on their serious consideration of the testimonies, did leave her to further trial.

At the Assistant's Court, Sept. 4, 1683, Mary Webster, wife to William Webster of Hadley, having been presented for suspicion of witchcraft, &c. by a grand-jury in Boston on the 22d of May last, and left to further trial, was now called and brought to the bar, and was indicted by the name of Mary Webster, &c. [Here the indictment of May 22d is all repeated; the warraneage comes in as before.] To which indictment she pleaded not guilty, making no exception against any of the jury, leaving herself to be tried by God and the country. The indictment and evidences in the case were read and committed to the jury, and the jury brought in their verdict that they found her—not guilty.

The expenses of the colony about Mary Webster, appear in the accounts of the colony treasurer, viz.,

	£.	s.	d.
Bringing down Mary Webster from Hadley to prison,	5	0	0
Witnesses about Goodwife Webster,	12	15	2
Robert Earl for keeping Mary Webster in Boston,	4	0	0
Cash for carrying Mary Webster to Hadley,	2	0	0
	23	15	2

This acquittal must have elated Mary Webster, and disappointed many of the people of Hadley, whose numerous written testimonies, drawn up with care, had failed to convince a Boston jury, that she was a witch. Sometime after this trial, the power of this enchantress was supposed to be exerted upon Lieut. Philip Smith, who died on the 10th of January, 1685. The following details are from Cotton Mather's Magnalia:—

Mr. Philip Smith, aged about fifty years, a son of eminently virtuous parents, a deacon of a church in Hadley, a member of the General Court, a justice in the county Court, a select man for the affairs of the town, a lieutenant of the troop, and which crowns all, a man for devotion, sanctity, gravity, and all that was honest, exceeding exemplary. Such a man was in the winter of the year 1684, murdered with an hideous witchcraft, that filled all those parts of New England, with astonishment. He was, by his office concerned about relieving the indigences of a wretched woman in the town; who being dissatisfied at some of his just cares about her, expressed herself unto him in such a manner, that he declared himself thenceforward apprehensive of receiving mischief at her hands.

About the beginning of January, 1684-5, he began to be very valetudinarious. He shewed such weanedness from and weariness of the world, that he knew not (he said) whether he might pray for his continuance here: and such assurance he had of the Divine love unto him, that in raptures he would cry out, Lord, stay thy hand; it is enough, it is more than thy frail servant can bear. But in the midst of these things he still uttered an hard suspicion that the ill woman who had threatened him, had made impressions with inchantments upon him. While he remained yet of a sound mind, he solemnly charged his brother to look well after him. Be sure, (said he) to have a care of me; for you shall see

*Warraneag, in some Indian dialects, was the same as the Nipmuck wallaneag or woollaneag. It was the name of the fisher, or pecan, or wild black cat of the woods. All the testimony on which the indictment was founded, came from persons in Hadley. She had undoubtedly been searched for witch marks by some of the women of Hadley.

strange things. There shall be a wonder in Hadley! I shall not be dead when it is thought I am! He pressed this charge over and over.

In his distresses he exclaimed much upon the woman aforesaid, and others, as being seen by him in the room. Some of the young men in the town being out of their wits at the strange calamities thus upon one of their most beloved neighbors, went three or four times to give disturbance unto the woman thus complained of: and all the while they were disturbing of her, he was at ease, and slept as a weary man: yea, these were the only times that they perceived him to take any sleep in all his illness. Gally pots of medicines provided for the sick man, were unaccountably emptied: audible scratchings were made about the bed, when his hands and feet lay wholly still, and were held by others. They beheld fire sometimes on the bed; and when the beholders began to discourse of it, it vanished away. Divers people actually felt something often stir in the bed, at a considerable distance from the man: it seemed as big as a cat, but they could never grasp it. Several trying to lean on the bed's head, tho' the sick man lay wholly still, the bed would shake so as to knock their heads uncomfortably. Mr. Smith dies: the jury that viewed his corpse, found a swelling on one breast, his back full of bruises, and several holes that seemed made with awls. After the opinion of all had pronounced him dead, his countenance continued as lively as if he had been alive; his eyes closed as in a slumber, and his nether jaw not falling down.

Thus he remained from Saturday morning about sunrise, till Sabbath-day in the afternoon; when those who took him out of the bed, found him still warm, tho' the season was as cold as had almost been known in any age: and a New England winter does not want for cold. But on Monday morning they found the face extremely tumified and discolored. It was black and blue, and fresh blood seemed running down his cheek upon the hairs. Divers noises were also heard in the room where the corpse lay; as the clattering of chairs and stools, whereof no account could be given.

This was the end of so good a man.

The "disturbing" of Mary Webster by the Hadley young men, is thus related by Hutchinson:—"While he [Philip Smith] lay ill, a number of brisk lads tried an experiment upon the old woman. Having dragged her out of the house, they hung her up until she was near dead, let her down, rolled her sometime in the snow, and at last buried her in it, and there left her; but it happened that she survived, and the melancholy man died."

The people having failed in a legal prosecution, the young men now undertook to punish her illegally. Yet Mary Webster lived eleven years after they hung her up, and buried her in the snow, and died in peace in 1696.* Her age may have been about seventy. Her husband died in 1687 or 1688.

Mary Webster was the fourth person sent from Connecticut River to Boston to be tried for witchcraft, and all were acquitted, —an indication that the courts were inclined to mildness. No inhabitant of Hampshire was ever executed for witchcraft.

At the Springfield Court, Sept. 29, 1691, Mary Randall was complained of for witchcraft. The court postponed the case for a year, and then her father, William Randall of Enfield, became surety for her good behavior, and there were no further proceedings. This was the last recorded case of suspected witchcraft in Hampshire county.

*It is not known that Mary Webster annoyed the people of Hadley by her witch pranks after 1685. Her last eleven years may have been spent in quietness. The inventory of her small estate after her decease, in 1696, included a bed and a few other things for housekeeping, and some articles of dress. She had a Bible, psalm-book and three sermon books, which were probably left by her husband.

Previous to 1692, the number of persons executed for witchcraft in Massachusetts and Connecticut was nine or ten, though the magistrates intended to be cautious, and several times set aside the verdict of a jury to save those declared guilty. In February, 1692, a terrible witchcraft delusion, which commenced in Salem Village, now Danvers, produced great terror and suffering in several towns and resulted in the execution of twenty persons. A few misguided ministers and magistrates, by their rash and unjustifiable proceedings, "led their fellow-citizens into a labyrinth of error and iniquity, and stained the character of their country."* In less than a year, men came to their senses, the destructive frenzy terminated, and the people looked back upon the scene of barbarity and cruelty with horror and remorse. Prosecutions for witchcraft forever ceased in New England.†

The dreadful witch-mania of 1692, was local and not general. It did not extend into Hampshire county, and Connecticut was free from it, except a part of Fairfield county. Connecticut ceased to punish for witchcraft about the same time with Massachusetts. In 1693 and after, grand-juries refused to indict for witchcraft.

Witchcraft was a capital crime in other colonies and the belief in it was as firm in them, as in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Suspected witches were tried in most, if not all, the other colonies, but it is not known that any were executed. Some of the colonies manifested their full conviction of the reality of witchcraft in the 18th century. South Carolina adopted the act of James I. "against conjuration, witchcraft and dealing with evil and wicked spirits," in 1712. Still later, in 1728, Rhode Island enacted that "witchcraft is and shall be felony; and whosoever shall be lawfully convicted thereof shall suffer the pains of death."

Almost all the absurdities, superstitions and cruelties connected with the belief in witchcraft in America, originated in Europe. Our courts, in witchcraft trials, had as guides the decisions of distinguished English judges, and the rules of eminent English lawyers. The people read English books on witchcraft, written by Puritans and by men of the English church. The Rev. Joseph Glanvill, vicar of Frome, chaplain of Charles II., and a member of the Royal Society, was a distinguished writer in favor of the existence of witches, witchcraft and apparitions, and his

*President Dwight. †A tradition is related by Pres. Dwight, that Col. Samuel Partridge of Hatfield, instead of listening to the complaint of a Northampton man, who accused his neighbor of bewitching him, ordered the accuser to be whipped ten stripes on the spot.

books were read in New England before any such were published here.

"The horse-shoe's nailed, each threshold's guard," said the poet Gay, 150 years since. Among the ridiculous preservatives against witchcraft was the horse-shoe nailed on the threshold of the door. Several writers in the 17th century mention that it was very common to nail horse-shoes to the threshold of doors in the west end of London, to keep out witches, and some were laid upon a tile under the porches of churches, to prevent witches entering. Fifty years ago, many houses in England had the horse-shoe nailed against the threshold, and some may still be found. Howitt mentions a man at Nottingham, who has the ancient charm of reversed horse-shoes nailed on both the lintel and sill of his door.*

CHAPTER XXII

The Poor of Hadley—Story of Rebekah Crow—Marriages and Weddings—Funerals and Mourning—Hadley Grave-yard—Titles—Names—Old Style and New Style.

Among those who signed the agreement in 1659, to remove to Hadley, were John Arnold and widow Westly. Both were poor and infirm, and remained at Hartford. The record says that John Arnold was too weak to come to Hadley. Those who lived at Hadley voted in April, 1662, to give John Arnold £5 a year, at Hartford, during his life, and to his wife 50 shillings a year after his decease. Voted also to give widow Westly 50 shillings a year, if she remain at Hartford.

For a long time, Hadley had no resident poor that required aid from the town. In May, 1676, when men were preparing to

*A few in New England had faith in the efficacy of the horse-shoe. The houses of two or three men (brothers) in Northampton, had a horse-shoe fastened to the threshold, about a hundred years since.

European writers affirm that a belief in witchcraft lingers extensively in every country of Europe. There is much of it in England. Let no one imagine that it is extinct in the United States.

Hutchinson says more persons have been put to death for witchcraft in a single county in England, in a short space of time, than have suffered in all New England, since the first settlement.

The feats attributed to witches were not all imaginary. Those who testified were not all impostors. Some strange, inexplicable deeds were done, as in modern spiritualism. This may be admitted, without believing that there is any thing supernatural in these things.

go up to the falls-fight, the town voted to pay for damage in person and estate, if the colony failed to pay. Jonathan Wells was severely wounded, and was a long time under the care of Mr. Bulkley, the surgeon, at Wethersfield. Massachusetts did not pay all the expense, and Hadley paid some pounds.

In 1679, the town erected a small house, called the town house, for the present use of Thomas Webster, in the middle highway not far from the pound. William Webster previously had a small house in the same highway. See page 189. Thomas Webster was not supported by the town. He maintained his family by his labor, and returned to Northfield in 1684. William Webster was aided by the town some years in his old age; and his widow, who had been reputed a witch, was furnished with diet and wood a few years.

Thomas Elgarr, who had been a soldier in the Indian war, resided in Hadley some years, and owing to disease or lameness, he was supported by the town a year or two. The town paid 32 persons £13 for keeping him 65 weeks at 4s. per week previous to January, 1685. He seems to have gone from house to house, and was kept from one to three weeks at a place. Each was paid 4s. per week in town pay. He recovered and settled in Suffield.

In 1687, widow Baldwin was poor and infirm, and the town voted March 3d, that she should be removed from house to house, to such as are able to receive her, and remain a fortnight in each family. "To go from Samuel Porter's, senior, southward, and round the town." Joseph Baldwin, senior and junior, each left a widow, and it was one of these widows that was to board "round the town" of Hadley. Both removed to Springfield, where they had relatives.

John Hillier (or Hilliard,) was from Windsor, and after living many years in Northampton, removed to Hadley, where he died in 1729, aged 85. Had a wife and three children. In 1697, he was to have the house near the pound that William Webster had occupied. In 1718, the town voted to build a small log house for him, "where he now lives." He had occasional aid from the town in his old age.—In 1728, the town voted £10 to support the poor.

In 1731, and four years after, the town voted 40 pounds yearly to Mr. Chauncey, in consideration of two indigent persons in his family. In 1735, his son is mentioned as one of them, meaning Israel, who was deranged some years. The other indigent

person is unknown. In 1760, Daniel Smith, a deranged man, died in Amherst. He had received aid from Hadley.

These are all the poor aided by the town, that are found in the Hadley records for a century. Perhaps the names of some are not in the records. It may be doubted whether the expense of the town for the poor exceeded 150 pounds in 100 years, exclusive of those at Mr. Chauncey's. From 1760 to 1780, Aaron Wells is the only pauper that appears in the records, but there may have been others.

Previous to 1793, the number of paupers had increased to eight, viz., Joel Kellogg and wife, Jabez Selden and wife, David Warner, widow Rebekah Noble,* Rebekah Smith, widow Coats.—The fathers of five or six of these left good estates.

In January, 1793, Major John Smith "bid off" these 8 persons, and agreed to board and clothe them for a year for 88 pounds, or 11 pounds each, (about 37 dollars,) and "to return them at the year's end as well clothed as when he takes them." In January, 1794, the same eight poor persons, by vote of the town, were "to be disposed of to the lowest bidder, singly, or in pairs."† Most of them were bid off at 4 shillings per week. From 1795 to 1805, the town voted yearly for the support of paupers, from 200 to 250 dollars. Since 1805, the expense of the poor has in some years been as high as 500, 600 or 700 dollars.

Marriages and Weddings.

In Massachusetts, no persons were married by ministers for 62 years, except a very few in Boston and the vicinity, under the government of Dudley and Andros. Only magistrates, and such as the General Court and Court of Assistants should authorize, where there was no magistrate, were allowed to join persons together in marriage. There were similar laws in the colonies of

*Rebekah Crow, born in 1712, was a daughter of Samuel Crow of Hadley, and had respectable relatives in Hadley and Hatfield. When young, she was a girl of superior beauty and much admired. She was wooed by a young man from Hartford, and the attachment was mutual. She was spirited and self-directing, and in attending an evening party in Hadley, her lover paid more attention to another lady than she thought was proper, and her jealousy was excited and she hastily dismissed him. She soon exceedingly regretted what she had done, but did not attempt to conciliate him. According to tradition, she was after this, in some respects, a changed person, and did not again become a gay and sprightly girl. She married at the age of 49, Daniel Noble of Westfield and after his death, lived in Hadley, and when her estate was expended, she was maintained by the town. She who in early life had as fair prospects as any young lady in Hadley, died a town pauper in 1802, at the age of 90. She possessed a great fund of anecdotes and stories, including many witch-stories, and she delighted the young by her wonderful recitals.

†This censurable practice of disposing of the poor to the lowest bidder has long been discontinued in Hadley.

Connecticut, New Haven and Plymouth. The ministers of New England approved these laws, and were perhaps the real movers of them. They were Bible-men, and though marriage was an institution of God, they knew very well that the Scriptures did not direct how or by whom the marriage ceremony should be performed, and that the intervention of a priest or Levite was not required in the marriages of the ancient Jews, and that the marriages of the early Christians for about 200 years, were not sanctioned by the services of their ministers. In Scotland and some other parts of Europe, it was not necessary that marriage should be celebrated by a clergyman. In 1692, under the new charter, Massachusetts General Court directed that marriages should be solemnized by Justices of the Peace, and settled ministers. In a few years after this law, it was the general custom for pastors to marry. Before 1692, when magistrates married, they also made the prayers, but if a minister was present, he was usually invited to make at least one of the two prayers.

In May, 1661, when Hadley was incorporated, William Westwood was authorized to join persons in marriage, or in his absence, one of the other commissioners, who were then, Andrew Bacon and Samuel Smith. In 1668, Henry Clarke was authorized to marry. In 1677, Lieut. Samuel Smith was empowered to solemnize marriages. Peter Tilton became a magistrate in 1680, and Capt. Aaron Cooke a justice in 1687, and they united people in wedlock until Mr. Chauncey was settled in 1696, and Capt. Cooke still later, when requested.—Mr. Russell, the first minister, did not marry a couple during his life, unless in the last year, 1692. He had been three times married by a magistrate, and all ministers were married by magistrates previous to 1692.—Aaron Cooke, Jr. and Sarah Westwood were married May 20, 1661, and were the first couple married in Hadley.

Not much is known respecting the nuptial festivities and wedding customs in this part of the country, in the 17th and part of the 18th centuries. Marriages were occasions of joy and merriment. The groom had some new garments, and the bride had as rich a wedding dress as in her circumstances, could be afforded. Mather, in 1719, said it was expected that the newly married couple would appear as such, in the public assembly, on the next Lord's day. This custom continued more than a century after 1719. It was termed "coming out groom and bride." It still remains in many places.

The following account of the marriage of Mr. Aaron Porter and Susanna Sewall, daughter of Stephen Sewall, Esq. of Salem,

is from the Diary of Judge Samuel Sewall, who was a brother of Stephen. Mr. Aaron Porter was a son of the second Samuel Porter of Hadley, and was the first minister of Medford.

"1713. Oct. 22. I go to Salem, visit Mr. Epes and Col. Hathorne. See Mr. Noyes marry Mr. Aaron Porter and Mrs. Susan Sewall at my brother's. Was a pretty deal of company present—Mr. Hirst and wife, Mr. Blower, Mr. Prescott, Mr. Tuft, senior and junior, Madam Leverett, Foxcroft, Goff, Kitchen; Mr. Samuel Porter the father, I should have said before; many young gentlemen and gentlewomen. Mr. Noyes made a speech; said love was the sugar to sweeten every condition in the married state. Prayed once. Did all very well. After the sack-posset, &c. sung the 45th Psalm from the 8th verse to the end, five staves. I set it to Windsor tune. I had a very good Turkey-leather Psalm-book, which I looked in while Mr. Noyes read, and then I gave it to the bridegroom, saying, 'I give you this Psalm-book, in order to your perpetuating this song, and I would have you pray that it may be an introduction to our singing with the choir above.' "*

Kissing the bride was not customary in the interior of New England, until some time in the present century, and the practice is far from being general now. It was derived from the English, who have been notorious for kissing, on various occasions, for centuries.—Dancing at weddings was rare among the people, in most parts of New England, in the 17th century, but became very frequent in the 18th century.† The people of Hadley danced at weddings in the last century, but the practice has been uncommon in that town for forty years past.

Stealing the bride, was formerly done in some places in New England. Madam Knight of Boston, notices in 1704, "the former practice among us, to steal Miss Bride." There are many traditions respecting it in Northampton and Hadley. Some young men who had not been invited to the wedding, seized the bride, in the street or house, and led her off, and kept her until they were invited to join the party. A Hadley tradition says they sometimes took her to a public house, and retained her until the groom ordered an entertainment for them. She was treated

*I am indebted to the Rev. Samuel Sewall of Burlington, Mass. for this extract from the Diary of Judge Sewall. He accompanied it (1846) with observations on the forgotton customs of our fathers. Some of his remarks follow:—A century and a half ago, they had sack-posset at weddings and sung Windsor. Now not one in a hundred ever heard of sack-posset, and I should as soon expect to hear yankee-doodle struck up as Windsor. They used the old Bay Psalm-book, which was read and sung, line by line, at the social party, on occasions of festivity and in family worship, and was in every parlor as well as in every meeting-house, but is now assigned over to the antiquary and forgotton.

In 1682, Judge Sewall was present at the marriage of Daniel Quincy and Anna Shepard. A magistrate married them, the two prayers were made by ministers, and the large company had cake, wine and beer, and singing succeeded.

†A great wedding-dance took place at New London, at the house of Nathaniel Shaw, Esq., June 12, 1769, the day after the marriage of his son, Daniel Shaw and Grace Coit. 92 gentlemen and ladies attended, and danced 92 jigs, 52 contra-dances, 45 minuets and 17 hornpipes, and retired at 45 minutes past midnight.

gently and kindly. These affairs seem to have produced no quarrels, but to have been sometimes an addition to the wedding frolic. The last bride stolen in Hadley is said to have been Elizabeth, daughter of Oliver Smith, who was married to Doct. Job Marsh in 1783. The practice ceased in Northampton some years before.

There were occasionally, second day weddings, or wedding festivities kept up the second day, in the last and present centuries, with much eating, drinking and dancing.*

The greater part of the marriages in Hampshire county for 150 years took place on Thursday, but many on Wednesday, and some on other days. Very few on Saturday, or Sunday. Marriages were usually solemnized at the residence of the bride. The paternal mansion seems to be the most appropriate place.—There were some deviations. David Hillhouse and Sarah Porter were married in Hadley meeting-house, Oct. 7, 1781, and a few couples since.—The parents of the writer were married in Southampton meeting-house, Sept. 1, 1774. Marriages in meeting-houses have been very rare.

The marriage fee was fixed at 3 shillings in 1692, 4s. in 1716, 1753 and 1760, and 6s. in 1787. The fee of the town clerk for the publishment and certificate was 1s. 6d. after 1716. The minister or justice was to pay for recording the marriage.

In some towns in this vicinity, in former days, when a couple had agreed to be united, the father of the young man went to the parents of the young woman, and asked leave for his son to marry their daughter. This was "asking leave." It was sometimes done by the young man himself.

Marrying a deceased wife's sister.—The church of England, the church of Scotland, and the laws of England, have never allowed a man to marry his deceased wife's sister. The American colonies, including Massachusetts and Connecticut, were formerly equally averse to such marriages. The Court of Assistants in Connecticut judged that the marriage of a man at New Haven with his deceased wife's sister, was incestuous, and declared it null and void, in May, 1694. In the course of the last century, most men changed their views and concluded that a man might marry his wife's sister. Ebenezer Clark of Westhampton and

*February 2, 1769, Josiah Dwight of Hatfield was married, and had a two days wedding in Hatfield Addition, now Williamsburgh. About 18 couples attended the wedding from Hatfield, and had a good dinner, and spent most of the succeeding night in dancing and frolicking. The next morning, "we greeted the rising sun with fiddling and dancing," says one of the party, in his diary.

afterwards of Lunenburg, Vt., married three sisters, daughters of Ebenezer Pomeroy of Hadley, in 1774, 1793 and after 1805, apparently without opposition or censure. Judge Story is said to have declared that such marriages have no immoral tendency, but are deemed the best sort.*

Divorce.—It is believed that only one couple belonging to Hadley were ever separated by a divorce, and they were negroes. In January, 1752, the Council of Massachusetts granted to Ralph Way of Hadley, a divorce from his wife, Lois Way, on account of her adultery with another negro, named Boston.—There was a petition for a divorce from Springfield in 1687, which was unsuccessful. There was one from Northampton in 1695; the result is not known. Divorces were always more easily obtained in Connecticut than in Massachusetts.

Courtship.—In this vicinity, where in past times, nearly all were working men and working women, courting was done, almost necessarily, after night-fall. Even those belonging to families considered the most respectable, often extended the hours of courtship to midnight, 80 or 100 years ago. When a young man requested a girl to spend a little time or a few hours with him, and she refused, he was *shabbed;* if she consented, he *staid* with her. These were common expressions in rural places, in former days.†

By a law of Massachusetts in 1647, no one might endeavor to draw away the affections of a maid under pretence of marriage, before he had obtained liberty from her parents or governors. The fine for the first offense was £5. There were no prosecutions for this offense in Hampshire county, and very few any where.

Funerals and Mourning.

Lechford, in his "News from New England" in 1642, says—"At burials nothing is read, nor any funeral sermon made, but all the neighborhood, or a good company of them, come together by tolling of the bell, and carry the dead solemnly to his grave, and there stand by him while he is buried. The ministers are most commonly present." There was no prayer.

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*Muscutt, a late writer in England, says, "God's law interdicts not such a marriage. Common sense discountenances it not. Christian ethics disapprove it not. Yet in the eye of the English law, the wife is only a concubine, and the children bastards."

†The mode of courtship called bundling, which prevailed in some parts of Europe, was not uncommon in some places in New England, in the last century. Rev. Jonathan Edwards preached a sermon against it in Northampton, more than a century since. Old men in Hadley have no knowledge of any such practice in that town, in their day.

The Presbyterian Church of Scotland used no funeral sermons nor any prayers at the burial of the dead. The Huguenots of France had no prayer nor sermon at funerals.

The ministers of New England, and those of some churches in Europe refrained from prayers at funerals, because there was in the Bible neither precept nor example for such prayers. After 60 or 70 years, a few ministers began to pray at funerals, in Massachusetts, and Mather says, about 1719, that in many towns the minister made a prayer at the house and a short speech at the grave; in other places both of these were wholly omitted.

The funeral customs in England and other parts of Europe were very bad for centuries. Brand, in his Popular Antiquities, says the wakes or watchings with the dead, were scenes of sport, drinking and lewdness in England, and they still resemble Bacchanalian revels. The wealthy made profuse and expensive funerals. Many funerals were closed with merry-makings. A tavern keeper in London told Mission, a continental traveler, about 1696, that at his wife's funeral, above 250 gallons of wine were drank. Funeral sermons were often preached. Dr. Sanderson, bishop of Lincoln, in his will in 1662, expressed his "utter dislike of the flatteries commonly used in funeral sermons, and of the vast expenses laid out in funeral solemnities and entertainments."

The practice of partaking of wine, ardent spirits, cakes, &c. at funerals was brought from England to the American colonies; also the custom of expending large sums for gloves, rings, scarfs, and mourning garments. The funeral expenses charged in the Probate Records of Suffolk and Middlesex counties in Massachusetts are often surprisingly large, and must have greatly diminished many estates. Men sometimes provided for their funerals in their wills. Edward Baker of Lynn, an ancestor of the Bakers of Northampton, in his will in 1685, ordered "a decent funeral suitable to my rank and quality." The heaviest funeral expenses were for mourning apparel, rings, gloves, and wine and other liquors. The wine for such occasions was sometimes burnt, spiced and sugared. In some cases, gloves were lavishly given—700 pairs at one funeral, 1000 pairs at another, and above 3000 pairs and 200 rings at the funeral of A. Faneuil in Boston in 1738. Gold rings were given to ministers and to many others. A Boston minister in 1728 estimated that the rings and gloves which he received at funerals in a year were worth 15 pounds. The funeral of Gov. Burnet at Boston, Sept. 12, 1729, cost Massachusetts £1097, 11s. 3d. In 1742, the General Court passed an act

against giving scarfs, gloves, wine, rum and rings at funerals, except six pairs of gloves to the bearers and one pair to the minister. Penalty, £50. The act was to continue only five years.*

Funeral expenses are seldom noticed in the Probate records of Hampshire. The extravagance of many in Boston and the vicinity at funerals, was not imitated in these agricultural towns. Seldom were rings or gloves given. Cake and wine or other liquors were sometimes distributed. At the burial of the widow of John Barnard, of Hadley, in 1665, the cake and wine cost 40 shillings. But few mourning articles were worn previous to 1700, and the people did not indulge in expensive mourning down to the Revolution, except a few families. The account books of Hampshire traders show that few mourning goods were required from 1660 to 1770. They were more common the latter part of this period, and were then chiefly black gloves, black gauze, black gauze handkerchiefs, black fans, black ribbons, and black lustring. There were some black silk scarfs and a few black gowns of silk crape, but perhaps these did not always indicate mourning. A few men wore crape hatbands. Mourning crape called widow's crape, was seldom sold.

At the funeral of Col. John Stoddard of Northampton, in 1748, some rings and gloves were given. At the funeral of the wife of Col. Timothy Dwight of Northampton, in 1763, 24 pairs of gloves were distributed. At the funerals of some persons of less note, six pairs of white gloves were given to the pall bearers, and one pair to the minister. The six pairs were laid on the coffin, three pairs on each side.—Gloves were distributed at the funeral of Rev. Dr. Samuel Hopkins of Hadley, Feb. 12, 1811—probably the last gloves given at a funeral in Hampshire.†

Hadley Burying Ground.

There is no record of the vote designating this place as a grave yard. It was reserved as early as 1661, on the meadow plain, adjoining the west end of the homelot of Edward Church, 16 rods, and of the middle highway, 4 rods, making it 20 rods north

*Some eastern towns made expensive funerals for deceased ministers, providing wine, rum, gloves, rings, and sometimes pipes and tobacco. The Dutch at New York provided for funerals, rum, beer, gloves, rings; and in 1703, at a funeral, "800 cockies, [cookies or cakes] and one and a half gross of pipes" were furnished. The funeral customs in the middle and southern colonies were more exceptionable than in New England. The house of mourning in Europe and America was often a house of drinking, and sometimes of feasting.

†The six pall bearers who received the gloves were four ministers—Lyman of Hatfield, Wells of Whately, Williams of Northampton, Parsons of Amherst; and two others, Governor Strong and Doct. Ebenezer Hunt of Northampton.

and south, and it was about 10½ rods east and west. It consisted of two ridges, the highest in this part of the meadow, and of the valley between. These 210 square rods were the burial place for the old village of Hadley above 130 years. In 1792, 6 or 7 rods by 20 were added on the east side, from the homelots, (the old homelot was in two,) and the highway. In 1828, about 16 or 17 rods by 20 were purchased on the east side. The yard is now not far from 34 rods by 20, and contains a little more than four acres.

Almost all the grave stones erected previous to 1800 are of sand-stone, and many of the older ones are thick, heavy and rude. The five tables are of the same material. The later grave stones are of reddish sand-stone, and exhibit much better workmanship, and some have a face sculptured on the front. A number of slate stones have been erected. The people began to procure marble monuments a few years after 1800, and the greater part of those set up for thirty or forty years past, are of marble. Flowers bloom on some graves, (June, 1858.)

There is a stone at the grave of Doct. John Westcarr, who died in 1675, but it seems to have been erected many years after his death. The oldest monuments in the yard are the tables over the graves of Rev. John Russell and his wife Rebekah, erected in 1693. There are only ten stones in the yard with dates earlier than 1720; only ten when the town had been settled 60 years. Of the fathers of Hadley previous to 1663, only five have grave stones in Hadley grave yard, viz., Rev. John Russell, Capt. Aaron Cooke, Chileab Smith, John Ingram; and the late Noah Webster set up a stone to the memory of his ancestor, John Webster, who died April 5, 1661. He was the first person buried in the yard, excepting perhaps an unnamed infant of Philip Smith, that was buried Jan. 22, 1661.*

There are four more grave yards in Hadley, viz., at Hockanum, North Hadley, Plainville, and near Sunderland.

There was no hearse in Hadley until the year 1826. In that town, as in others, the dead were previously carried on a shoulder bier, sometimes for miles. In the winter, some were conveyed by sleighs.

Titles—Mister, Goodman, &c.

When settlements began in New England, the people of Old England, below the nobility, baronets and knights, and above

*I am indebted to Mr. L. M. Boltwood of Amherst, for the name, time of decease and age of those persons to whose memory monuments have been erected in this burying ground, copied by him in 1849. The number was then about 313.

the plebeians, were esquires and gentlemen, and they bore the title of Master or Mister or Mr. Lawyers, physicians, educated men, captains in the wars, wealthy merchants and others who could live without manual labor and bear the port of a gentleman, were called Master and taken for gentlemen. Many of these gentlemen, called Master or Mister, came to America. Of 1780 men made freemen of Massachusetts before 1649, about one in fourteen had the title of Mr. before his name. It may have been given to some to whom it would not have been applied in England. There were a few with this title in Hadley among the first planters, as John Russell, the minister, John Webster, William Goodwin, Peter Tilton and Henry Clarke; and it was sometimes given to a few others. For many years, the people of Hadley would have been surprised, if not shocked, if a common farmer or mechanic had been called mister. Militia officers always had military titles.* Ecclesiastical titles were sparingly used. Magistrates were Misters and Esquires; Worshipful, sometimes applied to them, was in England a less dignified title than that of Honorable.

Of those below gentlemen, in England, and sometimes called plebeians, were the yeomen who owned or occupied land, some merchants, shopkeepers, artificers or mechanics, and laborers of various kinds. Sir Thomas Smith says, in 1563:—"Yeomen are not called masters, but to their surnames may add 'Goodman,' as Goodman White, Goodman Finch." Markham, in his "English Husbandman," about 1613, says:—"A husbandman is he who tilleth the ground, and the ancients did call him a good man; and we at this day call every husbandman, in ordinary conference and every particular salutation, Goodman such-a-one, a title of more honor and virtuous note than many which precede it at feasts and in gaudy places." This appellation was much used among the husbandmen of Massachusetts, and was common in Hadley. A number in Hadley as in other towns were addressed and spoken of by their Christian name and surname only, or by one of these.

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*"Our fathers were essentially a martial people. The warlike virtues were to them a necessity. Military titles were in high repute among them. They were preferred to civil or ecclesiastical honors. The corporal was on the road to distinction. A sergeant had attained distinction and his title was never omitted. An ensign or a lieutenant was lifted quite above the heads of his fellows. A captain was necessarily a man of great influence." —Bronson's History of Waterbury.

Military titles were as common in other colonies as in those of New England. The council of sixteen in Virginia, in 1656, was composed of 11 colonels, 2 lieut. colonels and 3 captains. The Virginia House of Burgesses, in 1666, had 26 men with a military title, and only 8 without such title.

Mister was gradually extended, and became so general that it ceased to be a distinctive title, in the first half of the last century.*

Female Titles.—A few women denominated Ladies, came to New England. It is presumed that this appellation was not often used in the Hampshire towns for many years, as a title or compliment. The wife and daughters of a Mister might claim to be called Mistress, which, abbreviated, became Mrs. and was sometimes written Mtris. The title Miss, applied to a young female of good reputation, was introduced later, perhaps in 1720. It seems to have had a struggle with Mrs. and each was occasionally given to an unmarried female. Some young females were published in Hadley previous to their marriage, with Mrs. before their names, down to 1794.—The Goodman's wife was called Goodwife or Goody; and when he became a Mr. she might be a Mrs. Many women as well as men were spoken of and to by their names, without any addition. It is seldom that female titles are found in the records of towns, and those of men are often omitted.

Christian Names.

Christian names of Hadley children from 1660 to 1700, including some born after 1700, belonging to families in which the births began before that date; with the number of children that bore each name. Those born on the west side of the river, which was a part of Hadley some years, are not included.

Males.		Timothy,	5	Westwood,	2	Martha,	7
John,	52	Benjamin,	4	Mark,	2	Ruth,	7
Samuel,	50	Experience,	4		—	Anne,	6
Ebenezer,	28	Noah,	4		360	Dorothy,	5
Joseph,	28	Isaac,	4	One name,	22	Thankful,	5
Nathaniel,	20	Israel,	4		—	Bridget,	4
Jonathan,	18	Philip,	3		382	Dorcas,	4
William,	17	Jacob,	3	Females.		Miriam,	4
Thomas,	16	Edward,	3	Mary,	58	Rachael,	4
Daniel,	14	Luke,	3	Sarah,	42	Experience,	3
Stephen,	8	Hezekiah,	3	Hannah,	33	Priscilla,	2
James,	7	Nathan,	3	Elizabeth,	31	Prudence,	2
Moses,	7	Charles,	2	Abigail,	23	Mabel,	2
Eleazar,	6	Nehemiah,	2	Rebecca,	20	Eunice,	2
David,	6	Elisha,	2	Mehetabel,	13	Catharine,	2
Richard,	6	Martin,	2	Joanna,	11		—
Aaron,	6	Joshua,	2	Mercy,	10		318
Ephraim,	5	George,	2	Esther,	10	One name,	12
Ichabod,	5	Josiah,	2	Lydia,	8		—
							330

Names given to only one child.—Males.—Robert, Solomon, Chileab, Peletiah, Eliakim, Preserved, Andrew, Henry, Abraham, Adam, Elihu, Caleb, Edmund, Ezekiel, Job, Peter, Enos, Cotton, Phinehas, Antony, Benoni, Zechariah.—22.—Females.—Elinor, Hope, Jerusha, Mindwell, Margaret, Dinah, Susanna, Theoda, Grace, Jane, Frances, Deliverance.—12.

*Rev. Thomas Ruggles of Guilford, Conn., in a short History of that place written in 1769, says the first settlers were gentlemen called Mr. and the commonalty named Goodman or Neighbor such-a-one. He continues:—"How greatly are times now changed! Every man almost is called Mr. and every woman Miss, Madam or Lady."

There were 382 male children, of 61 different names, and 330 female children, of 38 different names. The males were about 100 to 86 females—an unusual inequality. The people of Hadley have no reason to be ashamed of the names which their ancestors gave to their children, though many of them are seldom now given. The planters of Hadley perused the Bible, and derived most of their names from it, rejecting the most harsh and uncouth Scripture names. They had a few names from virtues, &c., as Mercy, Thankful, Prudence, Grace, Hope, Experience; and some Saxon and Norman names, as William, Richard, Edward, Henry, &c. Two of the children were named from the surname of the mother, viz., Westwood and Cotton. More than half the males had one of the first six names in the list of males, and half the females had one of the first four names of females. Of 226 wives named in Hadley from 1660 to 1720, 146 bore the name of Mary, Sarah, Hannah, Elizabeth or Abigail. Of 147 persons in Hadley valuation in 1731, half had one of these five names,—John, Samuel, Ebenezer, Joseph, William.*

Double Christian Names.—The people of Old and New England were generally satisfied with one baptismal name until the 18th century. Men with a middle name are rarely found previous to 1700. In New England, the number of double Christian names was small previous to the Revolution, and such names did not become numerous till after 1800. Nine persons in Hadley had a

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*A few names seem to have comprehended more than half the people of Old England as well as of New England. In many lists of men in England, from 1600 to 1700, seven names included above one-half, and in almost every list, these most common names were John, Thomas, Richard, William, Edward, Henry, Robert. Of 800 officers of the king's army in Sept. 1640, more than half bore these names. Of 578 persons appointed by the Parliament in 1643 to aid in assessing taxes, about two-thirds bore the same seven names. Of 903 baronets created from 1611 to 1686, the seven names included many more than half. Of a large number of men, named in a History of the county of Essex, England, before and after 1600, half had the same seven names. Of a long list of Essex females, nearly half were named Mary, Elizabeth, Anne or Margaret. Names of Puritans and anti-Puritans were very similar in England. The names of the emigrants to New England did not differ much from the names generally used in England. Of above 1200 admitted as freemen of Massachusetts before 1641, more than half had one of the same seven names. There was a great increase of Bible names after the emigration to New England. The names of half the graduates of Harvard College previous to 1701 were John, Samuel, Joseph, Thomas, Nathaniel. It appears by a remark of Montaigne, that the Huguenots of France preferred Bible-names.

The Puritans had some awkward names, but it seems that many of the ridiculous names attributed to them, in England, by Hume and others, are fictitious. Says the Pictorial History of England, 1603 to 1660, "nearly all the ridiculous names, given to the Independents at this time, are pure inventions, made fifty years after by a clergyman of the established church." The names of men on the fictitious juries of Hume and Lower, and the "new names" noticed by Camden, are not found among those who came to New England. A few of the shorter ones were given to children born in New England, but not often.

middle name before the year 1776, and five of them were named from their maternal grandfather.

Old Style and New Style.

Julius Cæsar made a reform in the calendar, 46 years before Christ. His solar year consisted of 365 days and 6 hours, and the 6 hours were taken into account, by making every fourth year of 366 days. This manner of computing time is old style. There was an error in it, the true solar year being 11 minutes and some seconds short of 365¼ days, and this difference made a whole day in about 129 years, and before the year 1582, the vernal equinox occurred on the 11th of March, 13 or 14 days sooner than in the time of Cæsar. Pope Gregory XIII. introduced the new style in 1582, by taking out 10 days from the month of October, which corrected the calendar back to the Council of Nice, 325 years after Christ. To countervail in future the excess of 11 minutes and 12 or 15 seconds in a year, it was determined to omit three days in four centuries, by making common years of three leap years, viz., 1700, 1800 and 1900. Some English philosophers and others objected to this imperfect reform of the calendar, this going back to the Council of Nice instead of the Christian era, and there were other objections, and England continued to follow the old style till 1752, which differed 10 days from the new style until 1700, and 11 days after that year. By an act of Parliament, 11 days were taken from the old calendar in 1752, the 3d of September being reckoned the 14th, and England and her colonies conformed to the new style.*

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*In New England diaries for 1752 and in correct almanacs, September has only 19 days, and the first four days are thus numbered:—

September, 1752.
1. Tuesday.
2. Wednesday.
14. Thursday.
15. Friday.

One almanac-maker in New England (and perhaps more than one,) made his almanac for 1752 according to the old style. Madam Porter, wife of Eleazar Porter, Esq. of Hadley, kept interleaved almanacs many years, where she noted various occurrences, and she had one of these old style almanacs for 1752 and had to alter with her pen the number of every day after September 2d. The maker's name is torn off.

Gregory's reform in the calendar was beneficial, but his object was more superstitious than scientific. The learned Benedictine monks, who wrote in French, "L'Art de Verifier les Dates," remark that "the principal object of Gregory was to regulate the celebration of Easter." Burke says the dispute about the time of celebrating Easter was "one of the most trivial controversies of ecclesiastical discipline;" yet astronomy and chronology gained something from this trivial dispute.

The French work referred to, in 23 volumes, furnishes much information in regard to different forms of the year, and different modes of dating.

The Beginning of the Year.—Julius Cæsar began the year with the first of January, but some centuries after Christ, the priests and others unwisely varied from that day, and there were many beginnings in different parts of Europe, as January 1, (used by a few), March 1, March 25, Easter in March or April, December 25, and three or four other days. March 25 and Dec. 25 were the most common.* When the first of January was restored, after some centuries, it was a part of the new style, and the other beginnings of the year became old style. England long used Dec. 25, but began to use March 25 from the 12th century, and this was the legal beginning of the year in church and state, until 1752, when the first of January began the year by act of Parliament. The first of January had long been reckoned as one beginning of the year, and English almanacs began the year with January more than 250 years ago. Many in England and America used a double date to distinguish the "mongrel time" from January 1 to March 24, inclusive, and set down both years thus—Jan. 20, $167\frac{3}{4}$, March 4, $170\frac{7}{8}$. The upper figures, 3 and 7, denoted the year beginning March 25, and the lower figures, 4 and 8, the year commencing Jan. 1. In the same part of the year, single dates were often used as well as double ones. The two beginnings of the year produced confusion in dates in Old England and New England.

In New England, for a time, the first of March was accounted the beginning of the year by some, and the months were numbered first, second, third, fourth, &c. as 20th of 3d mo. for 20th of May; 10th 8mo. or 10—8, for 10th of October. This method of computing time did not lessen the disorder in dates. It was far from being general in New England; was more used in the records of churches than in those of towns. In many records, it continued

*When men began to celebrate the birth of Christ, two or three centuries after that event, they were ignorant respecting the year, month and day in which he was born, and the time of his birth is still unknown. Learned writers suppose the 25th of December was selected because the sun then began to return towards the north, and was deemed emblematical of the rising of the Sun of Righteousness. From this date, men counted back 9 months to the 25th of March, which they called the day of the Conception of Christ, or Annunciation day. And a large portion of Europe in the middle ages and after, began the year with one of these days.—Men did not begin to count years from Jesus Christ until the 6th century.

Rev. H. H. Milman, a clergyman of the church of England, says in his "History of Christianity,"—"The year in which Christ was born is still contested. There is still more uncertainty concerning the time of the year. Where there is and can be no certainty, it is the wisest course to acknowledge our ignorance, and not to claim the authority of historic truth for that which is purely conjectural." He thinks the time of Christ's birth is of no importance, and is satisfied with the traditionary day.—Dr. Adam Clarke, the Commentator, says "Fabricius gives a catalogue of 136 different opinions concerning the year of Christ's birth; and as to his birth-day, that has been placed by Christian sects and learned men in every month of the year."

but a few years, in some, many years. It was gradually given up, and March 25 became usually the first day of the year, as in England, and so continued until 1752, though January 1 was often referred to as new year's day, and New England almanacs began the year with January before 1700. After Hampshire county was incorporated, the recorders of the county and of the towns in it, commonly began the year with March 25, but there were many deviations; they used both single and double dates between Dec. 31 and March 25. In Hadley, the town clerk sometimes seemed to reckon January 1 as the beginning of the year, long before 1752.

In this History of Hadley, the dates are given as if the year began on the first of January, in new style, but with respect to the excess of 11 days before 1752, the old style and old records are followed.

CHAPTER XXIII

The second Indian War, 1688 to 1698—Six persons killed at Northfield—Presents to the Maquas—Destruction of Schenectady—Troubles with Albany Indians—Persons killed at Deerfield and Brookfield—Murder of Richard Church of Hadley, and trial and execution of two Indians—Attack in Hatfield meadows—Expenses of the war—Pay of soldiers—The war in Hampshire—Hampshire soldiers—Taxes—Palisades—Contributions.

Of the five towns in Hampshire, that were broken up by the Indian war in 1675, Suffield began to be re-settled in 1677, Deerfield in 1682 or 1683, Northfield about 1685, and Brookfield not long after. No record alludes to any settlers at Swampfield, (Sunderland.) Enfield, a new town, was incorporated, in 1683, and Hampshire had ten towns and plantations before 1688. There were very few settlers at Brookfield.

In 1688, while New England was under the despotic government of Andros, another Indian war began in Maine, and in Hampshire county. In the latter part of July, five friendly Indians living at Spectacle Pond near Springfield, were killed by other Indians. A few days after, eleven Indians appeared near Northfield, and some of them were recognized as Indians who formerly lived in these parts. On the 16th of August, three men, two women and a girl were killed at Northfield, and it was believed that they were murdered by these Indians. Major Pynchon sent soldiers to Northfield, and thirteen men were sent up from Hartford. By order of Gov. Andros, in November, 60 Connecticut

men were posted at Northfield, under Captain Jonathan Bull, during the winter. The destruction of six persons at Northfield is not noticed by any historian, and their names cannot now be found.*

The revolution in England, which drove king James into exile and placed William and Mary upon the throne, began in November, 1688. On the 18th of April, 1689, the people of Boston and other towns seized Gov. Andros and his associates, and restored the old governor and magistrates. The revolution in England was followed by war between England and France, which extended to their colonies in America, and for the first time, the people of New England were involved in a desolating war with the French in Canada and their Indian allies.—Most of the attacks in 1689 were directed against New Hampshire and Maine, both under the government of Massachusetts. The frontier which Massachusetts had to defend, extended from the Connecticut to the Kennebec and beyond.

"The tears, fears and groans of the broken remnant of Northfield" is the beginning of a petition from that place to the General Court, dated June 27, 1689, in the hand-writing of Rev. John Russell of Hadley. They say that they had 25 families before the six persons were slain by the Indians, and that half had since deserted the place, and only 12 families remained. They asked for advice and help. Peter Tilton, Samuel Partridge and John King were appointed to order matters at Northfield. About 70 souls, of whom only 15 were men, remained in the place until the spring of 1690, when Northfield was abandoned the second time, and remained desolate 25 years. Hadley was again the most northern town on the east side of the river.

In August, 1689, Massachusetts and Connecticut sent agents to Albany, with Major Pynchon at the head, to make presents to the Maquas and river Indians, and engage them against the Indian enemy. (See page 124.) Speeches were made, and the chiefs of the Five Nations used the customary, unmeaning expressions, and made deceptive promises. The agents gave to them 500 pounds of powder, 1000 pounds of lead, 150 yards of duffel, 500 guilders in wampum, 90 shirts, and 40 pounds of tobacco,

*Pynchon's Letters, and the depositions of Thomas Wells of Deerfield, and of Micah Mudge of Northfield, and other papers relating to these events, are in the Massachusetts Archives.—Gov. Andros made a short visit at Hadley, apparently in September, 1688, and and sent to Northampton for the committee appointed to re-settle Northfield. He did not cross the river.—Mr. Warham Mather of Northampton preached at Northfield 6 months, after the 6 persons were killed.

and they made presents to the sachems privately, and entertained 100 of their people with beef, pork, bread, beer, &c. They also made presents to the Hudson's River Indians, whom they named Mahikanders and Scachkooks. "Albany is a dear place," said Major Pynchon, and it was so to the people of Massachusetts, who paid the bills. Connecticut paid only a small part in 1689.—In March, 1690, Robert Livingston asked of Massachusetts, 400 or 500 pounds worth of goods as presents to the Five Nations, to counteract the attempts of the French to withdraw them from their alliance with the English.

The leading men at Albany, fearing an attack from the French and Indians, desired the aid of 100 men from New England. The preservation of Albany was important to New England, and Connecticut sent about 66 soldiers, and 24 were taken from the county of Hampshire, and they left Westfield, Nov. 18, 1689, under Capt. Jonathan Bull. Capt. Bull found the people of Albany and Schnectady divided into two parties, and bitterly opposed to each other. While the inhabitants of Schnectady were quarreling and neglecting the means of defense, they were attacked by the French and Indians on the night of Feb. 8, 1690, and about 62 were slain and 28 made captives, including five killed and five taken, of Capt. Bull's company. Some from Hampshire were taken, and perhaps some slain.*

The year 1690 was one of great calamities and much distress to New England. The French and Indians made successful attacks on the northern and eastern towns; an expedition against Quebec, with more than 2000 troops from Massachusetts, failed, and several vessels and many men were lost; a land army that was to attack Montreal, was unable to proceed beyond the southern point of Lake Champlain.

Hampshire county escaped the ravages of war in 1689 and 1690, but there were many alarms, and men were often called to arms. There was a garrison at Deerfield, and scouts were sent up to West River, and smaller scouts were sent out frequently from the other towns. In 1690, Major Pynchon detached 40 men from Hampshire, to join the army at Albany, but there were so many reports of Indians at the Falls above Squakeag, at Coasset and other places, that the 40 men were not sent out of the county.†

*Of the Hampshire men, Joseph Marks was carried to Canada; Samuel Beaman was taken, but escaped. Robert Alexander and Jonathan Church were slain, or died of sickness; David Burt, Jr. of Northampton, was a captive in Canada, 1690, and never returned.

†These alarms brought up Capt. Samuel Talcott of Wethersfield, with his company of horsemen, in June, 1690, who remained but a few days. A company from Connecticut, under Capt. Bull, were at Deerfield in January and February, 1691.

On the 2d of July, Hadley scouts espied an Indian, and discovered the tracks of others, "about Swampfield mill."*

Small parties of Maquas and Albany Indians, and others pretending to be from New York, came into the Hampshire towns, and some were insolent and used threats. Two were arrested in 1690, and one of them was shot at Deerfield, in attempting to escape. These things brought complaints from the Maquas.

New Troubles with Indians in 1691.—On the 2d of December, 1691, Major Pynchon informed the governor and council, that in November, about 150 Indians, men, women and children, came to Deerfield from the vicinity of Albany, and settled under the side of the mountain, about a mile southerly from the town. The men had written passes from the mayor of Albany; they employed themselves in hunting, and left the women and children at the wigwams. They had been quiet with one or two exceptions; some of them were supposed to be former enemies who settled near Albany.

They professed to be friendly, but the people of Hampshire were afraid they would prove unfriendly, and the committees of the militia of the towns of Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield and Deerfield met Jan. 1, 1692, and sent a letter to the governor and council. They estimated the Indians at 40 or 50 fighting-men, and 100 women and children. Major Pynchon again wrote, and said some of the Indians had set up their wigwams near Hatfield. "They are very unacceptable to our people," said Major P. and should they be false, could do much harm. The reason of their coming was the scarcity of provisions about Albany.† The governor and council replied, that it was best to observe the motions of the Indians, avoid giving offense, take care that strong drink was not sold to them, write to the mayor of Albany, and keep good watches.—Some regulations were proposed to the Indians, Jan. 18, to which they consented. As to strong drink, they said, "our young men and squaws will buy liquor, and your English will sell it."‡ Most of these Indians returned to Hudson's River in May, 1692.

About the first of February, 1692, Capt. William Whiting of Hartford came up with 50 soldiers to garrison Deerfield a few weeks, Major Pynchon having written to Connecticut for aid.

*These words of Major Pynchon are the only intimation that there was a mill at Swampfield. Probably only the foundation or beginning of a mill.

†It may be inferred that game had become more plenty in the Hampshire woods, after the Indians left in Philip's war.

‡The Indians were right. There were men in Hampshire then who would sell liquor regardless of consequences, and there are such men now.

When the ice was thick upon Lake Champlain, which was usually in January and February, the people of Hampshire and Albany apprehended an attack from Canada. After the ice broke up, there was not much fear of an assault, till the trees were covered with leaves.

The county of Hampshire escaped the attacks of the enemy, four years in succession, viz., 1689, 1690, 1691 and 1692. Reports of danger were frequent, and Major Pynchon said in 1692, "strict watches, wards and scouts we keep in all these towns, and improve four men allowed by the country, in scouting up the river."

On the 6th of June, 1693, three or four persons were killed or severely wounded at Deerfield, in the family of Hepzibah Wells,* widow of Lieut. Thomas Wells; and Thomas Broughton, his wife and three children were slain. These two families lived on the west side of the street near the north end. Soldiers were sent to Deerfield from the towns below; and two companies from Connecticut who remained but a few days. Another company, under Capt. William Whiting, came later and remained three months. Canada Indians probably committed these murders, but some New York Indians were at first suspected, and two were confined. Their friends complained to Gov. Fletcher of New York, and he wrote to Connecticut and Massachusetts; he said the Indians were much displeased with New England, and in danger of being drawn off "by your rigor and French bribes." Gov. Phipps ordered the two Indians to be released, but they escaped before the order arrived.

On Thursday, the 27th of July, 1693, a party of 26 Canada Indians, killed at Brookfield, near the Boston road, east of the garrison house, Rebekah, the wife of Joseph Wolcott and her two daughters, Joanna, aged 6, and Hannah, aged 2 years, Thomas Lawrence, and Joseph Mason and son; and they took Daniel Lawrence and Mason's wife and her infant, and they killed the infant at night. John Lawrence, brother of Thomas and Daniel, rode speedily to Springfield for assistance, there being only five or six men at the garrison house. Major Pynchon

*Widow Wells, who was a Buel of Windsor, went to Connecticut to get surgical aid for her wounded children, one or two of whom had been scalped. The healing process was long and expensive. The General Court of Connecticut passed the following order, Oct. 11, 1694.

"Widow Wells of Deerfield motioned that she might have liberty to crave the charity of the good people of this colony for her relief of the great charge she hath been at in curing the wounds of her children, received by the Indians. This court recommends to the congregations in Windsor, Hartford, Wethersfield, and Farmington, to be charitably helpful to the woman therein."

called out 20 men from Springfield and 8 from Westfield, and sent a post to Hadley for 30 men from Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield, all to be commanded by Capt. Thomas Colton of Springfield. The 28 soldiers reached Brookfield on Friday, at 2 p. m., and buried the dead, and the 30 arrived about sunset. On Saturday, the 29th, Capt. Colton left 16 men at the garrison, and with 42 followed the track of the Indians northerly, and came to a pond where the Indians lodged the second night, which they judged to be 30 miles* from Brookfield. A few miles from the pond, the way became very difficult for horses, and 19 men were left to bring on the horses, and Capt. Colton and 23 resolute men pursued on foot. On Sabbath morning, the 23 men started early, and about sunrise, discovered the enemy "in a most hideous, thick, woody place," where they could hardly be seen. Capt. Colton made signs to his men to advance and fire upon them, which they did. The Indians were at breakfast, and were surprised and terrified, and all that could, instantly disappeared in the thicket, leaving their prisoners, ammunition, &c. Capt. Colton saw four that were killed, and the soldiers said six or seven were killed. The company recovered the two captives, Mason's wife and Daniel Lawrence, and brought away 9 guns, 20 hatchets, 4 cutlasses, 16 or 18 horns of powder, and two barks full of powder, neatly covered. They returned to Brookfield that day, and came home on Monday, leaving 6 or 8 at the garrison house.†

The General Court gave the men £40, and what was taken from the enemy, to be shared equally.‡

In August, 1694, Commissioners from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and New Jersey, guarded by 60 horsemen from Connecticut, met the Indian sachems at Albany, and loaded them with presents, to secure their attachment to the cause of the English. The expenses of Massachusetts were £370, and of Connecticut, including her dragoons, about as much.

September 15, 1694, M. Castreen and Indians attacked the fort at Deerfield, and were repulsed. John Bement of Enfield, and Richard Lyman of Northampton, of the garrison, were wounded. Daniel Severance, a lad, was killed in the meadow.

*Soldiers' miles in the woods were too many. The pond may have been 15 or 20 miles from Brookfield.

†This account is from Major Pynchon's Letters in the Massachusetts Archives.—This pursuit of Indians into swamps and thickets, though successful, was rash and dangerous.

‡The officers of the Northampton militia company objected to the equal division of the plunder; they said much plunder was left at the place of assault which might have been brought away by men who came away empty, and that half of those left with the horses were not needed for that purpose, but were unwilling to go further. "It seems to be hard, they said, that valor and cowardice should have the same reward."

Hannah Beaman, wife of Simon Beaman, kept a school north of the palisade, and she and her scholars ran to the fort, and though fired upon, escaped unhurt.—John Lawrence was slain in Brookfield in 1694. He had lived some years in Hadley, and Lawrence's bridge and Lawrence's plain were named from him.

Some of the Albany Indians, called also River Indians, who lived above and below Albany, came to Connecticut River every year, game being much more plenty here. A company of them came to Hatfield, Aug. 9, 1695. On the 10th of August, eight or nine Albany Indians who were hunting near Nashawelet* River, were killed by hostile Indians. Major Pynchon sent up to Nashawelet, a company of horsemen under Capt. Colton, from Springfield and the towns above, but they did not find the enemy.

On the 18th of August, 1695, five Deerfield men set out for the mill, on horses with bags of grain, and when they had gone about a mile southward, they were fired upon by seven or eight Indians who were concealed near the road, and Joseph Barnard was sorely wounded and fell from his horse. The others set him upon his horse with one to hold him on, when another shot killed his horse. They then put him upon one of their horses, when a gun was fired and he was again hit; yet they all reached the garrison, unharmed, except Joseph Barnard, who died on the 6th of September.† The Indians were pursued but not overtaken.

In September, 1695, Indians were lurking about the Hampshire towns, and were seen near Deerfield, Northampton and Hadley. Men were frequently out, ranging the woods.

Deerfield was a much exposed place, and many attacks of the enemy were directed against the inhabitants of that town. A garrison was there, from the Hampshire towns, and sometimes from Connecticut. 30 Connecticut soldiers were there in January and February, 1695, and 30 were sent up in August. In September, 1695, there were 24 men at Deerfield and 8 at Brookfield from the five old Hampshire towns, and 16 more were sent to Deerfield, Sept. 30. Some of these men were scouting daily.

On the 16th of September, 1696, the Indians captured John Gillet up Green River, above Deerfield, and came to the village and took Daniel Belden and two children, Nathaniel and Esther; killed his wife Elizabeth and three children, Daniel, John and

*So Major Pynchon wrote the name of the stream, now spelled Ashuelot. The Indians had the sound of N. at the beginning of the word, as in Nashua.

†Major Pynchon wrote that Joseph Barnard was "a very useful and helpful man in that place, so much under discouragement, and they will the more find and feel the want of him." He was a son of Francis Barnard of Hadley. Hannah Beaman of Deerfield, the school dame, was his sister.

Thankful; and wounded Samuel and Abigail, who recovered, though Samuel's skull was fractured.

Murder of Richard Church of Hadley.

On the 5th of October, 1696, a murder was committed in Hadley, which produced a great excitement in the county, and occasioned the capital punishment of two of the New York Indians. Richard Church of Hadley, tailor, aged 27, and recently married, was slain by some of the Hudson's River Indians. He was a son of Samuel Church, deceased, and grandson of Richard Church, a first settler. The following account is gathered from the testimony and many other papers, which are still extant in the Archives at Boston. Eight or ten families of the Albany Indians lived near Hatfield, as in preceding years, and on the first of October, four of these Indians went up Hadley Mill River to hunt, though they had been ordered not to hunt on the east side of the Connecticut. Their names were Mahweness or Mowenas, Mahquolous or Moquolas, Wenepuck, and Pemequenoxet or Pameconoset. When they were returning on the 5th, and were about two miles from Hadley village, in a north-easterly direction, apparently in the vicinity of Mount Warner, they found Richard Church hunting in the woods, and shot him, a little before sunset. Samuel Barnard and Ebenezer Smith of Hadley had been hunting with Church that afternoon, but he had parted from them; and sometime after he left them, they heard the reports of two guns, near together, followed by a shout. They returned home, and as the evening advanced, and Church did not return, they and the people of Hadley believed that he had been killed by a party of the enemy. Messengers were sent to Northampton and Hatfield, and many men from the three towns assembled at Hadley, and went into the woods after midnight. They were joined by some friendly Woodstock Indians under Peter Aspinwall. They found the body of Church towards morning; a bullet had been shot through his head, an arrow stuck in his side, his gun and part of his clothes were gone, and he was scalped. Some of the men conveyed the body to the house of his mother, widow Mary Church, and about 40 others followed the tracks of three or four Indians, from the place where the body was found to the west end of Mount Toby, where they came in sight of four Indians in the woods, and captured one; three escaped and came into Hatfield, where they were apprehended that day, October 6, and the Indians at Hatfield were disarmed and secured; there were 8 men besides the four taken, 9 squaws

and 23 children. There were others at Deerfield.—The four Indians were examined, Oct. 6, before three Justices, and the ministers of Northampton and Hatfield were present. The Indians were kept singly, and all at first denied, but Pamequenoxet was taken to the place of the murder, and there without force or threats, he owned that he saw Mahweness and Mahquolous kill the man with their gun and bows and arrows, and he showed where they stood when they did it, and where he and Wenepuck stood. Being brought back, he owned the same before the justices and others. Wenepuck was then called and owned the same. Mahquolous being brought in, admitted that Mahweness killed the man, but did not implicate himself. Mahweness denied all, and said the others were liars. The next week, Oct. 12, Joseph Hawley and Joseph Parsons of Northampton, with eight others, took Wenepuck and Mahquolous towards the place of the murder, in two companies, the two Indians being about a mile apart, leaving the Indians to lead. Wenepuck went directly to the spot, and pointed out the trees at which, as he said, the two Indians stood when they killed Church, and the trees at which the other two stood, and they were the same trees that Pemequenoxet showed, the week before. Wenepuck was then taken away into a swamp, and Mahquolous came to the same place, and showed the same trees, and said that Mahweness killed the man.

The others constantly affirmed that Mahquolous was active with Mahweness in the murder. Martha Wait of Hatfield testified that Mahquolous said at her house, that he would kill a Hadley man because Hadley men threatened them when they hunted in Hadley woods.

A court of Oyer and Terminer was holden at Northampton on the 21st of October, 1696, to try the Indians. Lt. Gov. Stoughton and council had specially commissioned to hold this court, John Pynchon, Samuel Partrigg, Joseph Hawley and Aaron Cooke, Esquires, and Joseph Parsons, Gentleman.*

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*John Pynchon, 3d of Springfield, was Clerk, Ebenezer Pomery of Northampton, acted as king's Attorney, Richard Webb and William Holton of Northampton, were Interpreters. Samuel Porter of Hadley, was the county Sheriff.

The grand-jury.—Preserved Clapp, foreman, John Taylor, Isaac Sheldon, Enos Kingsley, John Parsons, Thomas Lyman, William Holton and Samuel Wright of Northampton; Nehemiah Dickinson, Jonathan Marsh, George Stillman, and Samuel Barnard of Hadley; and Joseph Belknap, Samuel Belding, Samuel Dickinson and John White of Hatfield.

The petit jury.—John Holyoke, Esq. foreman and Thomas Colton of Springfield; John King, Medad Pomery, Judah Wright and John Clark of Northampton; Timothy Nash, Daniel Marsh, Thomas Hovey, of Hadley; John Coleman, Daniel White and Eleazar Frary of Hatfield.

Mowenas and Moquolas were indicted as principals, and Wenepuck and Pameconeset as accessories. All the Indians from Hatfield and the vicinity were present. Each of the four was tried, and each was declared guilty by the jury. Only the principals were sentenced, and they were to be shot to death on the 23d of October, about 2, P. M. and they were executed at Northampton. These were the first executions in Hampshire County.*

This event disturbed the Indians about Hudson's River, and being misled by various false reports, they became incensed against New England, pretending that the two Indians were innocent. By their complaints, they much annoyed Gov. Fletcher of New York, and many letters passed between him and Lieut. Gov. Stoughton of Massachusetts, and the correspondence did not cease till May, 1697. A detail of the evidence and of the proceedings of the Court, signed by the Justices, was sent to Lt. Gov. Stoughton, who sent a copy to Gov. Fletcher. The two accessories, who were not sentenced, were at liberty in February.

The Albany Indians continued to dwell between Hatfield and Deerfield until the latter part of April, 1697, when they departed, and did not come again. They had been the source of much disquiet and trouble in Hampshire.

The Treaty of Peace at Ryswick between England and France, was proclaimed at Boston, Dec. 10, 1697. Some of the Indians continued hostilities several months longer.

Sergeant Samuel Field of Hatfield, was slain by Indians, July 13, 1697.—On the 15th of July, 1698, four Indians came into the upper part of the North meadow in Hatfield, where men and boys were hilling Indian corn, and killed John Billings, aged 24, and Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr., aged 13, and took Samuel Dickinson, aged 11, and a lad named Charley. They shot at Nathaniel Dickinson, the father, and killed his horse, but he escaped. The

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*An order from John Pynchon and Samuel Partrigg, dated at Northampton, Oct. 23, 1696, after mentioning the crime and sentence of Mowenas, required the Sheriff of Hampshire "to take Mowenas from the place where he is now in custody, to the place of execution, and cause the sentence to be executed upon him."

The sheriff certified on the back of the warrant, Oct. 23, that he "caused the within mentioned Mowenas to be taken to the place of execution, and there to be shot to death about two of the clock on the said day." Signed by Samuel Porter, Sheriff of Hampshire.

The warrant and certificate in regard to the execution of Moquolas were the same.—Undoubtedly a great number of people assembled to see the two Indians "shot to death." The place of execution in Northampton is not known.

The expenses incurred in consequence of this murder were £31.16.0. John Pynchon received 5 shillings per day, and the other Justices, 4s. Grand and petit jurors, 2s. a day. Guarding the Indians was 1s. 6d. to 2s. for a day and night. Provisions for Indians, 6 pence a day. Blacksmith for irons, 8s. It is believed that there was no prison in Northampton.

Indians had canoes on the river, and were not found until a scout of three Northampton men, and eleven men from the town and garrison of Deerfield, went up the river many miles above that place, and lay in wait; when the Indians came along in their canoes, on the other side, they killed or severely wounded two of them, and rescued the two lads, but lost one of their party, Nathaniel Pomery of Deerfield, aged 18. Benjamin Wright of Northampton was the leader. The General Court gave these soldiers £22.

In this war of ten years, sometimes called King William's war, New England lost some hundred lives, a great amount of property, and numerous captives were carried to Canada. The government of Massachusetts expended in the war more than 150,000 pounds, (500,000 dollars.) About half of the expense, exclusive of the Quebec expedition, was for the defense of Maine, and much was expended for New Hampshire. Not a great number of Indians were slain. The bounty offered for Indian heads or scalps was at first 8 to 10 pounds, and was increased in some cases to 50 pounds.*

Hampshire county suffered much less than some other frontiers; yet at least 28 of the inhabitants were slain, and several captured. Seven or eight Indians may have been slain in the county. Northfield was the only town deserted. The people of Deerfield were always in danger, and as Major Pynchon said, "continually pecked at" by the enemy. The war expenses of Massachusetts in Hampshire, during the last five years of the war, averaged above £500 a year, and more than two-thirds of this was for the pay of soldiers and provisions at Deerfield; the rest was for Brookfield, scouting, &c. Considerable sums were paid by the county and towns for scouting. The soldiers of Connecticut, when in this county, were paid by that colony and supplied with provisions at the expense of Massachusetts. These soldiers

*Wages of officers and soldiers.—In 1696 and in other years, a private had 6 shillings per week, drummer and corporal, 7s., clerk and sergeant, 9s., ensign, 12s., lieutenant, 15s., captain, 30s., major, 50s., chaplain, 20s., surgeon, 20s.—Regular troopers or cavalry, each furnishing his own horse. Common trooper, 10s., trumpeter, clerk and corporal, 12s., quarter-master, 15s., cornet, 20s., lieutenant, 25s., captain, 40s.—Dragoons or common soldiers with horses, 8s. These wages seem not to differ much from those in Philip's war. —A post had 4 pence a mile one way, and bore the charges of himself and horse.

Subsistence for soldiers.—In 1696, the price of food for soldiers not stationary was 8 pence per day; for those in garrison, 3s. 6d. per week. The soldiers were well supplied with food. Many were billeted in families and lived as they did. Others had pork or beef, bread or dry biscuit, and peas. In some expeditions, they carried the Indian food called Nocake, which was Indian corn parched and beaten into meal.—Rum, sugar, pipes and tobacco were to be provided for an expedition to Maine in September, 1689.—Keeping a horse at grass a day and night was 3 pence, and at hay and provender, 6 pence.

commonly came up on horseback; and much of the scouting and pursuing in the woods was performed on horses. There was constant watching by night and frequent warding by day in the Hampshire towns, and guns and ammunition were carried to the meeting-houses every Sabbath.*

The war taxes were heavy. The expenses of Massachusetts in 1690, the year of the disastrous Quebec expedition, were more than 50,000 pounds, and occasioned the first issue of paper money. In 1689 and 1690, five single country rates in money, and thirty-five in produce, were ordered. In 1691, there was a tax of £24,000. In 1692, the new charter went into operation, and Plymouth colony was united with Massachusetts. The first tax after this union, for 1692 and 1693, was £30,000 in three parts. The taxes from 1692 to 1702, both inclusive, amounted to £115,143. The proportion paid by the polls varied. In the eleven years, the polls averaged not far from one shilling each in 2300 pounds of tax.—The taxes of £24,000 and £30,000 were collected with difficulty. In 1691, Springfield paid her share of 20 country rates, laid in 1690, by sending 1214 bushels of grain to Boston, mostly peas.†

Palisades.—The people of Hadley were building a palisade on the east side of the street, in January, 1690, and in February,

*Soldiers or militia in Hampshire—In May, 1690, Major Pynchon stated the number of soldiers belonging to the five old towns, at 454, viz., to Northampton, 128, Springfield, 120, Hatfield, 80, Hadley, 66, Westfield, 60. Those of Springfield were in the town plat, 60, on the west side of the river, 28, at Longmeadow, 20, at Skipmuck, 12. From other accounts, it may be conjectured that Suffield in 1690 had about 56 soldiers, Enfield, from 25 to 30, Deerfield, not far from 44, and Brookfield, about 12; making in the county a few short of 600, and indicating a population of not less than 2500.

Hadley had fewer soldiers than Hatfield in 1690, but perhaps not fewer inhabitants. Hadley returned 78 ratable polls in May, 1693, after a careful revision. If the old computation of one poll to four inhabitants be correct, Hadley had in 1693 a population of 312.

†In Hampshire, there was great complaint of the money taxes. In June, 1690, Springfield complained louder than in 1685. The selectmen said in a petition—"our people have not patience to bear such a yoke, who know not such a thing as money." They hinted that some people thought it would be easier to pay taxes to Connecticut. In October, 1690, delegates from the Hampshire towns met, and sent a petition against money rates. They said—"not one in ten of the inhabitants of said county have any income of money in any manner." They begged "that it may be as of old, when those that had silver paid silver, and those that had it not, paid goats' hair, ram skins, &c."

The Puritans knew what was in the Bible, and could readily refer to any passage. Anthony Austin, in a petition for the people of Suffield, in 1700, calls them, "your lame Mephibosheth."

Three province taxes of the Hampshire towns, ordered in 1692, 1696 and 1700, are subjoined. Also a county tax for 1702. Some of the pence are omitted. The polls in 1700 paid 3s. Brookfield was not taxed, and Deerfield, Suffield and Enfield were only partially taxed. Suffield and Enfield were suffering from the claims and violent acts of the people of Windsor. Hampshire was slow in paying the heavy taxes, and in June, 1694, owed £1853.3.1, and was ordered to pay in bills of credit or otherwise, except Suffield and Enfield. Suffield was abated £200.

they voted to lay aside their private business and finish the fortification; and then to fortify some places within the town. They did not name any palisade on the west side. In March, 1691, they voted to repair the old garrison houses, and the east fortification, and to continue scouting in the woods. In June, 1693, they voted to have a daily scout, and to have two more houses fortified on the east side. George Stillman and others who lived near him at the north end, without the palisade, had liberty to fortify Stillman's house.*

The grist-mills were preserved. The mill of Hadley, in a lonely place three miles north of the village, was not assailed, and the miller, Joseph Smith, was unharmed.

Contributions.—Acts of kindness and beneficence were very frequent in New England during this war. Massachusetts contributed largely for the relief of the poor and distressed, and the redemption of the captives. There were captives not only in Canada, but some of our people were in captivity in Morocco and Algiers.—Connecticut made contributions for the east in 1691, and she contributed much corn and some rye to the sufferers in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine, in the spring and summer of 1697.

	1692. £30,000	1696. £9619	1700. £6038	1702. County Tax.
Springfield,	341.11	114	70. 4	10.16
Northampton,	329. 0	102	70. 4	10.16
Hadley,	209. 9	78	46.16	7. 4
Hatfield,	184. 7	63	38. 6	5.11
Westfield,	112.13	39	24.17	3.12
Deerfield,	104. 9	—	6. 0	0.18
Suffield,	103. 9	24	14.12	3. 3
Enfield,	20. 0	6	6. 0	1.16
	£1404.18	£426	£276.19	£43.16

Samuel Porter, the sheriff, stated to the Gen. Court in May, 1695, that he had seized on execution, the lands and estates of constables who had not paid their rates, but nobody would buy them for want of money, &c.

A tax ordered in June, 1695, required single females, who earned a livelihood, to pay 2 shillings each, being half as much as the poll tax of males. This was the only tax levied on females in this province. In 1692, East New Jersey taxed females over 16, one shilling each.

*Northampton, Hatfield and Deerfield built palisades in 1690, and some houses were fortified. The palisade of Northampton was the longest and most irregular. That of Hatfield, a few years later, was 229 rods on one side and 246 rods on the other, besides the ends; and the house of Mr. Williams was fortified, and three on the "Hill," and one at the "Farms." The line of the palisades could be traced in many houselots in Hatfield, 25 years ago.—A new fortification was made at Deerfield in 1693, by order of Major Pynchon, 302 rods in length, (one account says 202 rods,) and the estimated cost was five shillings per rod, in money. Deerfield was allowed £40 for it in her province rates. The fortification was repaired in 1696 and 1702.—It may be inferred that well made palisades cost about five shillings per rod, as money.

CHAPTER XXIV

Execution of Sarah Smith and Negro Jack—Sickness of 1689—Change of Government—New Charter, 1692—Connecticut and Hampshire county—Third Indian War began in 1703—Destruction of Deerfield and Pascommuck, and other events in 1704—Snow Shoes—The war from 1705 to 1713—Expenses—Taxes—Pay and food of soldiers—Captives—Scalps—Dogs—Dutch at Albany—Mohawks.

Martin Smith of Deerfield was taken by the Indians in 1693, and returned from Canada in 1698. In his absence, his wife Sarah murdered her illegitimate child, at Deerfield, Jan. 11, 1698. The judges of the Superior Court came up from Boston, escorted by 26 troopers, on account of the Indians, and she was tried at Springfield, Aug. 18, 1698. The jury brought in a verdict of guilty, and Justice Winthrop sentenced her "to be hanged by the neck till she was dead," on the 25th of August, between 12 and 4, P. M. Rev. John Williams of Deerfield preached a sermon at the execution. There was no newspaper to describe the scene. She was the first white person executed in Hampshire. She came from New Jersey to this county.

Jack, a negro, who had been a servant of Mr. Samuel Wolcott of Wethersfield, was executed at Boston, in September, 1681, for burning the house of Lieut. William Clark of Northampton, in the night of the 14th of July, 1681. The house was on the lot on which Judge Dewey's dwelling-house now stands. In the indictment, Jack was charged with setting the house on fire feloniously, "by taking a brand of fire from the hearth and swinging it up and down, to find victuals, as by his confession may appear." Jack only confessed carelessness, but the court and jury had evidence which led them to believe that he set the house on fire purposely. He was sentenced to be hung by the neck till dead, and "then to be taken down and burnt to ashes in the fire with Maria, negro."*

Sickness of 1689.—This was a year of great sickness and mortality in Connecticut. For some weeks, they could not convene

*The reason for burning the dead body does not appear. Perhaps it was done because he was a slave. Maria, a slave, had burnt the house of her master in Roxbury and another house. Mr. Savage says she was sentenced to be burnt to death. Barbarity and cruelty were often exhibited in punishing slaves, as they still are. One or two female slaves have been burnt at the stake in Massachusetts. On the 18th of September, 1755, Mark, a negro man, and Phillis, a negro woman, were executed at Cambridge, for poisoning their master, Capt. John Codman of Charlestown. He was hanged, and she was burnt at a stake about ten yards from the gallows. Phillis was burnt alive, a few miles from the capital of New England, by the sentence of Massachusetts judges, and according to the laws of England, which condemned a male servant who killed his master to be hanged, and a female servant to be burnt alive. Such was the deference of English laws to English females. Many slaves were burnt alive in New York, New Jersey, and other colonies.

a General Court, and could not raise soldiers; and they were not able to gather all their crops. The sickness extended up into Hampshire county as far as Springfield, where it was noticed by Major Pynchon and the selectmen. The latter said they lost much of their English and Indian harvest and hay, by reason of the sickness. If the disease was in the towns above the Falls, it was less severe and general. 1683 was a sickly year in Connecticut and at Springfield.

Change of Government.

Under the government of Dudley some months, and of Andros above two years, the people were deprived of power and had no voice in the government. From May, 1686 to May, 1689, there were no representatives of the people. After the overthrow of Andros, Randolph, Dudley and their associates, the Council of Safety at Boston, early in May, 1689, wrote to the towns in Hampshire, requesting each to choose a representative to aid in the establishment of government. Seven towns in the county made returns between May 9 and May 17. That of Hadley follows:

"Hadley, May 15, 1689. This day, the inhabitants of Hadley, (so many of them as could conveniently assemble,) chose Capt. Aaron Cooke, their representative, to join with the representatives of the other towns of the Massachusetts, at Boston, on the 22d of this instant May, impowering him to act with them for the common safety according to the need of our present state, and to any emergency, till there be a more orderly settlement of government. Then also voted that the Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants, chosen and sworn in May, 1686, according to charter rights, and the deputies then sent by the freemen, be the government now settled in the aforesaid colony. At the same time, gave in their votes for the adding of five to the aforesaid Assistants, which votes are sent by their representative, Capt. Aaron Cooke. As attest,

SAMUEL MOODY, } Selectmen for
GEORGE STILLMAN, } the town."

Representatives from six Hampshire towns appeared at Boston, May 22. A government according to the forms under the old charter continued about three years, though the charter had been abrogated. They made no permanent laws, but provided for the war, &c. The first General Court under the new charter met June 8, 1692, and began to legislate for the "Province of Massachusetts Bay," which embraced Plymouth colony and Maine.*

Connecticut and Hampshire county.—Connecticut, having no enemies from Canada to encounter within her own borders, was

*By the new charter, the governor and some other officers were appointed by the king. The royal governor could negative any of the 28 councilors who were chosen by the representatives and council jointly, and he appointed all judges and other officers of the law, with consent of the council. It was the intention of the king and his advisers to form a royal party, a party favorable to England, and they partially succeeded.

to furnish occasional aid to Massachusetts and New York. As she did not comply with all their requests, complaints were made to the government in England, especially by the governor of New York. To counteract these, particular accounts of what Connecticut had done were sent to England, and the following letter of acknowledgment was obtained from Hampshire.*

The ready assistance this county of Hampshire, in their majesties' province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, have had and found in our distresses in the times of war, from our neighbors and friends of Connecticut colony, calls for our grateful acknowledgment, as we do expect the continuance of their former friendliness and good neighborhood.

Wherefore, these are humbly to signify, that we have received great help and good assistance from the government of their majesties' colony of Connecticut, in a ready, large and plentiful supply of men and help, both in the first war in the years 1675 and 1676, as also at divers times upon emergencies and exigences, they have performed great helpfulness in going upon discoveries and keeping garrisons, to their great charge, and now lately in their assistance at Deerfield, our chief frontier town; whereby through God's goodness, they have been a great support and guard, encouragement and safety to our county, and discouragement to the common enemy; and hereunto we subscribe our hands, September 28th, 1693.

Solomon Stoddard, Minister of Northampton.
John Williams, Minister of Deerfield.
William Williams, Minister of Hatfield.
Edward Taylor, Minister of Westfield.
[Springfield and Hadley were destitute of a settled minister, in 1693.]

John Pynchon,
Peter Tilton,
Aaron Cook,
Joseph Hawley,
Samuel Partrigg,
Justices of the Peace for West Hampshire, in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, in N. E.
Thomas Colton, Capt. of Springfield.
Samuel Roote, Lieut. of Westfield.
Timothy Nash, Lieut. of Hadley.
Samuel Partrigg, Capt. of Hatfield.
John King, Lieut. of Northampton.

Andros was aided in his despotic and tyrannical government by a few degenerate sons of New England, and some others approved even in Connecticut. King William was no friend to popular liberty, and he appointed to office Andros and those associated with his tyranny, and Joseph Dudley became governor of Massachusetts in 1702. The people at first had no confidence in him, but he sought and gained the good will of many influential men among the clergy and people, including a number in these river towns, of whom one minister was a relative. A large party in the province were strongly opposed to him.—Lord Bellamont, who preceded Dudley, was a very popular governor.

James II. directed Andros to encourage Episcopacy, and the first Episcopal church in Massachusetts began under him.

England had much more influence under the new charter than under the old. Our governors lauded the English sovereigns on whom they depended, and sought to gratify their wishes; and the governors were praised and seconded by their dependents and those who looked to them for favor. These men and others celebrated birth, accession and coronation days of kings and queens, and some other royal events, at the public expense, in the council chamber, by drinking wine and illuminating. These fooleries did not extend into the country.

Such patriots as these are very common in the United States at the present day.

*Trumbull mentions letters of thanks from Hampshire under 1705, when Gov. Dudley of Massachusetts and Gov. Dongan of New York were attempting to injure Connecticut and abridge her rights. Connecticut has records of soldiers sent to the aid of Hampshire until 1708.

"The Honorable Colonel John Pynchon, Esq. was sick and died January 17, 1702–3, in the 77th year of his age," says the Springfield record. Lieut. Col. Samuel Partrigg, or Partridge, of Hatfield, succeeded him, as the most influential and powerful man in the county, in civil and military affairs.

Third Indian War, 1703 to 1713.

In May, 1702, war was again commenced between England and France, which extended to their colonies in 1703. Hampshire had the same nine towns as in the last war. There was an alarm in August, 1703, and aid being requested of Connecticut, two companies came up to Deerfield; one remained 6 days and the other 39 days. On the 8th of October, Zebadiah Williams and John Nims were taken in Deerfield meadow and carried to Canada. Those who lived without the palisade removed within.*

Accounts of the destructive and memorable assault of the French and Indians upon Deerfield, on the 29th of February, 1704, have often been published. It appears by a comparison of Hatfield records and Deerfield narratives, that the number of persons killed and taken was 162, including three Frenchmen taken, who resided in Deerfield; that 38† were slain in the palisaded village, and nine in the meadow fight; and that 112 of the English were taken, of whom 2 soon escaped, 22 were slain or perished on the way to Canada, 28 remained in Canada, and 60 returned. Eight or nine of the slain and as many of the captives belonged to other towns.

Some papers in the state archives, relating to the movements of men from the towns below, and to the fight in Deerfield meadow, have not been published. The following petition, signed by Capt. Jonathan Wells of Deerfield, and Sergt. Ebenezer Wright of Northampton, in behalf of the company, was presented to the General Court, May, 1704.

"We [of the towns below] understanding the extremity of the poor people at Deerfield, made all possible haste to their relief, that we might deliver the remnant and do despoil on

*A letter from Rev. John Williams to Gov. Dudley, in October, 1703, a few months before the fatal attack, says;—"The fortification can be mended no longer; we must make it all new, and fetch the timber for 206 rods, 3 or 4 miles, if we get oak. We have been driven from our houses into the fort, and there are only 10 homelots in it, and we have been so crowded together that indoor affairs are carried on with difficulty. Strangers tell us that they would not live where we do, for twenty times as much as we get."

A letter from S. Partridge, in October, 1703, says Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield and Westfield had all laid out much in forting.—Hatfield voted in 1703 and 1704 to fortify three houses on the Hill and six in the town; to rebuild the palisade, and to build stairs into the turret of the meeting-house, so that a ward or day-watchman might be placed in the turret. The other towns may have done as much.

†The Hatfield account makes the number slain in the fort, 41, and on the way to Canada, 19. Two or three of the former belong to the latter.

the enemy.* Being joined by a number of the inhabitants and garrison soldiers, we forced the enemy out of the town, leaving a part of their plunder behind them; and pursuing them about a mile and a half, did great execution upon them; we saw at the time many dead bodies, and we and others did afterwards see prints on the snow where dead bodies were drawn to a hole in the river. The enemy being reinforced by a great number of fresh men, we were overpowered and necessitated to run to the fort, and in our flight, nine of the company were slain, and some others wounded, and some of us lost our upper garments, which we had just before put off in the pursuit." The action was over before others came into the fort. They asked the General Court for some recompense.

Ebenezer Wright gave the names of 57 men who fought in Deerfield meadow. Of these, 13 belonged to Deerfield, 8 to Northampton, 14 to Hadley and 22 to Hatfield. Of those whose dwellings were in the three towns below, 6 were of the Deerfield garrison, and 38 went up on the morning of the 29th. The nine slain were Joseph Catlin and David Hoyt, Jr. of Deerfield; Samuel Foot, Samuel Allis and Sergt. Benjamin Wait of Hatfield; and Sergeant Samuel Boltwood, his son Robert Boltwood, Jonathan Ingram and Nathaniel Warner, Jr. of Hadley. John Smead of Deerfield was shot in the thigh, and carried the ball until his death in 1720.

The 14 men in the fight, who belonged to Hadley, were the four just named, that were slain, and Samuel Boltwood, Jr., Samuel Church, wounded in the arm, Benjamin Church, wounded in the foot, John Montague, Jr., Ebenezer Selden, Nathaniel White, Jr., Thomas Hovey, Joseph Smith, Jr., Samuel Crowfoot, John Marsh. Samuel Boltwood was a sergeant of the Deerfield garrison; the others went up on the morning of the 29th. Thomas Selden of Hadley was among those slain in the town, and was probably one of the garrison. Hadley had five men slain in one day. Joseph Eastman of Hadley was one of the captives.

The General Court, June 9, 1704, ordered that the losses of the soldiers, amounting to £34.17.0, should be made up; that each of the four widows of soldiers slain should have 5 pounds; and that though only one scalp was obtained, the survivors of the 57 should have £60 equally divided, and the plunder taken from the enemy, which amounted to £16.12.10, and consisted of guns, blankets, hatchets, &c. The articles which the soldiers lost were coats, jackets, hats, &c.†

*A petition of some of the survivors in 1735, stated that "the light of the burning buildings at Deerfield, gave notice to the towns below, sometime before we had news from the distressed people."—John Stoddard of Northampton was at the house of Mr. Williams in Deerfield, and he leaped from a chamber window and ran to Hatfield with the news.

†In January, 1705, payment was requested for losses in the "Deerfield Fight," meaning the fight in the village, for nine men. One of them was Sergt. Samuel Boltwood, several were from Northampton, and some were taken. Two Hatfield men requested a reward for killing an Indian in the same fight. These may all have belonged to the garrison. The petition was not granted at that time.

Deerfield was soon filled with soldiers from the towns in Hampshire and from Connecticut. A post was sent to Hartford, and 147 men came up from that colony on the first of March, who remained at Deerfield only 4 or 5 days. They could not pursue the enemy for want of snow shoes, the snow being deep. The French and Indians had snow shoes. Capt. Newberry came up in March with 62 men and remained until September.

The Deerfield people who remained, were about to desert the town, and seek safety elsewhere. To prevent this, Lt. Col. Partridge of Hatfield, on the second of March, impressed the men into the service, and posted them at Deerfield as garrison soldiers. Pay and subsistence were allowed to them for fifteen months and perhaps longer.*

On the 13th of May, 1704, a party of Indians attacked a hamlet of five families, at Pascommuck, near the north-east end of Mount Tom in Northampton, and killed or captured not less than 33 persons. Of these, 19 were slain, viz., Samuel Janes, his wife and three children, four children of Benjamin Janes, Benoni Jones and two children, John Searl and three children, Moses Hutchinson and one child and Patience Webb; and three escaped, eight were rescued, and three were carried to Canada.†—Capt. John Taylor of Northampton, who pursued the Indians with a company of horsemen, was slain.—A post was sent to Hartford, and the next day, Major Wm. Whiting came up with 192 dragoons; they pursued the Indians at first on horseback, and next on foot, on account of mountains and swamps, but did not overtake them.

Before the middle of June, there was a credible report that an army of French and Indians had marched from Canada, to attack Northampton, or some other Hampshire town. Major William Whiting came up at the head of 343 men in 5 companies,

*There may have been about 25 men remaining, and 50 or 60 women and children. Samuel Partridge, in Oct. 1704, estimated that "half who were to pay the Deerfield tax in May last, were killed or captured." The other half of the taxable persons seem to have been left. Some houses within and without the palisade were not burnt.

†Three were found alive, knocked on the head, and one of them scalped. They all recovered. The wife of Benjamin Janes, who was scalped, was under the care of Dr. Gershom Bulkley and others, at Wethersfield, several years. Her husband lived in Wethersfield with her, and the governor and council kindly gave him a brief, May 8, 1707, craving the charity of the people of Branford, Guilford, Killingworth and Saybrook. She was finally cured and they settled in Coventry.—Those carried to Canada were Elisha Searl, son of John, aged 9 years, Esther, wife of Benoni Jones, (an Ingersol,) who died in Canada, and her niece, Margaret Huggins, aged 18, who returned. Elisha Searl came to Northampton in 1722, and was reluctantly induced to remain, the government aiding. He, like some other New England children, had been strongly attached to the Catholic religion and to the Indian mode of life.

from every county and almost every town, in Connecticut, and they remained many weeks. His head-quarters were at Northampton. There was intelligence of the approach of the enemy three times in June and July, and other troops came up each time, and remained a few days. The French and Indians, finding these towns prepared, went eastward and fell upon Lancaster. The county was more full of troops in 1704, than it had been since 1676. Many of the county soldiers were in arms. There was frequent marching and constant scouting. Several persons were slain in the county. May 11, John Allen and wife were slain at Deerfield. July 19, Thomas Russell of Hatfield, was slain above Deerfield, and a friendly Indian near Hatfield mill. July 29, Thomas Battis of Brookfield coming to Hadley as a post, was killed in the present Belchertown. July 31, Capt. Allen of Connecticut lost two men, Benton and Olmstead, between Northampton and Westfield, and killed two Indians.—John Hawks of Deerfield wounded. 1704 was an expensive and calamitous year.

On the 5th of June, 1704, Caleb Lyman of Northampton, with five Connecticut Indians, left Northampton to go up and attack some Indians who had established themselves at Cowas of Cowasset.* In nine days, they came near an Indian wigwam in the evening, in which were nine Indians. They rushed upon them and killed six men and one squaw, and two escaped. They returned to Northampton on the 19th or 20th of June, with six scalps and some plunder. The General Court gave Caleb Lyman £21, and the five Indians £10, each.

Snow Shoes.—It was not until the enemy made attacks in the winter, and could not be pursued, that snow shoes were deemed of importance. The Massachusetts General Court, March 13, 1704, ordered 500 pairs of snow shoes and as many moccasons, for the frontiers, one-fourth of them for Hampshire. The snow shoes or rackets were not used with common shoes, but with Indian shoes or moccasons. The province allowed only five shillings for a pair of each, for some years, though men in Hampshire and elsewhere affirmed that good ones cost ten shillings in money. The price was raised to seven shillings in 1712, and in April, 1712, Col. Partridge sent the names of 463 soldiers in Hampshire, who had provided themselves with snow shoes and "mogginsons," and each was allowed seven shillings.†

*This Cowas, or region of white pines, was, in later times, a part of the Lower Coos, now in Newbury, Vermont. The wigwam was supposed to be 20 miles below Cowas.

†These Indian inventions for traveling on deep snows, were noticed by Champlain in Canada in 1603. Josselyn found them among the Indians of Maine. A few English hunters and soldiers in Massachusetts used them in the 17th century.

But little damage was done by Indians in Hampshire in 1705. A winter attack upon some of these towns was expected, and 200 men from Connecticut with snow shoes were posted at Westfield, Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield, in January, February and part of March. Garrisons were kept also at Deerfield and Brookfield. There were in the year several reports of the approach of Indians, and many men were in the public service.—In 1706, Samuel Chapin of Springfield was wounded, July 31; widow Mary Tosh, or Mackintosh, was killed at Brookfield; and Judah Trumbull of Suffield was slain in July. A company from Connecticut was in garrison three months or more.—In July, 1707, Edward Bancroft of Westfield, aged 19, was mortally wounded, and died Sept. 10. No other harm from Indians in this county in 1707, is recorded. An unsuccessful expedition against Port Royal cost Massachusetts above £16,000.

In 1708, several lives were lost in Hampshire. July 9, Samuel and Joseph Parsons, sons of Capt. John Parsons of Northampton, were slain in the woods. July 26, seven or eight Indians rushed into the house of Lt. Abel Wright of Skipmuck in Springfield, and killed two soldiers, Aaron Parsons of Northampton and Benajah Hulbert of Enfield; scalped the wife of Lt. Wright, who died Oct. 19; took Hannah, the wife of Lieut. Wright's son Henry, and probably slew her; killed her infant son Henry in a cradle, and knocked on the head her daughter Hannah, aged 2 years, in the same cradle; the latter recovered. In August, a son of Josiah Barber of Windsor was slain and Martin Kellogg, Jr. taken "100 miles up the river." Oct. 13, Abijah Bartlett was slain at Brookfield, John Wolcott taken and three Brookfield men wounded. Oct. 26, Ebenezer Field, son of John Field of Hatfield, was slain at Muddy Brook in Deerfield. Some Connecticut soldiers were in Hampshire in 1707 and 1708.

Excursions to Lake Champlain and Cowasset.—Capt. John Stoddard of Northampton, with 12 men, crossed what is now Vermont, in May, 1707. They killed no Indians. It is supposed that this was the first party of soldiers that went from Connecticut River to the lake.—In February, 1708, Capt. Benjamin Wright of Northampton, with a company, ascended the river to Coasset or Cowasset, (now Newbury, Vt.) They found no Indians. Soldiers extended their excursions much farther than in the last war.—In 1709, Capt. B. Wright, with about 10 men, crossed the wilderness to Lake Champlain. On the 20th of May, they killed one Indian and wounded others near the lake. On their return they had a skirmish with a party of Indians on Onion River, and

Lt. John Wells of Deerfield was slain, John Burt of Northampton was slain or perished in the woods, and John Strong of Northampton was wounded. The General Court gave to Capt. Wright £12 and to nine men £6 each. They had a pocket compass to guide them.

In 1709, the English government directed the northern colonies to raise forces, to unite with those of England, and attack Canada by sea and land, but the promised fleet and troops from England did not arrive, and the enterprise failed. Massachusetts had 900 men in arms near Boston, and many vessels employed, from May to October, and the expense to the province was above 20,000 pounds.

April 11, 1709, Mehuman Hinsdale of Deerfield, was captured in the road above Hatfield.* June 23, Joseph Clesson and John Arms were taken near Deerfield, and the next day, Jonathan Williams was killed, Matthew Clesson mortally wounded, and two others wounded. Aug. 8, John Clary and Robert Granger were slain at Brookfield.

July 22, 1710, six men, who were making hay at Brookfield, were surprised and slain. A great loss for that small place. There is no account of any attack near Connecticut River in 1710. Penhallow's History states that a post was slain between Brookfield and Hadley in 1710. The Indians did mischief at Waterbury, Conn. The capture of Port Royal in 1710, cost Massachusetts about 20,000 pounds.

Aug. 10, 1711, Samuel Strong of Northampton was taken, and his son Samuel slain, as they were going into the south meadow gate. The father was carried to Canada, but returned.†

In 1711, an expedition fitted out by England and the northern colonies, against Quebec, was a failure. This was the third attempt to conquer Canada. The expense to Massachusetts was near 21,000 pounds. Soldiers had not before been drawn from Hampshire for distant expeditions, but one of the 18 companies of Massachusetts that embarked at Boston in July, was from this county, and commanded by Capt. Ebenezer Pomeroy of Northampton. He must have had men from all the towns in Hampshire, except one or two. Their pay from June 23 to Oct. 26, 1711, amounted to £367.2.10. Their names are not found.

*He thought he was in no danger because the leaves were not out. The Indians seldom appeared in the spring till they could be hidden by the leaves.

†He was the grandfather of Nehemiah Strong, professor in Yale College, and Judge Simeon Strong of Amherst.

On the 9th of January, 1712, the lake and rivers being frozen hard and the snow deep, Col. Partridge levied 100 men from his regiment to strengthen Deerfield and other exposed places. The men had snow shoes, and made some excursions on them.

In April, 1712, Lieut. Thomas Baker of Northampton, with 32 men, passed up the Connecticut, and crossed it south of Cowasset, and proceeded to the Pemigewasset, where they found a party of Indians, and killed one, and mortally wounded others as they believed. They took as many beaver skins as they could carry, and went down near the Merrimac to Dunstable, and thence to Boston. The General Court gave them 30 pounds besides their wages.

July 29, 1712, Benjamin Wright, aged 18, of Skipmuck in Springfield, was taken, and afterwards killed. July 30, a scouting from Connecticut, was attacked west of Deerfield, and Samuel Andrus of Hartford slain, and two taken.

The queen's proclamation for a suspension of arms, was published in Boston, Oct. 27, 1712. The peace of Utrecht was signed March 30, 1713.

This second ten years war, called Queen Anne's war, was much more expensive than King William's war. The expenditures of Massachusetts, civil and military, from May, 1703 to May, 1713, amounted to 370,000* pounds. Of this sum, at least 285,000 pounds, or 950,000 dollars, were for war. The war was excessively burdensome to Massachusetts. In 10 years, taxes were laid upon the people to the amount of 227,000 pounds, or about 75,000 dollars yearly. The polls were taxed 10 shillings yearly. The impost and excise in ten years produced about 35,000 pounds. Province bills were issued every year, and in May, 1713, the amount of unredeemed bills was 127,000 pounds, and the debt of the province was not much short of that sum.†

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*The expenses for nine years are obtained from the accounts of treasurers, in the Massachusetts Archives. One year's expense is estimated.

†The military expenses in Hampshire county in this war were between 2500 and 3000 pounds in a year, including the subsistence of Connecticut troops. The pay of these troops cost Connecticut large sums.

The pay of soldiers in this war was generally six shillings per week; for a time, those in garrisons received only five shillings; in the Canada expedition, 1711, they had eight shillings. Their food was from three shillings to four shillings and eight pence per week. In 1704, the allowance to a man per day, in a fort or garrison, was one pound of bread, two-thirds of a pound of pork or sometimes one pound and a third of beef, half a pint of peas, and two quarts of beer. The Connecticut allowance was nearly the same. Marching soldiers had a little more food. The ration of provisions down to the Revolution did not differ much from that of 1704.

The first regular allowance of rum to soldiers, that I have noticed, was one gill per day, instead of beer, in the Port Royal expedition in 1707. Connecticut allowed the same, in a

Many of the Hampshire soldiers were employed in scouting and garrisoning. Capt. John Stoddard of Northampton, commanded a large number of soldiers many years, who were in several towns, and moved to places that were threatened, and ranged the woods.

The Hampshire province tax in 1708 was £1046, 10s., and it was the same for several years, thus proportioned:—Springfield, £272, Northampton, 220.10, Hadley, 157.10, Hatfield, 136.10, Westfield, 100, Suffield, 70, Enfield, 60, Deerfield, 30, Brookfield, 0.

During this war, 103 persons were slain in this county, or in excursions from it, viz., 47 at Deerfield in one day, 20 at or near Pascommuck, and 36 in various places. 123 were taken, of whom 22 were slain or died on the way to Canada, and two died in Canada.*

There were 187 captives in Canada from New England, early in 1706, after a number had returned, and many were captured after 1706. Messengers were sent from Hampshire county to Canada by way of Albany, five times to redeem captives, and from Boston to Quebec by water twice, from 1705 to 1713. In 1706, John Sheldon of Deerfield, brought to Boston 44 captives and Capt. Appleton, 57; among the latter was Rev. John Williams of Deerfield. Many came at other times. Much of the difficulty in recovering captives was owing to the Catholic priests who were more inhuman than the French governors and people. The captives who remained in Canada were lost to their friends. They were ignorant Catholics, and many differed little from the savages.†

In this war, Massachusetts gave a reward of £10 for Indian scalps, obtained by those who received wages and subsistence,

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land expedition to Canada, in 1711. Soldiers on the frontiers were not furnished with rum.

This war, like all others, promoted idleness and vice, and had a pernicious influence on many of the people.

*To those who had been in Canada, may be added William Boltwood, son of Sergeant Samuel Boltwood of Hadley. He died below Quebec, Aug. 27, 1714, on his return. He had been a captive, or perhaps an aid in recovering captives.

Three men taken at Deerfield were sent to France and came home by way of England. They saw a part of both countries.

†Several unsuccessful attempts were made to redeem Eunice Williams, daughter of Rev. John Williams of Deerfield. May 26, 1713, John Schuyler of Albany, visited her among the Cagnawagas or French Mohawks in Canada, with a priest and an Indian interpreter. She had recently been married to an Indian who was present. Neither Mr. Schuyler nor the priest nor the interpreter could persuade her to talk with Mr. S. or answer his questions. The only words she uttered in almost two hours were *jaghte oghte*, which meant a denial. She was a besotted, Catholic Indian. [Mr. Schuyler's letter is in the Massachusetts Archives.]

Rev. Eleazar Williams, whom all believed to be a descendant of Eunice Williams, until recently some have supposed him to be the Dauphin, or son of Louis XVI., died at Hogansburg, Franklin Co., N. Y., Aug. 28, 1858.

and in some cases, £20. Volunteers who went out at their own expense, received £100 for a scalp, after March, 1704. Not many Indians were destroyed. Penhallow said the charge of the war was so great, that every Indian killed or taken cost 1000 pounds.

Dogs.—In November, 1706, Massachusetts passed an act "for raising and increasing dogs, for the better security of the frontiers." In 1708, the sum of 41 pounds was paid for "trailing of dogs" on the frontiers of Middlesex. Dogs were employed on the western frontier in 1746, and Gideon Lyman of Northampton, was allowed £12, 13s. 7d. for purchasing dogs.—Connecticut, in October, 1708, appropriated 50 pounds to bring up and maintain dogs to hunt after Indians. New Jersey, in 1758, proposed to procure 50 "large, strong and fierce dogs," for the service. It is not known that any Indian was harmed by the dogs. Perhaps the main object was to trace the Indians to their hiding places. (See page 167.)

The Dutch at Albany.—The Five Nations made a treaty of neutrality with the French, which enabled the latter and their Indian allies to direct all their efforts against New England. Grahame's History of the United States affirms that the Dutch merchants at Albany purchased in the most open manner of the Canadian Indians the plunder they had taken from the people of New England, thus encouraging them in their depredations. Some respectable citizens of Albany detested this base policy, especially Col. Schuyler. Kalm, in his Travels in North America, in 1749, relates similar things of the Dutch at Albany.

The Mohawks or Maquas.—Massachusetts made presents to the Mohawks in 1704 and 1708; and entertained some of them in Boston, and gave gifts to them in 1709. The four Mohawk sachems, who sailed for England with Col. Peter Schuyler, in February, 1710, were supported in Boston and the vicinity about five weeks, in the usual style. (See pages 124, 125.) They went out to Dunstable to hunt several times, and Josiah Parker accompanied them, and furnished them with horses, rum, tobacco, &c. The General Court voted £30 for Col. Schuyler and these chiefs on the voyage. They attracted the attention of the English, were feasted by the nobility and had an audience with the queen. They returned to Boston in July, 1710, and Gov. Dudley furnished Col. Schuyler and the sachems with 9 horses for themselves, and a guard of 10 troopers to Westfield.

The objects of this embassy were to impress the Indians with an idea of the power and greatness of England, and to solicit the aid of a British force to conquer Canada.

CHAPTER XXV

Common lands—Division of Hadley lands now in Amherst—Division of Hadley lands now in South Hadley and Granby—The Crank—Highways and Paths—Division of the Inner Commons in Hadley—Summary of Grants and Distributions—Hockanum—Peter Domo.

THE division of the common uplands, or outer and inner commons, was a most important and exciting subject, in a great number of New England towns, for a long time. It was a question of property, in which men are always interested. The more wealthy inhabitants desired a distribution of the commons according to the estates or valuations of men; those of small estates contended for a more equal division, having more regard to persons. Men of middling estates were seldom united, and many of them acted in concert with the first class. In these river towns, the subject of dividing the commons was not much discussed until the latter part of the 17th century; the agitation continued at times for half a century or more.*

Division of Amherst Lands.

Hadley ordered no general division of a tract of upland until 1700. On the fourth of March, 1700, the town voted that all the land from Mount Holyoke to Mill River, west of a line three and a quarter miles from the meeting-house, should lie as common land forever, "supposing (they say,) that this line will take in the whole of the New Swamp," that is, leave the whole west of it. And they voted that the commons east of that line, should be laid out in three divisions, between the Brookfield road and Mill River; leaving forty rods between the divisions for highways, and what was necessary for east and west highways.† Every one was to have a proportion in the first or second division, and every

*Rev. Jonathan Edwards, in a letter written in 1751, said there had been in Northampton for 40 or 50 years, two parties, "somewhat like the court and country party of England, if I may compare small things with great." The first party embraced the great proprietors of land, and the parties contended about land and other matters. There were similar parties in other towns.

†It is supposed that the highways were left 40 rods wide, to enable the future inhabitants to deviate many rods from a straight course, on the public land, in forming the ways for travel, and thus avoid swamps, steep ascents, and other bad places. In 1754, Hadley reduced the western highway to 20 rods in width, and the eastern to 12 rods, most of the way. They also reduced the width of the cross highways. In 1788, Amherst narrowed the highways to 6 rods, and some to 4 rods in width, and sold the land thus gained to the owners of adjoining lots.

one in the third division. Every householder to have a 50 pound allotment, and parents or masters to have a 25 pound allotment for each male minor above 16. The town voted, March 3, 1701, that the rest of these commons should be laid out according to the meadow land each man possessed. In drawing, the first lot, or No. 1, was to be next to the Brookfield road, in each division, and the numbers were to proceed northward. They then drew lots.* Wood and timber might be cut on the lots as long as they were unfenced. The town measurers, Capt. Aaron Cooke, Cornet Nehemiah Dickinson and Mr. Samuel Porter, were not ordered by the town to lay out the east commons until March 1, 1703, and they reported on the 3d of May ensuing, that they had laid out the three divisions. They were not aided by a surveyor's compass.

The number of persons who drew in the first and second, or west and middle divisions, were 97, or 60 in the first and 37 in the second. Of these, 16 were Hatfield men, who owned land in Hadley meadows, chiefly on the west side of the river, and three more were non-residents, leaving 78 lots for the inhabitants of Hadley.† Apparently, the head of a family drew $17\frac{1}{2}$ rods in width, or $26\frac{1}{4}$ acres, for himself, and half as much for each son between 16 and 21 years of age. Men over 21, and not householders, seem to have had no more than minors. The rest was drawn for meadow land—more than half of the whole. These two divisions were 240 rods wide each, and the lots were 240 rods long. The first division extended from Brookfield road to Mill River, and according to the measurers, the distance was 1961 rods, or the width of 60 lots 1841 rods, and of three highways 120 rods. The land in the 60 lots was 2760 acres.—The second division extended north from the Brookfield road 1674 rods, or the width of 37 lots was 1562 rods, and of 3 highways, 122 rods. Land in the 37 lots, 2343 acres. This division stopped far short of Mill River.

"Here followeth an account of the wood lots laid out in April, 1703, the first lot beginning at Brookfield road, and each lot in the first and second divisions to run 240 rods in length, due east of the stakes and marks at each corner," of the west end. The breadth and acres

*In a division south of Mount Holyoke, lots were drawn in this manner. As many papers as there were proprietors, were numbered and put into a box and well shaken. Each proprietor drew out one of these papers, or if any were absent, the moderator drew for them.

†The number of families in Hadley in 1701, may have been 70, and they all lived on the old broad street, and the highway at the north end, except perhaps the miller. 78 persons in Hadley drew two lots each in the Amherst lands, and many of the lots were extensive enough for farms, and much of the soil was good.

The laying out in 1703, was according to polls and meadow land in 1701, and to the drawing of 1701. In the following list of names, those of Hatfield men have this mark,*, and of other non-residents, this mark, †. Samuel Crowfoot was casually omitted, and had land elsewhere.

are given in the records. Only the breadth is given here. Every rod in breadth makes one acre and a half.

FIRST DIVISION.
Brookfield road.

		Rods.	feet.
1	Jonathan Marsh,	57	7
2	Samuel Nash,	16	1
3	Ebenezer Nash,	12	7
4	*Samuel Marsh,	21	13
5	Ephraim Nash,	12	7
6	Samuel Crow,	35	0
7	Thomas Selding,	70	0
8	John Selding,	20	7
9	William Rooker,	22	11
10	Joseph Smith,	26	5
11	Widow Craft,	3	0
12	*Sam'l Dickinson,	8	13
13	*Mr. Wm. Williams,	7	5
14	*John Cole,	6	8
15	*John Graves,	4	0
16	*Stephen Belding,	10	5
17	*Ebenezer Billing,	5	2
18	*Samuel Belding, Jr.,	3	0
19	*Daniel Warner,	8	7
20	*Widow Warner,	8	7
	Highway 40 rods wide, S. of Fort River.		
21	*Joseph Smith,	4	6
22	*Ebenezer Wells,	21	14
23	Nathaniel White,	72	11
24	John Smith, Tailor,	44	8
25	John Preston,	29	9
26	Nathaniel Warner,	45	0
27	Daniel Hubbard,	60	8
28	*Col. Samuel Partrigg,	40	8
29	Samuel Partrigg, Jr.,	75	0
30	Sam'l and Eben'r Moody,	69	5
31	John Ingram, Sr.,	42	5
32	John Ingram, Jr.,	24	1
33	Samuel Ingram,	17	9
34	Nathaniel Ingram,	17	9
35	Jonathan Ingram,	17	9
36	Thomas Goodman,	52	9
37	John Smith, orphan,	48	2
38	Samuel Barnard,	45	0
	A Highway 40 rods wide, goeth over New Swamp, and runs to Foot's Folly.		
39	Samuel Church,	45	0
40	Josiah Church,	24	14
41	Joseph Church,	16	1
42	John Taylor, Sr.,	68	11
43	John Taylor, Jr.,	17	8
44	Eleazar Warner,	17	8
45	John Hilyard,	17	8
46	William Brown,	17	8
47	*Nathaniel Dickinson,	3	11
48	*Edward Church,	35	0
49	Samuel Smith, Sr.,	17	8
50	James Smith,	46	11
51	Preserved Smith,	17	8
	Highway 40 rods N. end of Wells's Hill.		
52	Samuel Gaylord,	25	5
53	William Gaylord,	17	5
54	Wid. Hannah Porter,	25	10
55	Samuel Porter,	151	8
56	Hezekiah Porter,	31	6
57	John Porter,	13	6
58	Experience Porter,	32	3
59	Ichabod Porter,	23	6
60	Peter Montague,	89	0

Mill River, North.
SECOND DIVISION.
Brookfield Road.

1	John Goodman,	67	1
2	Aaron Cook, Esq.,	39	7
3	Thomas Hovey,	48	9
4	Westwood Cook,	73	9
5	Samuel Cook,	44	1
	Highway 40 rods—removed 1734.		
6	Moses Cook,	44	15
7	Samuel Boltwood,	62	1
8	Daniel Marsh,	134	3
9	†Thos. Dickinson,	44	15
10	Deac. Samuel Smith,	45	10
11	John Montague,	54	0
12	Isaac Warner,	17	8
13	Daniel Warner,	8	13
14	Widow Cooke,	2	15
15	Ens. Chileab Smith,	39	10
16	Samuel Smith, son of Ch.	34	2
17	Luke Smith, "	55	7
18	Ebenezer Smith, "	21	15
19	John Smith, "	26	0
20	Mr. Isaac Chauncey,	52	9
21	Town Lot, 60 acres,	40	0
22	George Stillman,	55	7
23	Ichabod Smith,	38	0
24	Jacob Warner,	44	1
	Highway 40 rods, "runs down to Foot's Folly from New Swamp."		
25	Land of Coleman,	39	6
26	John Kellogg,	32	8
27	Edward Kellogg,	17	8
28	Lt. Joseph Kellogg,	55	6
29	Nathaniel Kellogg,	17	8
30	†Mr. Samuel Russell,	4	3
31	†Mr. Jonathan Russell,	7	6
32	John Nash,	31	6
33	Joseph Nash,	31	0
34	*Thomas Nash,	8	13
	Highway 32 rods in breadth.		
35	Neh'h Dickinson & sons,	113	13
36	Timothy Eastman,	69	5
37	Peter Tilton, 59⅛ acres,	39	6

Commons, North.

The third or eastern division, was called two miles in width, or the lots two miles in length. The number of lots was 93; two persons in the other divisions received an equivalent elsewhere, and three others drew as one. The head of a family seems to have drawn 10 rods and 6 feet in width or 41⅓ acres, for himself, and half as much for sons between 16 and 21, besides what he drew for meadow land. The width of the 93 lots, according to the measurers, was about 1971 rods, and there were no cross highways. A rod in width made four acres, and the division contained 7884 acres, as laid out, but the west line of the equivalent lands cut off about 3000 acres. There still remained in the three divisions about 10,000 acres, besides the highways.

The Hadley measurers began the west line of the tract they were to lay out at the Brookfield road, and in order to not include the New Swamp and some other lands, they, in running northerly, inclined 13 or 14 degrees easterly of the course of the east line of Hadley. This west line determined the direction of those east of it, and carried the east division beyond the east line of the town,* into province land, afterwards called equivalent land, now in Belchertown and Pelham. When the line between Hadley and the equivalent land was fixed by the compass, it did not reduce the width of the east division at the south end, very much, but at the north end, it was reduced to half a mile.—In 1738, the town granted to 31 persons, whose lots were in the northern part of the east division, and who had lost the most by the equivalent line, about 600 acres, on the Flat Hills, so called, and west of them, between the second and third divisions and Mill River, and there were a few grants to others in this tract.†

Amherst was not settled as early as South Hadley. There was an Indian war from 1722 to 1726, and perhaps it was deemed hazardous to remove families to either place, especially north of

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*Perhaps they knew not where the eastern line was.

There had been grants in or near the east division in 1698, viz., 38 acres to ten men, southwest of Lawrence's Swamp; and a tract to Samuel Boltwood northward of Foot's Folly Swamp. These grants were not regarded in the distribution of 1703.

†Prices of Land.—After the lands in Amherst were laid out, there was an Indian war for ten years, and outlands were of little worth. In inventories, land in the first and second divisions was valued at about one shilling per acre, and in the east division at six pence, and even as low as four pence. From 1713 to 1722, the value of the best lots of land increased, to two shillings and sixpence or three shillings per acre, and of the poorer to half as much. After settlements were made, or from 1728 to 1731, the more desirable lots seem to have been worth from six to ten shillings ($1,00 to $1,67) per acre, and those less favorably situated, from three to five shillings per acre. These are prices in proclamation money, six shillings to a dollar. In province bills, the nominal value was much higher.

the mountain. Permanent settlements may have begun in Amherst in 1727, and in South Hadley about two years before.

Division of Lands in South Hadley and Granby.

The first grant of land by Hadley south of Mount Holyoke, was in February, 1675, when Thomas Selden had six acres at the mouth of Dry Brook, adjoining the Connecticut, below the present Rock Ferry. In 1682, Timothy Nash had a grant of a parcel of land between Bachelor's brook and Stony brook, adjoining the great river, "at the southernmost part of our bounds." This land is now owned by Emerson Bates and H. Moody. In 1680, the town granted 20 acres each to David Hoyt, Thomas Wells and Joseph Hovey, "beyond Mount Holliake, on Bachelor's brook;" and in 1688, John Lawrence had a grant of 3 or 4 acres towards Bachelor's brook. The grants to the four men last named, seem to have become void.—In 1684, four men had liberty to set up a saw-mill on Stony brook or Bachelor's brook, and the right to cut timber. In 1699, four other men had permission to erect a saw-mill at the falls of Bachelor's brook, below the former grant, with the frame and right to timber. The mills erected under these grants are not known. In the proprietor's records in 1721 and 1722, the "old mill place" on Bachelor's brook is mentioned, which was above Allen's present paper-mill; also the "old mill pond" on Stony brook, which was below Smith's present grist-mill, and a saw-mill below the pond. When Hadley had been settled 60 years, there had been no grants south of Holyoke but those noticed, and the only building was a saw-mill. The lands belonged to the great horse and cattle pasture of Hadley, as well as most of those north of the mountain. Deer also fed in these open, park-like forests.

On the 25th of January, 1720, Hadley voted to lay out the land on the south side of Mount Holyoke, according to the list of estates and polls, taken in the same month; and to add to them, for the proprietors or town an estate of £150, the head and estate of Mr. Chauncey, and the polls of some aged* or infirm men, whose heads were not taxed. The amount of estates and polls was £6063, 8s. How polls were estimated does not appear. The number of those who were entitled to lands south of Holyoke was 117. Of these, 95 belonged to Hadley, 21 to Hatfield, and the heirs of Thomas Dickinson to Connecticut.

*Among the aged men were two of the first settlers of Hadley, viz., Ens. Chileab Smith and John Ingram. Ens. Chileab Smith let his sons draw his shares, and his name is not in this list of proprietors.

The rule for dividing the lands south of Mount Holyoke was the following list which was taken in January, 1720, with a few additions made by the town. 117 names.

East side of the street, beginning at the north end.

	£.	s.
Mr. Samuel Partridge,	73	5
Mr. Peter Montague,	151	14
John Smith, 2d, (orphan)	112	8
Lt. John Smith,	94	4
Ichabod Smith,	96	18
John Montague, Sr.,	75	8
Corp. John Montague,	41	5
Experience Porter,	117	18
Samuel Porter, Jr.,	89	10
Daniel Hubbard,	94	16
Timothy Hillyer,	24	0
Town or Proprietors,	150	0
Rev. Isaac Chauncey,	92	16

Middle Highway.

Capt. Samuel Barnard,	116	8
Corp. Samuel Dickinson,	36	6
Lt. Nehemiah Dickinson,	89	8
Israel Dickinson,	23	10
Deac. John Smith,	81	0
Mr. Samuel Porter, Esq.	295	18
Nathaniel White, Jr.,	27	0
Deac. Nathaniel White,	118	0
Joseph White,	24	11
Joseph Eastman,	70	0
Serg. John Marsh,	58	10
Ebenezer Marsh,	55	8
John Goodman,	64	15
John Goodman, Jr.,	38	10
Lt. Samuel Cook,	83	2
Lt. Thomas Hovey,	69	13
Wid. Mehetable Dickinson,	36	8
John Lane,	25	8

West side of the street, beginning at the south end.

Joseph Kellogg,	26	0
John Kellogg,	114	16
William Rooker,	31	10
Mary, wid. of Preserved Smith,	48	0
Timothy Eastman,	96	8
William Montague,	24	18
Doct. John Barnard,	26	0
Sergt. Samuel Moody,	91	8
Ebenezer Moody,	55	10
Sergt. William Dickinson,	53	8
Mr. Jonathan Marsh,	71	18
Samuel Crow,	61	18
Luke Smith,	116	14
Thomas Taylor,	38	13
Ebenezer Taylor,	27	10
Samuel Taylor,	40	0
Sergt. Joseph Nash,	31	10
Mr. Daniel Marsh,	132	5
Wid. Elizabeth Warner,	30	6
Jacob Warner,	39	2
Thomas Goodman,	83	5
Lt. Westwood Cook,	158	2

Middle Highway.

John Nash,	67	16
Samuel Nash,	24	15
Thomas Selden,	40	8
Ebenezer Selden,	39	15
Samuel Church,	72	6
Joseph Church,	50	0
Benjamin Church,	47	11
Nathaniel Kellogg,	118	13
Ens. Moses Cook,	106	1
Solomon Boltwood,	53	4
Samuel Crowfoot,	26	11
Noah Cook,	53	8
Corp. Chileab Smith,	59	17
Sergt. Samuel Smith,	104	0
Elisha Perkins,	29	8
Nathaniel Ingram,	62	10
John Ingram, Sr.,	44	5

On the North Highway and at the Mill.

Daniel Warner,	43	0
Samuel Gaylord,	52	14
John Preston,	80	5
John Ingram, 2d,	49	0
John Ingram, 3d,	23	5
Sergt. Joseph Smith,	32	6
Jonathan Smith,	23	0
Benjamin Smith,	21	10

On the New Street, on the Pine Plain.

Eleazar Warner,	32	10
Stephen Warner,	19	0
Joseph Smith, Jr., called drummer,	26	16
John Nash, Jr.,	26	2
Peter Montague, Jr.,	27	8
Nathaniel Kellogg, Jr.,	45	15
Samuel Boltwood,	38	15
Ephraim Nash,	33	0

Continuation of Middle Highway.

Job Marsh,	43	10
John Selden,	71	6
John Taylor, Sr.,	90	0
John Taylor, Jr.,	21	10
John Smith, Jr., son of Deac.,	28	10
John White,	25	0
Ebenezer Smith,	24	0
Peter Domo,	20	0
William Murray,	18	10

HATFIELD MEN.

	£.	s.		£.	s.
Col. Samuel Partridge, Esq.,	48	0	Ebenezer Billing,	6	0
Thomas Nash,	6	0	Cornet Samuel Belding,	5	0
Isaac Hubbard,	26	0	Ebenezer Warner,	4	0
Richard Church,	19	10	Ebenezer Wells,	11	0
John Graves,	2	0	Jonathan Smith,	2	0
Ichabod Porter,	16	0	Nathaniel Dickinson, 2d,	13	10
Jonathan Cowls,	4	10	Joseph Kellogg,	7	0
Joseph Smith,	3	0	Jonathan Graves,	3	0
Sergt. Stephen Belding,	4	0	Thomas Dickinson's heirs in Connecticut,	6	10
Deac. Samuel Marsh,	15	0			
Nathaniel Dickinson,	2	10			
Samuel Dickinson,	3	0		£6063	8
Daniel Warner,	12	0			

The inhabitants of Hadley in the preceding list are nearly all arranged according to their residence. A few may not be rightly placed.*

Falls Woods Field was the only general field laid out south of Holyoke. It was named Falls Woods, because it was wood-land, near the falls. This field was voted March 14, 1720, and every proprietor of Hadley was to have his share. The western boundary was the great river, the southern was Col. Pynchon's north line; and the eastern line began 361 rods and 9 links from the great river, on Col. Pynchon's line, and ran north to Stony brook, and this brook was to be the northern limit. The lots ran from the great river to the east side. Every man was to fence in proportion to the acres he had in the field. The whole fence was above 1100 rods, and was to be made up by the last of May, 1721. One pound of estate drew between 46 and 47 rods of land, and the whole field contained about 1775 acres.

Homelots were voted March 14, 1720, and they were laid out in 1720 and 1721. Every man drew a homelot according to his estate. These lots were in nine places or divisions, and they selected land which they considered proper for houselots and homesteads, avoiding pine plains, and low, wet lands. They did not reject elevated situations, as Chileab's hill and Cold hill. Sandy hill, so called, a central place on the roads to Springfield,

*Such lists are given with a view to show who were the inhabitants of Hadley at certain times, and for other purposes.

In 1701, the eight men in Hadley who drew the most land, were Samuel Porter, Daniel Marsh, Nehemiah Dickinson, Peter Montague, Samuel Partridge, Jr., Westwood Cook, Nathaniel White and Thomas Selden.—In 1720, the eight men highets in the valuation, were Samuel Porter, Westwood Cook, Peter Montague, Daniel Marsh, Nathaniel Kellogg, Nathaniel White, Experience Porter and Luke Smith.

The four John Smiths in the roll of names in 1720, were Deac. John Smith, son of Philip; John Smith, orphan, son of John who was slain in 1676; Lt. John Smith, son of Chileab; and John Smith, son of Deac. John. A fifth John Smith, son of Ebenezer and grandson of Chileab, arrived at the age of 21 years in 1720.

and the site of much of the present village, had no homelots on the west side. All the homelots contained 1000 acres; 6 pounds of estate drew about one acre.

Meadow land was voted in February, 1722, and was laid out the same year, in six meadows, named Stony brook meadow, Chapin's meadow, Great meadow, Little meadow, Long meadow on Taylor's brook, and Pichawamiche meadow. Most of these meadow lots were within the present limits of Granby, and some were swampy. There were similar mowing lands on Bachelor's brook and elsewhere. In those days, the hay was all obtained from low grounds, many of them marshy. The meadow land distributed was 500 acres, and 12 pounds of estate were entitled to about one acre.

Five more distributions were voted in half a century, viz., one of 5000 acres in 1722; one of 4000 acres in 1731; one of 3000 acres in 1752; one of 2500 acres in 1770; and one of 2000 acres in 1772. Each of the 117 proprietors, or his heirs or assigns, had a first and second choice, or two lots, in each of these five divisions, all of which contained 16,500 acres.

These five distributions of land were made in a very singular manner. Each proprietor selected his lots where he pleased, in any part of 16,500 acres not already taken up, with some slight limitations. The number on the paper which a man drew from the box, did not designate his lot of land, but his turn for choosing a lot. If he drew No. 40, he knew that 39 men had a right to select their shares, and cull the best unappropriated lands they could find, before his turn came. Many inconveniences resulted from this skipping and culling. The later locations of land often over-lapped those made many years before. Many lots in the later distributions were not surveyed and bounded for many years, and not a few have been laid out since 1800, especially on the mountain.*

There were 19,775 acres of land in the 8 divisions, and a few pieces were sold by the proprietors. Every pound of the 117 estates was entitled to a little more than $3\frac{1}{4}$ acres of land, good and poor, in 52 years.

The Crank.—The tract of land in the south-eastern part of Granby, granted to the inhabitants south of Holyoke in 1727, and noticed on page 187, was called the Crank in old land records and deeds. I find no account of the division of this tract. It was not considered very valuable. In 1736, nine proprietors

*The surveyors employed to lay out the lands south of Holyoke, were first, Timothy Dwight of Northampton, in 1720; 2d, Nathaniel Kellogg of Hadley; 3d, Eleazar Nash of Granby; 4th, Gardner Preston of South Hadley.

sold their undivided rights to Capt. James Bowdoin of Boston. Many others sold their rights in the Crank.

Highways.—Northampton and Hadley, in early days, had a cartway to Springfield through the territory that is now South Hadley. In 1662, there was an "old cart bridge" across Bachelor's river or brook. The highway laid in 1664, went "as the cartway now runs, in breadth 20 rods." It was laid again in 1710, "as the road now runs 10 rods wide." Long before 1710, two ways, the western and eastern, were traveled from Dry brook easterly of Rock ferry, to Sandy hill, where they came together, a little north of the Female Seminary. It is not known which was the original road. The western road could not have been traveled in high water, but it is more often called the Springfield or country road than the other in the land book, in 1720 and after.*

*These two roads have been continued to the present day, with some alterations. The western traveled way, after crossing the valley or dingle called by the odd name of Lubber's Hole, near the present village, passed west of the buildings now on the west side of the street, to near the north-east corner of the burying yard. The eastern road has always passed over the elevation called Chileab's hill.

In 1720, there were various paths in the scattered woods, on both sides of the mountain, made by men and animals. Hunters and other men, domestic animals, deer and turkies crossed the mountain in those low places called "cracks" by the fathers, especially at the Round Hill Crack, where is now the road between Amherst and Granby and South Hadley. Here was a beaten path which extended southerly and crossed Bachelor's brook, before there were any settlers in Amherst or South Hadley. At a later period, the hunters sometimes called this Crack, or a low place west of it, the Turkey Pass. Another path passed over Cold Hill, and extended to the eastern limits of the township.

The prices of a few pieces of land in the early divisions of South Hadley, have been obtained. In 1722, some lots in Falls Woods Field were appraised at two shillings per acre, and homelots and meadows from six pence to a shilling more. In 1725, a few lots in Falls Woods and Great Meadow were as high as four shillings and six pence per acre. In 1728 and 1729, good lands in Falls Woods had advanced to seven and eight shillings per acre; and some large lots in the division of 5000 acres were valued at various prices, from four to six shillings an acre. Choice meadow land, not very distant from houses, was as high as eighteen shillings an acre. As settlers became more numerous, the price of lands advanced. The prices mentioned refer to dollars at six shillings, not to province bills.

There is a tradition that parents in Hadley shed tears over their sons and daughters, and implored the blessings of Heaven upon them, when they left the old village to settle in the woods south of the mountain. Some of the new settlers, both south and east, returned to the old homes every Sabbath, and attended meeting in the old place, and heard Mr. Chauncey preach.

Many elderly men, who had always cultivated the intervals of Hadley, doubted whether families could get a living on the uplands of South Hadley and Amherst, and talked discouragingly to the young people who proposed to remove to those places.

The south settlers increased faster than those east. In 1731, the taxable "South Inhabitants" were 37, and the taxable "East Inhabitants," 18. The south inhabitants on page 284, are arranged with some regard to residence. Several were single men. The five Taylors at the beginning of the list were not very far from the Springfield line, on the plain and on the Pynchon lot. Most of the next 16 were on the old road between Stony brook and the top of Chileab's hill; the last 16 and perhaps 2 of the preceding 16, were on the other roads, east of this main road. About eight were within the present limits of Granby. Thos. Goodman, Jr. and William Gaylord were early settlers in Falls Woods, but may not have been there in 1731.

Early in 1722, Samuel Porter, Esq., Lt. John Smith and Experience Porter laid out for the proprietors 21 highways, most of them 8 rods wide, which are all recorded. The two Springfield roads to Sandy hill, and one thence to Springfield line, remained as before. A road from Cold hill easterly to the end of their bounds, was called by the name of "Pichawamiche road."

Division of Hadley Inner Commons.

Hadley, having disposed of the Outer or Outward Commons, voted, on the 10th of May, 1731, to divide the Inner or Inward Commons among the inhabitants; and that each should have his proportion in these lands, according to his real estate, as it stood in the list taken in January, 1731. Rev. Mr. Chauncey's real estate was to be taken into the list, and each poll to be estimated at three pounds estate, and all Indian, mulatto and negro servants to be estimated as polls.

The attempt to divide the Inner Commons did not then succeed. The proprietors of the undivided lands between Mount Holyoke and Sunderland, assumed the management of them, and held meetings. In August, 1733, they decided that it would be advantageous to improve the lands for the growth of fire-wood and timber, "which is the principal thing, they said, that said commons are needed for." They deemed them unfit for cultivation. They ordered that walnut and oak trees less than 12 inches in diameter at the stub, should not be cut for fire-wood, but they might be cut or timber. There were similar votes in 1740 and 1741. In 1737, maple and elm staddles under 8 inches in diameter might not be cut, but in 1741, they were free for all. In 1739 and 1741, each proprietor had liberty to take one pine tree for boards to every 15 pounds estate.*

November 30, 1741, after a delay of 10 years, the proprietors voted to divide the commons according to the rule of 1731, and chose a committee to get the lands surveyed. Nathaniel Kellogg, Jr. was the surveyor.

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*In 1713, by an order of the town, oak staddles under 12 inches in diameter might not be taken from the commons. In 1726, walnut and oak staddles under 8 inches at the stub might not be cut, except for timber. In 1727, oak and walnut staddles under 10 inches at the stub were not to be cut, except for timber.

It may be inferred from these votes, from 1713 to 1741, that good timber was not plenty on the Hadley commons, in consequence of burning the woods.

The New Swamp of the Hadley records was divided as Inner Commons, except some on the east side, which was included in the first division of East Hadley. The old north road from Hadley to Amherst, crosses this swamp.—After East Hadley was settled, the plantation was sometimes named New Swamp.

The vote of March 4, 1700, that certain land (page 273) should lie as common land forever, was repealed May 10, 1731.

A list of the real estate of each inhabitant of Hadley, in January, 1731, with the addition of three pounds for each poll, and servant. The Inner Commons were divided according to these sums.*

North end of street on east side.

	£.	s.	d.
Mr. Samuel Partrigg,	49	10	
Cotton Partrigg,	32	10	
Westwood Cook, Jr.	33		
Peter Montague's heirs,	77	4	
Ja's Smith, son of Preserved,	3		
John Smith, 3d, son of orphan,	16	13	4
Hezekiah Smith,	21	3	4
Noah Smith,	22	5	4
Lt. John Smith,	55	19	6
Ichabod Smith,	39	12	6
John Montague, Jr.	44	6	
Nathaniel Montague,	3		
Heirs of John Montague, Jr.	8	16	6
Heirs of John Marsh, and widow Sarah Marsh,	57	10	
Samuel Porter,	120	5	
Eleazar Porter, Esq.	114		
Joseph Hubbard,	3		
William Fargeson,	3		
Daniel Hubbard,	62	17	6
Town Lot.			
Mr. Isaac Chauncey,	42	15	

Middle Highway.

Samuel Barnard,	88	18	
Deac. Samuel Dickinson,	61	8	6
John Smith, son of Deac.	37	1	
Joseph Smith, son of Deac.	20	17	6
Daniel Smith, shoemaker,	3		
Job Marsh,	63	17	
Deac. Nathaniel White,	20	12	
John White,	20	12	
William White,	20	12	
Ebenezer White,	20	12	
Joseph Eastman,	58		
Ebenezer Marsh,	58		
John Goodman,	44	13	4
James Goodman,	23	16	8
Lt. Samuel Cook,	79	4	6
Lt. Thomas Hovey,	46	7	6
Wid. Mehetabel Dickinson's sons Daniel and John,	32		

South end of street on west side.

James Kellogg,	56	16	

South Highway.

	£.	s.	d.
William Rooker,	15		
Timothy Eastman,	84	5	
Doct. Thomas Barnard, on School lot,	22		
Samuel Moody, Sr.	49	13	
Samuel Moody, Jr.	8	10	
John Moody,	3		
Nathan Moody,	3		
Ens. Wm. Dickinson,	79	2	6
Samuel Crow,	42	10	
Capt. Luke Smith,	71	8	
Jona. Smith, son of Luke,	8		
Samuel Nash,	10	10	
Daniel Marsh,	42	11	6
Wm. Marsh's heirs,	42	4	
Jacob Warner,	51	15	
Thomas Goodman,	53	11	
Samuel Goodman,	3		
Lt. Westwood Cook,	90	19	

Middle Highway.

Mr. John Nash,	53	5	
Ebenezer Selden,	19	1	
Mr. Thomas Selden,	24	10	
Samuel Church,	45	6	6
Serg. Benjamin Church,	38	6	6
Ezekiel Kellogg,	42	3	
Lt. Moses Cook,	72	7	
Solomon Boltwood,	45	19	
Samuel Catlin,	3		
Samuel Crowfoot,	4		
Noah Cook,	51	5	
Sergt, Chileab Smith,	37	12	

At north end, and on the new or back street.

William Murray,	8		
Samuel Gaylord,	36	10	
Nathaniel Ingram,	42	9	9
Aaron Cook,	31	10	
Mr. Joseph Smith and son Benjamin,	9	10	
Mr. Samuel Mighill,	3		
Peletiah Smith,	12	15	

*The names of men in Hadley were formerly placed on valuations and tax bills according to their dwellings. (See page 204.) The assessors, in entering the names on the list of 1731, proceeded down on the east side of the main street, and up on the west side; then through the north highway, and down in the back street. Probably there were some deviations. Nathaniel Ingram and Aaron Cook may not be in their places. Some buildings at the north end had been swept away or endangered by the river.

The residence of the 147 persons in the list of 1731, was as follows;—90 in the old town, 2 near School meadow, 37 in the second precinct, south of Holyoke, and 18 in what was afterwards the third precinct and Amherst. The latter marked H. were from Hatfield.

	£.	s.	d.
Widow Warner's daughters Mary and Joanna,	6		
Stephen Warner,	9	17	
Joseph Smith, Jr., cooper,	7		
Nathaniel Kellogg, Jr.,	50	12	6
Nathaniel Kellogg, Sr.,	60	8	
Ralph Way,	11	5	
Doct. Wm. Squire and Doct. Richard Crouch,	12		
John Selding,	34	19	
Isaac Selding,	12		
Jonathan Atherton,	3		
Israel Dickinson,	26	8	6
Peter Domo,	3		
Thomas Temple,	3		
Samuel Nash, Jr.	3		
Abel Roberts,	3		
	3073	14	9

East Inhabitants, (Amherst.)

John Ingram, Sr.	36	1	3
John Ingram, Jr.	15		
Ebenezer Kellogg,	65		
John Cowls, H.	6		
Jonathan Cowls, H.	7		
Samuel Boltwood,	21		
Samuel Hawley, N.H.&H.	9	10	
Nathaniel Church,	22		
John Wells, H.	6		
Aaron Smith,	7	10	
Nathaniel Smith,	7	10	
Richard Chauncey,	7		
Stephen Smith, H.	6	10	
John Nash, Jr.	8		
Joseph Wells, H.	3		
Ebenezer Scovil,	3		
Ebenezer Ingram,	7		
Ebenezer Dickinson,	8		
School Meadow.			
Jonathan Smith, H.	3		
Jonathan Dickinson,	3		
	251	1	3

South Inhabitants, (South Hadley.)

	£.	s.
John Taylor,	16	
Joseph Taylor,	6	12
Samuel Taylor, Jr.	5	
Joshua Taylor,	3	
Moses Taylor,	3	
Nathaniel Ingram, Jr.	3	
William Gaylord,	3	
John Preston's heirs,	10	
Samuel Rugg,	4	
Nathaniel White, Jr.	8	
Thomas Goodman, Jr.	6	
Samuel Smith,	12	
Samuel Kellogg,	10	
Richard Church,	6	
Samuel Taylor, Sr.	5	
William Smith,	10	10
Daniel Nash, Sr.	7	
Daniel Nash, 2d,	3	
William Montague,	7	
Joseph White,	12	
Luke Montague,	7	
Ephraim Nash,	15	
Timothy Nash,	3	
Joseph Nash,	18	
Ebenezer Moody,	45	
Ebenezer Moody, Jr.	3	
Peter Montague,	4	
Chileab Smith, Jr.	4	
John Smith, son of Ebenezer,	7	
Jonathan Smith, son of Joseph Smith, Sr., cooper,	5	
William Dickinson, Jr.	5	
Nehemiah Dickinson,	3	10
Joseph Kellogg,	5	
Thomas Taylor,	4	
Ebenezer Taylor,	4	
Timothy Hilyard,	3	
John Lane,	3	
	278	12

In the year 1742, the first, second, third and fourth divisions of the Commons were allotted and surveyed, each division having several distinct tracts, and all those whose names were in the list of real estate and polls in 1731, or their successors, in their names, had a lot in each division. Many highways were reserved across and between the rows of lots. Excepting the Pine Plain west of Spruce Swamp, these four divisions comprehended the commons in Hadley, from near the foot of Holyoke to Sunderland line, and included the land north of Mill River, which is now in Amherst. Mount Warner was in tracts 3 and 4, in the first division.

In 1743, the fifth or mountain division was laid out and divided. It extended from the equivalent land in Cold Spring, (Belchertown,) on the east, to the common fence of Hockanum and Fort meadow, on the west, 1750 rods, or almost $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles, comprising most of the northern declivity of Holyoke, and some land not on the mountain slope. The lots were opposite the south end of the third precinct, or Amherst, for 1200 rods, and farther west for 550 rods. The Bay or Brookfield road separated them from Amherst about 1150 rods. The lots terminated on the top of the mountain, except a few beyond the east end of the mountain. The length of the lots was estimated, for it could not be measured, and varied in the surveyor's record, from about half a mile to upwards of a mile, averaging about three-fourths of a mile. The lines between the lots were north and south by the needle. It was ascertained many years after that the eastern lot was partly in Belchertown.

Sheep pasture.—A cow or sheep pasture on the north side of Holyoke, was voted by the town in 1725. In 1737, they voted to fence in as a sheep pasture, the tract called cow pasture, to encourage the keeping of sheep. In 1749, the fence was rebuilt or repaired around the sheep pasture. These pastures were west of the common fence and mountain division. That of 1749 was on the northern and north-western slope of the mountain, and a part of it extended westward from the common fence above a mile, almost to the Hockanum highway.—In 1754, this sheep pasture was divided among the 147 persons in the list of 1731, making very narrow lots. Many of them ended on the top of the mountain, but some on the north-western side. A few lots were laid out north of the sheep pasture. There was to be a path two rods wide across the lots. This was called the sixth division of commons.

In 1754, lots were drawn in the 7th division, which was on the pine plain, east of the homelots and others granted on that plain, and west of Fort River swamp and Spruce swamp. This narrow, irregular division stretched northward, from the highway by Fort meadow fence, above two miles, to near the Stone Bridge, so called. The portions of men were small.

The real estates in the valuation of 1731, with three pounds for each poll, amounted to 3603 pounds in the town book. The surveyor's total seems to be three pounds less.*

*Nathaniel Kellogg surveyed the lands and proportioned the lots; he registered the divisions and lots and drew plans of five divisions which are extant. He was a skillful surveyor, but not skilled in spelling. In 1742 and 1743, he received 15 shillings a day for surveying, and chain-men had 6 shillings. In silver, his wages would have been not above five shillings, and those of the chain-men about two shillings. They boarded themselves.

The quantity of land drawn by one pound in each division, and the whole number of acres drawn by £3603, at that rate, in each division, were as follows:—

	Acre.	rods.		Acres.	rods.
1st Division, £1 drew	1	28.	All drew	4233	84.
2d " 1 "		$92\frac{2}{3}$.	"	2086	118.
3d " 1 "		$74\frac{1}{2}$.	"	1677	84.
4th " 1 "		$81\frac{1}{2}$.	"	1835	44.
5th " 1 "		$118\frac{1}{8}$.	"	2660	04.
6th " 1 "		18.	"	405	54.
7th " 1 "		18.	"	405	54.
£1 drew in all,	3	111.	Total acres,	13303	122.

In 52 years, from 1703 to 1754, both inclusive, near forty thousand acres of land were divided among the inhabitants of Hadley, and a few non-resident proprietors, besides the land in the Crank, which belonged to the south precinct. In 1770 and 1772, four thousand five hundred acres of the poorer lands, south of Holyoke, were ordered to be distributed.

Those old Puritans, the first settlers of Hadley, in distributing lands, were more mindful of the interest of those who had but little property, than their descendants were in later divisions. The proportion of land received by those in moderate circumstances became less and less in the subsequent divisions. The head of a family without real estate, drew above 50 acres in 10,000 acres, in the Amherst divisions of 1703; he had not far from 50 acres in about 20,000 acres in South Hadley and Granby under the rule of 1720; and he received only 11 acres in 13,000 acres of commons distributed according to the vote of 1731. The division of 1731 must have been contrived by the large land-holders, and aided by a considerable portion of the middling class. Their rule was,—"whosoever hath, to him shall be given." The wealthy man received as much land on account of his slave, as the poor man on his own account.

Many persons obtained farms for themselves or their sons, from their lots in the commons, but the greater part of the first owners of the commons in the three parishes did not settle on any of their lots, nor did their sons. The land-holders did not become rich by these great accessions of land. The sales were too slow and the prices too low. Wild lands were very abundant, and the supply far exceeded the demand. The Inner Commons of the first parish of Hadley continued to be used chiefly for wood, timber and pasturage, for more than 30 years after 1743. There was much pine plain land, and this had always been despised by the people of Hadley. Good timber was scarce, especially white

pine. Previous to 1770, perhaps half a dozen houses had been erected on the 13,000 acres of Inner Commons.*

Summary of Grants and Distributions.

It may be estimated that the old township of Hadley contained about 89 square miles, or 57,000 acres;† and that 42 square miles, or 27,000 acres, were south of the summit of Holyoke, and 47 square miles, or 30,000 acres, were north of the summit. The grants and distributions were nearly as follows:—

North of Holyoke.

	Acres.
Distributions before 1703,	3500
Divisions in Amherst in 1703,	10000
Flat Hills and lands adjoining,	900
7 Divisions, from 1742 to 1754,	13300
	27700

The highways and streams, the nooks and corners not distributed in the divisions, the grants to Hockanum people on the mountain, and some rocks and precipices on Holyoke not reckoned as land, may make 2300 acres.

South of Holyoke.

	Acres.
8 Divisions in South Hadley and Granby under the rule of 1720,	19775
In the Crank, supposed,	4500
Pynchon's Grant at the Falls,	500
	24775

The highways, ponds and streams, lands sold by the proprietors, the rocks and steeps and corners not surveyed, may be 2225 acres. The Crank may contain more or less than 4500 acres. The extent of South Hadley and Granby may exceed 42 square miles.

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*The value of the Inner Commons in inventories, down to 1758, was generally from three shillings to nine shillings per acre, in good money. Some lots were valued at less than two shillings per acre, and a few at twelve shillings or more. Some of the Mount Warner lots seem to have been accounted as valuable as any.

†The computed extent of Hadley on pages 186 and 187 is too small. Chandler in 1715, measured from the line which the inhabitants of Hadley supposed to be the south line of their ten miles, 3 miles and 100 rods to Springfield line, making the township 13 miles and 100 rods in length. This south line of the ten miles must have been conjectural, and too far south. It is calculated from the state map, and various measurements, that the entire township of Hadley was full 14 miles in length, and on an average, not far from $6\frac{3}{8}$ miles in breadth, making about 89 square miles or 57,000 acres.

It is not pretended that the estimates of the square miles in the old township, and north and south of the summit of Holyoke, are free from errors. The writer has not the exact measures that are necessary for accuracy.—An old estimate that the land in South Hadley and Granby was 24,000 acres, did not probably include the mountain.

Mount Holyoke is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length, and with the spurs and smaller hills connected with it, may average one mile and a third in breadth, making $8\frac{2}{3}$ square miles or 5550 acres. The mountain occupies almost one-tenth of the old township. The summit in some places, is about $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of the old Sunderland line and $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of the old Springfield line. Some parts of it are further from the Springfield line.

Hockanum.

This hamlet in Hadley, between Mount Holyoke and the Connecticut, and about three miles south of Hadley village, was commenced by a few men from Northampton. Capt. John Lyman* and his son Zadok were the first settlers about 1744, and Ebenezer Pomeroy, the 3d, son-in-law of Capt. Lyman, joined them in a few years, and afterwards his brother, Stephen Pomeroy. Gideon Lyman, Esq., purchased lands at Hockanum, and his son, Gideon Lyman, Jr. lived there some years, and after his death, another son, Elijah Lyman; also Caleb Lyman, the youngest son of Capt. John, Israel Lyman, the oldest son of Zadok, and Ethan Pomeroy, son of Ebenezer. Stephen Coats, a native of Westfield, lived in a small house in the ferry lane, and took care of the ferry. These were all the heads of families previous to 1780.

The first settlers, with other proprietors, for their own convenience, opened a road through their own lands about three-fourths of a mile, from the highway into Hockanum meadow, southerly to the mountain gate; and travelers soon began to use the new road and to neglect the upper road, on the lower part of the mountain, which had been traveled about 85 years. In March, 1745, the town allowed Capt. Lyman to build a fence across the old Springfield road, provided he would keep a good gate.

The Hockanum men, having become inhabitants of Hadley after 1731, had no share in the commons. But the proprietors, in May, 1754, as an equivalent for the new highway and a little money, granted to Capt. John Lyman; Israel, Azariah and Luke Lyman, sons of Zadok deceased; Mr. Gideon Lyman of Northampton and Ebenezer Pomeroy, the land from the lower side of the old Springfield road to the top of Mount Holyoke, beginning against the south end of the skirts, and extending along the mountain north-easterly to the sheep pasture lots, perhaps near a mile. The Lymans were "to allow the highway across their land to lie open where it now is." In 1761, a county road was first laid through Hockanum street, from the mountain gate to Fort River bridge, 587 rods.†

*Capt. Lyman's house in Northampton was burnt Dec. 8, 1742, and two of his children perished in the flames. There is a tradition that he desired to leave the homestead where this afflictive event had occurred, and that this was one reason for his removing across the river.

The Lymans and Pomeroys had relatives and friends in Northampton, and for many years they had more intercourse with the people of that town than with those of Hadley.

†In 1761, Capt. Lyman lived on the east side of the way, 116 rods north of the mountain gate; his son Caleb lived on the same place, and the house still remains.

In April, 1750, Zadok Lyman purchased of Elias Lyman of Northampton, the island in Connecticut River, below Hockanum meadow, estimated at 2¼ acres, for £5, 6s. 8d. The island gradually increased and became valuable, and is now connected with the main land.

A ferry was first established at Hockanum by the county court in 1755.* There was before no licensed ferry across the Connecticut between Springfield and Hadley village. There were two ferries to accommodate the travel between this village and Northampton. There was no licensed ferry connected with South Hadley until 1770.

Peter Domo.

A few years before 1719, a man named Peter Domo or Domer appeared in Hadley. In 1719, he married Mary Crowfoot. He lived some years in a small house on the pine plain street, near where Cook's brick blacksmith's shop now stands,† and had four or five daughters and one son. He was poor and industrious, not ambitious, and, according to tradition, his wife governed him and the family, which gave him no uneasiness except when excited by the sneers and sarcasms of mischievous wags. After a sheep pasture had been enclosed on the side of Holyoke, as early as 1737, Peter is found living in a log house west of the meadow fence, and north of the sheep pasture fence, near the corner where they intersect, and but few rods from either. It is supposed that the owners of the sheep induced him to establish himself in that solitary place, and paid him for taking care of the flock. His house was on the south-western part of a high plain, called Lawrence's plain, near where the gentle slope of the mountain begins. There were many acres of this plain within the meadow fence, unappropriated, and Peter could use as much of it as he chose to clear. He made an opening of considerable extent, and raised wheat, rye, corn and garden vegetables. He

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Zadok Lyman lived on the west side of the way, a few rods south of the present house of Samuel Russell, and there he kept a public house from 1746 until his death, the latter part of 1753. His widow was licensed in 1754. Ebenezer Pomeroy, who lived in the house next north, where the Pomeroy house still stands, was the next innkeeper in Hockanum.

E. Pomeroy's tavern had the sign of the White Horse. At the August court, 1759, Joseph Hawley complained of Pomeroy for misrule and disorder in his house, on the 6th of August, in suffering young people of both sexes from Northampton, to sing, dance and revel in his house, to a late hour. He confessed and was fined ten shillings. The young men were also complained of for drinking and tippling some hours, and for fiddling, singing, dancing and reveling "for three hours after nine o'clock," at Pomeroy's. Charles Phelps of Hadley appeared as counsel for the dancers, at the February court, 1760, and the indictment was quashed. Seven of the young men were from Northampton and one from Hockanum.

*Gideon Lyman, Jr. was first appointed ferryman, in 1755. Stephen Coats was appointed in 1759, and many years after. He conveyed people across the river before 1755. Israel Lyman began to keep the ferry soon after the Revolution commenced, and continued a long time. The fare in 1756 was five coppers, (3⅓ pence,) for man and horse, between May 15 and Nov. 15, and six coppers, (4 pence,) for the rest of the year. For a single person, one penny from May 15 to Nov. 15, and one penny and a third, or two coppers, for the rest of the year. Coppers were estimated at two-thirds of a penny. The fare for man and horse at Hadley village was a little less.

†Peter had a small house and orchard on this sandy place, which James Kellogg bought. In 1759, they were still called "Domer's orchard and old house," and were appraised at 40 shillings; the land was supposed to belong to the town.

was aided by his wife and children. The cattle that roved in the woods came and looked wistfully through the common fence at Peter's corn and cabbage, but the spacious ditch, high bank, and strong post and rail fence were an effectual barrier against them. The wild animals gave him more annoyance. The howling of the wolves was sometimes heard in the night, but if they approached too near the sheep-fold, the faithful dog gave an alarm. The raccoons plundered Peter's corn-field, and the woodchucks sometimes came into his garden, and the foxes, hawks and owls carried off his fowls. He destroyed some of the depredators with his trap and gun, and he shot partridges and turkies on the side of the mountain, and rarely a deer. Peter lived a number of years in quietness and peace in this sequestered nook, about two miles from all human habitations. But changes and improvements were approaching, and they never come without bringing discomfort to some. The talk of dividing the sheep pasture and the land adjoining foreboded ill to Peter, for he was only a squatter on public land. It is believed that he foresaw the evil and removed to Granby, then a part of South Hadley, before the division took place. The records show that the land he had occupied, called "Peter Domo's Improvements," was allotted to other men in 1754. He died in 1763, and his grave-stone may be seen in the South Hadley burying yard. He left some property to his children.

"Peter Domo's House" was a famous landmark in the division of the commons, in 1742, 1743, &c. and is several times mentioned. The corners of two or three divisions were a certain number of rods from this house.

When I cross this plain, I sometimes linger awhile near the spot where stood the lonely dwelling of Peter Domo. The hole which he used for a cellar is almost filled up, but pieces of brick still indicate that civilized man has lived there. In a near ravine, is the same spring of water that supplied Peter's family. There is now a fence where the sheep pasture fence was, and the ditch of the old common fence still stretches up the mountain side. Most of the old sheep pasture is now wood-land. Stately trees have grown there since Peter guarded the Hadley flock.

About three-fourths of a mile north of Domo's house, by the side of the common fence, is the place of the old Indian fort, which has been before noticed. 220 rods south of Domo's house, where the mountain is steep, is the south end of the common fence.

When I was young, I heard the expression, "as silly as Domer," and it was used in some of the river towns. This is said to have come from a foolish remark which Peter made to his wife, after some mischief-making young men had been joking and jeering him because he was governed by her.

[This was written in 1848. The axe has since made an inroad among the trees of the sheep pasture, as in most other forests.]

CHAPTER XXVI

Equivalent Land—New Towns—Land Speculation—Tar and Turpentine—Candlewood—Scarcity of Timber—Floating timber down the Connecticut—Logs on the meadows—Rafts of boards—Carting by the Falls—Hadley Landings—Island between Northampton and Hadley.

Equivalent Land.—Massachusetts, adhering to a wrong south line, which was run in 1642, and crossed Connecticut River several miles too far south, granted south of the true line 105,793 acres of land, mostly to Suffield, Enfield and Woodstock, but partly to individuals and other towns. After a long controversy, it was agreed in 1713 that Massachusetts should give to Connecticut

the same number of acres as an equivalent, and that the towns named should remain to Massachusetts.* In 1715, two men from Connecticut and one from Massachusetts laid out for Connecticut 105,793 acres, viz., 51,850 acres east of Hadley, afterwards in Belchertown and Pelham,† 10,000 acres afterwards in Ware, and 43,943 acres at Coasset, above the present village of Brattleboro', Massachusetts then claiming the lower part of Vermont and New Hampshire.

In April, 1716, the agents of Connecticut sold the 105,793 acres, at auction, in Hartford, for 683 pounds, or a trifle more than three half pence per acre. The land was held in 16 shares.

New Towns.—After the peace of 1713, permanent settlements were begun at Northfield and Swampfield,‡ (Sunderland,) in 1714. The inhabitants of the latter were chiefly from Hadley and Hatfield. Brimfield was settled about the same time, and there were twelve towns and plantations in the county. All but Enfield and Brimfield had been commenced previous to Philip's war, forty years before. After the close of the fourth Indian war in 1726, there was peace until 1744, and many new settlements were commenced in Hampshire. There were inhabitants at Cold Spring, (Belchertown,) about as early as at East Hadley, (Amherst,) and Aaron Lyman was a licensed innkeeper at Cold Spring in 1728, indicating that there was considerable travel between Hadley and Brookfield.

Land Speculation was known in New England in the 17th century. Roger Williams said in 1670, that there was a great desire for getting large portions of land in this wilderness. The reforming synod of 1679, noticed among the evils, "an insatiable desire after land in many professors." Land speculation was much more common in the 18th century, especially after the peace of 1726. Many men in Boston, Salem and in country towns made extensive purchases of wild lands in the new towns and in the outward commons of old towns; generally in Hampshire at prices equivalent to from one shilling to three shillings per acre,

*In 1747, these towns, and Somers which had been set off from Enfield, requested the General Assembly of Connecticut to take them under that government, and they were received in 1749. By this revolt, Massachusetts lost four towns, three of them in Hampshire.

†It was the west line of this land that cut off so much, not unjustly, from the east division of Amherst.

‡Much work must have been done at Swampfield by Hadley men and others, before Philip's war in 1675. They were fencing in 1674 and 1675. In 1685, Joseph Hawley mentioned that there was an old ditch for a fence four miles long, on the outside of the swamp, and that above 100 acres of plow-land had been formerly broken up. Old chimneys and cellars are noticed in some records. See page 181.

in money at six shillings to a dollar. Before 1745, much land in the Hampshire towns was held by speculators. Ezekiel Kellogg, a trader in Hadley, was a noted land-jobber. In 1729 and 1730, he bought 25 lots in the Amherst Divisions, and sold them to Col. Samuel Brown of Salem and others. He purchased in Sunderland Addition, (Leverett,) 17 lots containing 3128 acres and sold them in 1731 to Wm. Brown of Salem, for four shillings per acre in province bills, equal to 25 cents. In 1734, he sold 2124 acres in the eastern part of Northfield to James Brown of Newport, R. I., at a sum equal to 22 cents per acre. He bought and sold land south of Holyoke and in other places. There was much buying and selling of the equivalent land at Cold Spring. In 1722, twelve men, seven of them Northampton farmers, bought 8400 acres at Cold Spring at three shillings per acre in bills, equal then to half the sum in good money or 25 cents. Those who sold in a few years gained little or nothing, and some lost.*

Tar was early made in New England. John Tinker from Massachusetts, and John Griffin and Michael Humphrey of Windsor, first made tar in Connecticut, at Massaco, (Simsbury,) in 1643. Some years after, much tar was made at Windsor. In 1646, John Clarke and others of Springfield were gathering candlewood on the plains to make tar. In 1650, it was ordered by Springfield that no person should gather and burn candlewood for making tar, pitch or coal within six miles east of the great river, but every inhabitant might gather candlewood for his family use where he pleased. No records show when the people of Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield began to make tar. In Hadley in 1704, all persons were forbidden "to draw candlewood for tar," in the bounds of the town, without liberty from the selectmen. In 1714, all that drew candlewood for tar without liberty, were to be prosecuted. The candlewood seems to have been needed for light.†

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*In 1738, John Stoddard of Northampton, sold to the Scotch, (often called Scotch-Irish,) who were about to settle at Pelham, 14,137 acres of the northern part of the equivalent land, for 7300 pounds in bills of credit, equal to 2s. 7d. an acre, in proclamation money, or 43 cents. This land was bought for settlement.

After Canada was conquered, and there was no fear of Indians, vast quantities of land in New England and other colonies were laid open to the farmer and speculator. But all the land speculation in the colonies was trifling in comparison with what has taken place since 1783 in the United States. Our laws and government often practically favor the sharper and the speculator.

†Governor John Winthrop of Connecticut, being in England, read a paper before the Royal Society in London, July 9, 1662, on "Making Pitch and Tar in New England." He noticed the pitch pines that grew on barren plains, from which the tar was made, and described the pine knots and the tar kilns. He said many old trees had been blown down ages

Turpentine was not gathered for market until many years after tar was made. It was procured from live pine trees, chiefly pitch pines; and the business may have been begun in Hadley as early as 1685. The trees were boxed, that is, a hollow place was cut in them with an axe, and the turpentine that collected in these boxes was dipped out and put into barrels and sent to Boston. The town regulated the boxing, intending to prevent damage to valuable pine timber, and did not allow any to box trees on the commons without leave. In 1701, the penalty for boxing without liberty was 2s. 6d. a tree; in 1702, 5s. a tree. Pine trees were let for one year or more. In 1696, three men had the liberty of the pine trees west of Spruce hill, and others might use the pines near Partrigg's swamp. In 1703, the town voted to sell the pine trees for three years, between the Brookfield road and Bachelor's River, north and south of Holyoke, to those who would give the worth of them; and all other pines on the commons that were not likely to be beneficial for timber. In 1708, Westwood Cook had the use of the pine trees for turpentine, between the mountain, Bay road and certain brooks, one year, for 40 shillings. In 1714, Joseph Nash had the liberty of pine trees enough to cut 1000 boxes, on the south side of Stony brook, towards the mouth. He paid for them. In 1723, the pine trees on Lawrence's plain and some lands adjoining, were let to Luke Smith "for the drawing of turpentine," three years, for 28 pounds. A committee was chosen to lease the pines at the north-east and south-east corners of our bounds.* In 1726, the town voted to lease the trees on Lawrence's plain, after Luke Smith's time was out.

Large quantities of turpentine and tar, from Hampshire county and Connecticut, were shipped at Hartford for Boston.† Much

before, and had all perished except the knots where the bough was joined to the tree, and some of the body towards the root which was full of turpentine. The fires of the Indians that burnt up the dry and rotten parts of the old trees, only scorched the knots and wood full of resinous matter. Tar had been made in Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut. Pitch was made of tar by boiling.

*In 1723, Timothy Dwight of Northampton, and Ebenezer Marsh of Hadley, were appointed by the General Court to let out the pine trees on the province lands in Hampshire. Dwight leased trees near Hadley, which he believed to be on province land, for 63 pounds. He reported that Hadley claimed the trees, and violently opposed the gathering of turpentine there by others. The General Court did not yield, and Hadley doubtless gave up the contest. It is supposed that most of the trees in dispute were near the south-east corner of Hadley, on land that was granted to the south precinct in 1727, and named the Crank.

Sixty years ago, many pines that had been boxed were alive, and some were tall, yellow pines.

†The turpentine was distilled in Boston, and Doct. Douglass says 112 pounds yielded about three gallons of oil, (spirits of turpentine,) and the residue was rosin. In 1750, when Douglass wrote, the business of making tar, and gathering turpentine, was nearly at an end in New England.

more turpentine than tar was sent from these upper towns. Joseph Parsons sent down from Hampshire above 500 barrels of turpentine, from 1696 to 1706, and much was sent from Hadley by Samuel Porter and others. Many of the turpentine barrels contained about 300 pounds. The price here for a few years after 1708, was 5s. 6d. to 6s. per 112 pounds, and in Boston about two shillings more. As province bills depreciated, the nominal price was higher. Tar was not worth as much as turpentine. The premium granted by England in 1703 and after, to those who imported tar and turpentine from America, seems not to have affected the price upon Connecticut River.

Candlewood was so named because it was a substitute for candles.* It was first used in this country for light by the Indians. A writer in 1624 said the pieces of resinous pine, used for candles, smeared one badly. Higginson in 1629 commended them for giving a clear light. Wood in 1634 disliked the candlewood because it was sluttish, dropping a pitchy substance. Gov. Winthrop, in his communication to the Royal Society, in 1662, said the pine knots and resinous wood were split into shivers, and burnt instead of candles, giving a good light, and were much used in New England, Virginia and among the Dutch; to avoid the smoke, the candlewood was usually burnt in the corner, upon a flat stone or iron, except sometimes a stick was taken in the hand to go about the house.

This torch-wood was used by farmers and others in many towns of Massachusetts from 100 to 140 years after Winthrop's description. Farmers generally had tallow candles, but they were used sparingly, and oil was not burnt in the interior towns. The candlewood was used also for kindling fires, when few people had wood-houses and dry wood. That families might be well supplied with candlewood, tar-burners for many years were restricted, and not allowed to collect candlewood every where. It appears from the account books of Deac. Ebenezer Hunt of Northampton, that he bought a cart-load of candlewood every year from 1739 to 1776.† Many others on both sides of the river had a load yearly.‡ Some men belonging to Northamp-

*Pine lights were not peculiar to America. They were used by the ancients. Were used by the Germans 300 years ago. Our missionaries in Asia Minor report that a pine torch is a common evening light of the Armenians. Lamartine, in his Genevieve, notices the use of pine knots and pine splinters for light, in France.

†The price of candlewood was always much higher than that of walnut wood. In 1750, it was 6s. 8d. per load; in 1776, from 10 to 12 shillings.

‡That eccentric man, Grindall Rawson, the first minister of Ware, was fond of jokes and sarcasms, even in the pulpit. In a sermon from Matt. 5: 15—"neither do men light a

ton, Hadley and Granby, born between 1780 and 1790, affirm that when they were young, many farmers got a quantity of candlewood from the pine plains every year, both knots and pieces of fat wood, for lights and kindlers. They were burnt in the fire-places; some splinters were used for candles, to go into the cellar for cider, apples, &c.*

Scarcity of Timber is noticed on pages 99 and 282, from records. Tradition corresponds with records. The fathers of elderly men now living, represented that small trees or staddles were plenty in Hadley, 80 or 90 years ago, having grown after the fires ceased, but larger trees fit for frames of buildings and for fences, and white pines† for boards, were deficient, and timber and boards were sometimes brought several miles. Oak-sills had been conveyed from Belchertown. Large yellow pines‡ were more plenty, and many rooms in those days were lined with yellow pine boards, and some of these rooms remain. Much yellow pine was used in frames. There were some large chestnut trees on the mountain,§ but chestnuts for rails have since been more abundant. Aged men say that large and middling trees were more plenty in many places of the Inner Commons, 25 years ago than 70 years ago. White pines had increased on both sides of Holyoke.

Floating timber down Connecticut River, did not commence apparently, till after peace with the Indians in 1726. The first notice that is found, states that several persons assembled on the bank of the river, Aug. 31, 1732, to see 25 masts float down Enfield falls, and that one mast struck a rock, was turned from its course, and killed a boy of Windsor.‖

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candle and put it under a bushel," he told the people that they would understand the text better, if the word pine-torch was substituted for candle—"neither do men light a pine-torch, and put it under a bushel." Yet Ware was not different from many other towns in respect to candles and torch-lights.

*George Bliss, in his Sketches of the History of Springfield, in 1828, says of the candlewood: "Till within 50 years, it was the custom of the people, to have gathered, every fall, for family use, a quantity of pine knots and hearts of trees. A prudent farmer would almost as soon enter upon the winter without hay, as without pine."

†There was a scarcity of large white pines in other towns. When a court house was built in Northampton in 1767, the pine boards, common and clear, were mostly brought from Bernardston and Deerfield. When Deac. Ebenezer Hunt of Northampton, built his house in 1772, which is now near the Edwards Church, his pine boards were brought from Bernardston and Montague.

‡The tall, yellow pine is only a variety of the pitch pine, according to botanists. The Norway or red pine is not found on Mount Holyoke, though many are on Mount Tom.

§Some men born before 1750, used to say that they could remember when a deer or other object, could be seen forty rods, on the side of Holyoke.

‖Boston Weekly Journal, Sept. 1732.

A company had been formed in 1732 or before, of several men in Connecticut, and four belonging to Suffield, Westfield and Deerfield in Hampshire, for the purpose of cutting and floating down the river, white pine logs, suitable for masts, booms, yards and bowsprits, for the British navy, having made an agreement with the king's contractor at Boston. In October, 1733, they said in a petition that they had floated down and got to New London, one ship load of timber, and had then "in the woods, near seventy miles above Fort Dummer, a considerable number of men cutting and preparing another ship load," and had expended 1200 pounds.* The company continued the business in 1734 and 1735. Two logs that lodged upon the river bank in Saybrook were three feet in diameter at the large end and 80 feet in length, and were valued at 16½ pounds each.

English laws prohibited the cutting of pine trees fit for masts, 24 inches or more in diameter, 12 inches from the ground, and not private property, in the colonies north of Pennsylvania. Such trees were reserved for masts, in the charter of Massachusetts, 1691. The pine-tree laws were offensive to the people and produced tumults in other parts of New England, long before saw-logs were floated down the Connecticut.

It is not known when men began to send logs for boards down the Connecticut. After the conquest of Canada, and the settlement of towns far up the river, great numbers of logs were floated down in freshets, and many lodged on intervals and lowlands, in various towns. Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire, the Surveyor General of the King's Woods, had agents upon Connecticut River, and in April, 1763, 960 logs and 14 masts were seized in several towns above Northfield, 266 logs at Northfield, and 140 at Northampton. In May and June, 1763, more logs were seized, viz.,

At Hatfield,	21	logs,	in diameter from	15 to 30 inches.
At Northampton,	21	"	"	16 to 24 "
At Hadley,	45	"	"	15 to 36 "
At Northampton & South Hadley,†	326	"	"	14 to 36 "
At Springfield,	185	"	"	12 to 30 "

In July and September, 1763, 6389 logs were seized in Maine, New Hampshire, and in Massachusetts towns on the Merrimack.

*Connecticut Archives.

†Many logs lodged not far from the mouth of Stony brook in South Hadley, and some on Northampton interval, opposite South Hadley.

In December, 1764, 733 logs were seized in Hampshire, between School meadows in Hadley and Connecticut. 27 were in Hadley, from 19 to 34 inches in diameter, and 143 in South Hadley, from 12 to 44 inches in diameter.

Benning Wentworth alledged, after every seizure in Hampshire, that the trees grew in New Hampshire (which then included Vermont,) and not in any township. All interested were to appear at the vice-admiralty court in Boston, and show cause why the logs should not be forfeited. How many were forfeited, is not known.*

Eleazar Burt and Elijah Lyman of Northampton were appointed by Wentworth, Assistants to seize and mark pine timber. They engaged in this unpopular business, and marked 363 trees and logs in Northampton, but all were soon taken from them except 37. They applied to Samuel Mather, Esq. of Northampton, a magistrate, to aid them, but he refused. They then applied to Israel Williams, Esq. of Hatfield, and he would not give them a warrant to press men. They next wrote to the governor, April 24, 1764. The result is unknown.†

In an interleaved almanac of Josiah Pierce of Hadley, is noticed, Oct. 25, 1765,—"A mob in Hadley on account of logs." No particulars are given. Probably men from up the river with some Hadley people, took logs from Wentworth's agents, as at Northampton.

After the Revolution, pine trees were cut and sent to market without restriction. Before 1783, and for more than 30 years after, pine timber in abundance came down Connecticut River, and when there was a heavy freshet, a great number of logs and trees stopped on the intervals and flats of Hampshire; the logs were long, and some of the trees were above 80 feet in length. Great stories are told of the logs and trees left on the meadows of Northampton and Hadley, by high floods, especially by the Jefferson flood, so called, of 1801. It is said that a man could then walk 100 rods on logs in Northampton meadow; in some places they were heaped up one above another, and there were some extraordinary piles on Fort meadow in Hadley. When the freshet was not high, the river was sometimes so full of logs between Northampton and Hadley, that it seemed as if one could walk on logs across the stream. Some of those on the meadows were drawn to the river in the spring, and others in the fall. The owners of the land were entitled to compensation for the damage received, from the owners of the timber. Some of the logs were

*Boston Post Boy, 1763 and 1764. †Massachusetts Archives.

sold to owners of saw-mills; and some to men about to build houses, who bought a few logs for clear boards and for shingles; such excellent pine did not grow in these towns. All my informants say that there were some men who stole logs, and others who ingeniously obliterated marks; if a log had not been marked, the log-men could not claim it. The greater part of the timber reached Hartford and other places in Connecticut.

A few Rafts of Boards were conveyed down the Connecticut River, from the upper settlements, before 1755; there were not many until after the peace of 1763. Such rafts were safely guided down the falls or rapids of Willemanset and Enfield,* but all sawed lumber and shingles were carted by the falls at South Hadley, and Montague. The first notice of this business in Hampshire, is a petition to the Court of Sessions in February, 1754, for a road by the falls at South Hadley, for transporting lumber. South Hadley successfully opposed the laying of the road at that time. In March, 1755, they voted that Elijah Alvord might make an agreement with several persons, to cross their lands with lumber, in the Falls Field and Taylor's Field. After the close of the French war, there was another petition to the Court for a road by the falls, and in April, 1765, a road was laid from the head of the falls, (near the head of the subsequent canal,) to a landing place below the foot of the falls, about two and a half miles. The landing was 25 rods on the river and 10 rods wide. This new road was named the "Lumber Road."† Some rafts and boats stopped at the mouth of Stony brook, and boards, produce and other things were carted thence, some to the landing at the foot of the falls, and some to the landing below Willemanset rapids. Much merchandize was carried up by the falls to

*John Pynchon sent small rafts of boards, sawed at his saw-mills, down Enfield falls to Hartford and other places, before and after 1683.

†When this lumber road was laid in 1765, there was no house near the river or falls. On Taylor's field, as the old Pynchon grant, bought by the Taylors, was sometimes called, lived Joseph Taylor, aged 67, and his sons William and Joseph; and Samuel Taylor, aged 62, and his sons Elisha and Samuel. On the eastern part of the field dwelt Titus Pomeroy from Northampton, and there may have been another family. Pomeroy was the first innkeeper in 1767; after his death, his widow kept an inn many years. William Taylor was a retailer in 1771. Daniel Lamb began to keep an inn in 1782. There were two saw-mills in 1771, and a third one in Falls field, near the lumber road. After 1765, the transportation of lumber, and the taking to pieces and putting together of rafts, made some stir about the falls, and the quietness noticed on page 186, was interrupted about forty years after 1726. The number of families seems not to have increased much for 25 years after 1765.

Stony brook, from this lower landing; and some which had been forced up the rapids, was taken at the foot of the falls.*

The farmers of Falls Woods changed their employment in part, and were the carriers of lumber and goods by the falls for more than thirty years, or until the canal could be used; and at times many years later, when the canal or dam was not in order. They could not cart lumber and cultivate their farms, and their lands and fences had a neglected appearance. Sometimes farmers from other parts of the town were transporters of lumber. Occasionally, large quantities of boards were conveyed by the falls and rapids on the west side of the river.

In August, 1770, the first Elias Lyman was licensed to keep a ferry between Northampton and South Hadley, not far from his inn, where Smith's ferry now is. No one had been licensed before, though people had long crossed the river in boats, at this place. The river at the ferry was said in 1770, to be 45 rods wide. It is now above 50 rods wide.†

After Hadley had induced the county court to alter the road to Springfield, and lay it not far from the Connecticut River, in 1673, (pages 36 and 94) the people of Hadley obtained from some land-owner, a landing place on the river and a way to it, not far north of Chickopee River. Boats came up to this place, and the Hadley teams went down to it. About the same time, Northampton and Hatfield established a landing on the west side of the river. Both landings and the roads to them, were laid out by authority in 1730. The Hadley landing and road were taken from John Chapin's land, and the road was south of his house. He was allowed 20 pounds for damages. The place

*The mouth of Stony brook, where every thing is now so still and quiet, was a bustling place, at times, more than half a century. It was a harbor for rafts and boats, and in freshets, great numbers of logs lodged on the adjoining lands. Immense piles of boards were sometimes on the south bank, and many men and teams. Elijah Alvord had a warehouse near the brook before 1765. He sold goods and kept a public house, more than a mile below. He was the first retailer in Falls Woods in 1754, and the first innkeeper in 1755. Noah Goodman succeeded him as innkeeper in 1770.

Some men relate that when the canal was in operation, and boats and rafts were daily passing through it, the rafts above, waiting their turns, were sometimes so numerous that they lined the shore from the head of the canal to Stony brook, above two miles.

†The fare at this ferry in 1770 was fixed at $3\frac{1}{3}$ pence for man and horse, for three summer months, and 4 pence for the rest of the year; for a man, 2 pence all the year. Gideon Alvord, who lived on the South Hadley side, was the ferryman many years. He was inquisitive, and when he carried a stranger across the river, he inquired his name, whence he came and whither he was going. This habit was not peculiar to Alvord.

It is said that formerly some females of Northampton Lower Farms, when they visited their friends in South Hadley, took a skiff and readily rowed themselves across the river.

was used by the people of Hadley and others about 30 years after 1730, when a new landing was prepared about two miles up the river, at the foot of Willemanset rapids, by Job Alvord, from South Hadley. In 1760 and 1761, he built a house near the county road and a wharf on the river, and he was licensed to keep an inn in 1761. His solitary house at Willemanset which is still standing, was two miles from inhabitants both north and south. In 1765, a court's committee laid out a place 6 rods by 18, "for landing, rafting, &c." and a road from it to the county road near Alvord's. There was so much business at this landing, that Alvord's inn did not lack customers. This was the Hadley landing place until the first canal was made in 1795, and the navigation of Willemanset rapids improved, and afterwards at times; and it was used by the people of other towns east of the river, and by the river-men of New Hampshire and Vermont.*

The Island in Connecticut River, between Old Rainbow meadow in Northampton and Fort meadow in Hadley, was noticed in 1754, and was supposed by some to belong to the province. It was then said to contain six or seven acres, "which has been gathering about 30 years, whereon the brush begins to grow." After the grass began to grow, it was claimed by some persons in Northampton and some in Hadley, and one year the grass was mowed by a Brooks of Hadley, and the hay carried away by Nathaniel Day of Northampton.† A committee of the General Court, appointed November, 1770, sold the island at public vendue, to Solomon Stoddard of Northampton, for 100 pounds, and he sold half to Noah Edwards. In 1803, it was all purchased by Levi Shepherd for 1200 dollars.

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*Northampton had boats and boatmen on the river, below the falls, when needed, for 120 years, before the first canal of 1795. They carried freight between "Hampton Landing," in West Springfield, and Hartford and other places below. There was a Hadley boat on the river in 1668, and it is believed that Hadley boats and boatmen conveyed loading between Hadley landing and Hartford, in most of the 120 years, though few notices of them are found. Boats continued to navigate the river half a century after 1795, until they were superseded by the freight-cars of the rail road. When the navigation of the canal was interrupted, which happened many times, teams were again necessary, and the lading of the boats and the lumber of the rafts were carried by the falls.

†Is it to be inferred from this strife, that the island was then near the middle of the river? Whence did the province derive its title to this new-formed island? The province gave the 100 pounds to Hampshire county, to help maintain 6 or 8 county bridges.

CHAPTER XXVII

Paper Money, or Colony Bills and Province Bills—End of Province Bills, 1750—Old Tenor—The shad and salmon fishery at Hadley and South Hadley—Lampreys—Gatherings at the falls.

Massachusetts first issued paper money, or indented bills of credit,* in 1690, to pay the expenses of the unfortunate expedition against Quebec. About 40,000 pounds, in bills from five shillings to five pounds, were emitted in 1690 and 1691, and taxes were ordered for their redemption. They were received at the treasury for rates at 5 per cent. advance. They at first passed at a discount of near one-third, but when the amount in circulation was considerably reduced, they became current at or near par, and were convenient for the people, who had very little specie. A portion of them were reissued almost every year; 3000 pounds were ordered into circulation in February, 1702, and these were the last of the colony bills. Not many of these bills reached Connecticut River. Rates and debts continued to be generally paid in produce in the river towns.

Those bills of public credit, called province bills, were first ordered to be made and emitted, by the province of Massachusetts-Bay, in November, 1702, on account of the "scarcity of money and the want of other medium of commerce." New bills were issued, or old ones reissued, almost every year, from 1702 to 1749. The treasurer paid the expenses of the province in these bills, and received the same for rates and duties. Those brought into the treasury, if not again put into circulation, were counted by a committee and burnt. There was generally a blaze of province bills once in a year. The amount of bills sent forth much exceeded the aggregate of the rates and the duties of impost and excise, and the paper money in circulation was almost yearly increasing. The inevitable consequence was a falling of the value of the bills, and the depreciation, at first hardly perceptible, in a few years became large, and continued to grow larger. The rise in the nominal value of labor, produce, goods and lands followed the reduction in the worth of the paper currency.

In May, 1736, there was an emission of bills which were to be equal to coined silver at six shillings and eight pence per ounce. One pound in these bills denominated new tenor, was to be equal to three pounds in the other bills called old tenor. In November,

*"Indented bills of credit" were often issued in England under William and Mary, sometimes called exchequer bills.

1741, bills called the "last emission," were first ordered, which were to be equal to silver at six shillings and eight pence per ounce, and one pound was made equal to four pounds of the old tenor.* The bills of this emission were sometimes named new tenor, and those issued in 1736 were denominated middle tenor.†

The neighboring colonies had bills of credit; and Rhode Island emitted great sums. Connecticut was more careful, but the depreciation of her bills did not differ much from that of Massachusetts bills.

Massachusetts expended in taking and securing Louisburg or Cape Breton, in 1745 and 1746, £261,700, in last emission or new tenor bills. Great Britain granted to Massachusetts a reimbursement of the charge to the amount of £183,649 sterling, and the money arrived in Boston, Sept. 18, 1749, in Spanish pieces-of-eight or dollars, and some tons of copper coins.

The General Court of Massachusetts in 1749, passed an act to redeem the bills in circulation, with the money that was expected from England. After the 31st of March, 1750, the possessors of bills of credit were to receive silver at the rate of one piece-of-eight for forty-five shillings in bills of the old form and tenor; and one piece-of-eight for eleven shillings and three pence in bills of the new form and tenor, and of the middle form and tenor.‡ Each was to take some copper. All debts after March 31, 1750, payable in old tenor, were to be paid in silver at the rate of a dollar for 45 shillings; and debts payable in middle or new tenor, at the rate of a dollar for 11s. 3d. All bargains after that date, were to be understood as in silver at 6s. 8d. per ounce, or in Spanish milled dollars at 6 shillings.

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*These old tenors must not be confounded with the later old tenor of 7½ for one, or 45 shillings to a dollar.

†The sum total of each kind of province bills, printed, signed and sent out by Massachusetts, (not including old bills reissued,) from 1702 to 1749, was as follows, according to treasury accounts, and the papers of Col. Israel Williams:—

	£.
Old tenor bills, so called,	675,016
Middle tenor bills, so called,	57,966
Last emission " "	602,708

Of these, there remained in circulation or unredeemed in 1749, after making an allowance for some outstanding taxes that would bring in a portion of them,

	£.
Of old tenor bills,	116,903
Of middle tenor bills,	28,888
Of last emission "	459,295

‡The holders of old tenor bills received two shillings and eight pence on a pound, and the holders of new tenor bills, ten shillings and eight pence.

The bills were redeemed, and a specie currency was introduced into Massachusetts, which continued until the Revolution, 25 years.

Our Histories and Records in Massachusetts, relating to the first half of the 18th century, or from 1702 to 1750, cannot be well understood without some knowledge of the value of the province bills. They were for a few years, or from 1702 to 1707, esteemed equal or nearly equal to proclamation money or to dollars at six shillings, or to Troy ounces of silver at six shillings and eight pence or seven shillings. Before 1710, an ounce of silver was worth from 7s. 6d. to 8s. in bills. The following table shows what amount of old tenor bills was equivalent to a Troy ounce of silver, in different years, from 1710 to 1749.*

1710—1712,	bills were	8 shillings	for an ounce	of silver.
1713—1715,	"	8s. 6d. to 9s.	"	"
1716 and 1717,	"	9s. 3d. to 10s.	"	"
1718—1720,	"	11s. to 12s.	"	"
1721 and 1722,	"	13s. to 14s.	"	"
1723 and 1724,	"	15s. to 16s.	"	"
1725—1727,	"	16s. to 17s.	"	"
1728,	"	17s. to 18s.	"	"
1729 and 1730,	"	19s. to 22s.	"	"
1731 and 1732,	"	18s. 6d. to 20s. 6d.	"	"
1733,	"	21s. to 23s.	"	"
1734—1737,	"	24s. to 27s.	"	"
1738—1744,	"	28s. to 30s.	"	"
1745,	"	32s. to 37s.	"	"
1746,	"	38s. to 40s.	"	"
1747,	"	50s.	"	"
1748 and 1749,	"	53s. 4d. to 60s.	"	"

The bills had fallen to one-half their nominal value in 1722; to one-third in 1732; to one-fourth in 1737; and to one-sixth in 1746. In 1747, they were estimated at seven and a half for one in silver, and they were redeemed at that rate in 1750. They sunk still lower between 1747 and 1750. Old tenor bills were, however, but a small part of the paper money in circulation after 1744. Most of the money from England was paid to redeem middle and new tenor bills, at ten shillings and eight pence for a pound.

The price of wheat in this vicinity for some years after 1702 was from 2s. 8d. to 3s. per bushel. It rose as the bills depreciated until it was 27 or 28 shillings per bushel, and sometimes 30 shil-

*I have four of these old estimates or scales of depreciation. That in Felt's Massachusetts Currency is the most complete. No one of them can be deemed strictly accurate. They all profess to give the value of an ounce of silver in bills.

The tables of depreciation were calculated for Boston. In the country, or in Hampshire, the fall in the value of the province bills was slower, and often from 15 to 25 per cent. less than in the tables, and the rise in produce and labor corresponded.

lings, before 1750. After 1750, the price in specie currency, was from 3s. 6d. to 4s. The prices of other kinds of property and of labor experienced similar changes.

Besides the bills of credit issued to pay public charges, the province made four loans of bills, amounting to 260,000 pounds. 1st. By an act of 1714, £50,000 were put into the hands of trustees to be let out, on good security at five per cent. 2d. In 1716, £100,000 were received by county trustees, to be let out at five per cent. for ten years. The proportion of Hampshire was £4947, and this was lent to many men in the county, who mortgaged their lands for security. 3d. In 1721, £50,000 were received by the towns, and loaned by town trustees, payable before June, 1730. The share of Northampton was £486.15.0; Hadley, £286.15.0; Hatfield, £233.15.0. Hadley chose Westwood Cooke, Experience Porter and John Nash, trustees to let out the money. The town had the interest. 4th. In 1728, £60,000 were loaned by trustees of towns for ten years. The towns had two per cent. of the interest, and the province four per cent. Northampton received £488.10.0; Hadley, £290.10.0; Hatfield, £238.10.0. The Hadley trustees were Eleazar Porter, Luke Smith and Job Marsh. These four loans seem to have been all paid.

Many were injured by the falling of the paper money; debtors and some others were benefited. Some ministers suffered from the depreciated paper; this did not often take place where harmony and good will existed between the minister and people. In Hadley, Hatfield, South Hadley and Amherst, there was no difficulty between the minister and people on account of province bills. The people of Northampton, in the midst of their warm controversy with Rev. Jonathan Edwards, paid him 750 pounds, in old tenor, for a year's salary, which was equal to any salary he had received from them. In these towns, the rise in salaries did not keep up with the depreciation of bills in Boston, but it appears to have been equal to the rise in produce and labor.

Old Tenor.—It is a little remarkable that the old tenor currency of 45 shillings for a dollar, or seven shillings and sixpence for one lawful shilling, should have continued in business transactions and book accounts, so long after 1750, when dollars at six shillings were the legal currency. Very many farmers and not a few traders and professional men kept their accounts in old tenor, from 10 to more than 20 years after 1750. Dr. Crouch of Hadley, kept his account book in old tenor, until his death in 1761.

Interest in Massachusetts was 8 per cent. until 1693, when it

was reduced to 6 per cent. In England, interest was reduced from 10 to 8 per cent. in 1623, and to 6 per cent. in 1660.

Many towns kept accounts in old tenor, some years after 1750.* The taxes of the town and old precinct of Hadley, were in old tenor down to 1759, but Josiah Pierce, the treasurer, kept his accounts in lawful currency. He thus entered the taxes of the precinct:—

Rate,	Feb. 1754,	£1555.0.10	old tenor; in lawful,		£207.6.9
"	Feb. 1756,	1021.9.10	"	"	136.4.0
"	Feb. 1758,	633.11.9	"	"	84.9.6

Mechanics' books were in old tenor. The account book of Eliakim Smith, of Hadley, a joiner and cabinet maker, from 1757 to 1770, is extant, and is in cumbrous old tenor, 45 shillings to a dollar.

The Shad and Salmon Fishery.

When the English established themselves on the banks of the Connecticut, there was in the river and tributary streams, in the proper seasons, a great abundance of shad, salmon, bass and other fish, such as the Indians had long used for food. The shad, which were very numerous, were despised and neglected by a large portion of the English, for near 100 years in the old towns of Connecticut,† and for about 75 years in these Hampshire towns above the falls. It was discreditable for those who had a competency to eat shad; and it was disreputable to be destitute of salt pork, and the eating of shad implied a deficiency of pork. The story which has been handed down, that in former days, the fishermen took the salmon from the net, and often restored the shad to the stream, is not a fable. Poor families ate shad, and doubtless some that were not poor, and they were sometimes put

*The people of Boston complained of great taxes in 1758. The five highest taxes in Boston that year were—Charles Apthorp, £540.13.1; Thomas Hancock, £418.19.10; F. Borland, £329.11.10; James Smith, £312.19.10; Thomas Greene, £301.8.10. These taxes must have been in old tenor.

The paragraph about interest on the last page is misplaced. Legal interest in England was reduced to 5 per cent. in 1713.

It may be well to remark that the sum of province bills issued by Massachusetts, on page 302, does not include those of the four loans, on page 304, amounting to 260,000 pounds.

†Field's Account of the County of Middlesex, Conn., 1819, (Middletown, Haddam, &c.) says there was such a prejudice against shad and some other fish, because they were so generally used by the Indians, or from some other cause, that "little effort was made to take them for more than a century after the county was settled. Within the memory of persons living, there was very little demand for salmon, and as for shad, it was disreputable to eat them."

A story is told in Hadley of a family in that place, who were about to dine on shad, when it was not reputable to eat them:—hearing a knock at the door, the platter of shad was immediately hid under a bed.

There is a minute in John Pynchon's account book, which shows that shad were not slighted by all who were in good circumstances, in the 17th century. In 1683, he sold a fish-net and agreed to receive for pay some shad packed for market, and "50 shad for my family spending at times."

in barrels for exportation. Connecticut shad in barrels were advertised in Boston in 1736.

The first purchase of shad, found in any account book in these towns, was made by Joseph Hawley of Northampton in 1733; he gave for 30 shad one penny each, which was not equal to half a penny in good money. Ebenezer Hunt gave 1½ penny for shad in 1736, 2 pence for "good fat shad" in 1737, and 2 and 3 pence in 1742 and 1743.* These prices were all less than a penny in lawful money. The early settlers of Pelham bought many shad. After the specie currency in 1750, shad were usually one penny each. Josiah Pierce of Hadley bought 100 shad at a penny each in 1762, 90 shad at a penny in 1763, and shad at a penny in 1764, '65 and '66. Oliver Smith of Hadley gave a penny each for 30 shad in 1767. For forty years after 1733, the price did not exceed a lawful penny. From 1773 to 1776, the price was 2 coppers each or 1⅓ penny; from 1781 to 1784, from 2 to 3 coppers; in 1788, 2½ and 3 pence; in 1796, 3½ and 4 pence; and in 1798 and 1800, 4 pence half penny. The dams across the river and other impediments diminished the number of shad, and they gradually advanced in value to 6 pence, 9 pence, one shilling and higher prices, and men ceased to buy shad to barrel for family use.†

Salmon were used but were seldom noticed in records in the 17th century. Salmon nets began to appear before 1700, and some salmon were salted in casks by families, before and after 1700. They were seldom sold, and the price in Hartford in 1700, was less than one penny per pound. Fish were so plenty in the Connecticut and its branches, that laws were not necessary to regulate fishing for a long time. There was a law in Massachusetts against erecting wears or fish-dams in rivers, without permission from the court of sessions. Petitions for liberty to erect wears to catch fish, in the Hampshire streams, began in 1729, and there were several after 1760. These wears were chiefly for the purpose of catching salmon. In Northampton, salmon were

*Ebenezer Hunt bought bass, suckers, pickerels and common eels. No trout are mentioned. He says of shad in 1743, "shad are very good, whether one has pork or not."

†Shad-eating became reputable thirty years before the Revolution. Shad were caught plentifully in many places in Connecticut before 1760, and were sold at one penny and one and a half penny each, some years later. They were carried away on horses. Some thousands of barrels of shad were put up in Connecticut for the troops from 1778 to 1781.

Shad never ascended Bellows Falls at Walpole, nor could they ascend the falls of Chickopee River. Salmon passed up both. In 1739, Brookfield petitioned the General Court for liberty to make a passage for shad through the bars of rocks across Chickopee River in Springfield, so that they might come up the river into their ponds. Springfield opposed, and liberty was not granted.

sold from 1730 to 1740 at a price equal to one penny per pound, in lawful money, and some at $1\frac{1}{3}$ penny. The price in 1742 was $1\frac{1}{2}$ penny; and from 1750 to 1775, it was commonly 2 pence per pound.—Josiah Pierce of Hadley bought salmon from 1762 to 1765 at 2 pence, and some at 1s. 6d. old tenor, or $2\frac{2}{3}$ pence. He bought some years above 70 pounds of salmon. Oliver Smith bought 27 pounds of salmon in 1773 at 2 pence, and Enos Smith 57 pounds in 1776, at $2\frac{1}{3}$ pence. The price was from 2 to 3 pence from 1781 to 1787, 4 pence in 1794, and it advanced to 7 or 8 pence in 1798. The first dam at South Hadley about 1795, impeded the salmon, and the dam at Montague was a much greater obstruction, and salmon soon ceased to ascend the river. Few were caught after 1800.—Some of the prices of shad and salmon noted, were retail, barter prices.

Fishing Places.—There were at least three in Hadley. One was below the mouth of Mill River, on Forty Acre meadow. A more important one was a little east of the lower end of the street, when the river flowed near the street. There was another in Hockanum meadow. Opposite to the two last, Northampton men had fishing places.* The late Elihu Warner remembered when 40 salmon were caught in a day, near the lower end of the street, about 1773, the largest of which weighed between 30 and 40 pounds.†

In South Hadley, there was a noted fishing place near the mouth of Stony brook, and another above Bachelor's brook, against Cook's hill. Many salmon were taken at those places; 24 are said to have been caught at one haul, near Stony brook, weighing from 6 or 8 to 40 pounds.‡ There were other fishing places in South Hadley above the falls.

The falls of rivers were great fishing places in New England, for the Indians and the English. The falls at South Hadley, called Patucket by the Indians, were one of the most favorable

*The Northampton and Hadley men were often near each other, and they bantered and joked abundantly, and sometimes played tricks and encroached upon each other. These things proceeded not from ill-nature, but from a propensity for fun and sport.—In those days there were many coarse jokes, and some harsh tricks.

†Mr. Pierce and 6 others owned a seine in Hadley in 1766. The whole income of the seine for the fish season was £22.17.0, and the expenses were £14.12.10, leaving for gain £8.4.2. Shad were then one penny each.

‡The brown, gambrel-roofed house of one story, easterly of the mouth of Stony brook, owned by Emerson Bates, was first built by John Smith, father of Major John Smith of Hadley, about a hundred years since. It was enlarged by John Stickney, and after 1773, he kept an inn a number of years in this solitary house on the plain. It is said that he was induced to do this, because his house was thronged by people who came to the fishing places. Some of the lumbermen on the river visited his inn.

places on the Connecticut for taking fish. Though there is no intimation in any old writing, that the Indians resorted to that place for fishing, and very little is found recorded which indicates that the English frequented it for that purpose before 1740, yet it cannot be doubted that the Indians caught fish there in early days, and the English before 1700.*

The following account of the fishery at the falls, after the Revolution, was derived from two aged men, in 1848, Joseph Ely in his 92d year, and Justin Alvord in his 85th year, who had often caught fish at the falls, and from others since 1848.

Fishing generally began between April 15 and May 1, very seldom as early as April 15. The best fishing season was in May. Shad were caught in seines below the falls, and in scoop-nets on the falls. Boats were drawn to places on the rocky falls, fastened, and filled with shad by scoop-nets; then taken ashore, emptied and returned. A man in this manner could take from 2000 to 3000 shad in a day, and sometimes more, with the aid of a boatman. These movements required men of some dexterity. There were some large hauls of fish at the wharves below the falls. The greatest haul known was 3500, according to Ely, and 3300,† according to Alvord. It was not often that 1500, or even 1200 shad were taken by one sweep of the net.‡ Salmon were taken on the falls in dip-nets, and below in seines with shad. Before their day, salmon had been taken at the foot of the falls in places called pens. Ely had never known a salmon taken at the falls that weighed above 30 pounds; some weighed 20, and many from 6 to 10 pounds. They were always few in number compared with shad. The river seemed to be full of shad at times in some places, and in crossing it, the oars often struck shad. Ely and Alvord, like other old men, related that fishermen formerly took salmon from the net, and let the shad go into the river again, but not in their time; and that people in former days were ashamed to have it known that they ate shad, owing in part to the disgrace of being without pork. Alvord sold thousands of shad after the Revolution for three coppers each, and salmon were sold from two to

*In 1685, when Northampton and Springfield settled the line between them, west of the river, it was agreed that Northampton might catch fish at the lower falls, below the line. The fishery was then thought to be of some importance.

†One man of South Hadley, gives 3000 as the largest haul.

Connecticut archives contain an account of 3000 shad taken at a haul in the cove at East Haddam, before 1766. The number in these great hauls is probably exaggerated.

‡Morse's Geography, 5th edition, says there were as many as 14 fishing wharves at the foot of the falls in 1801, and that they sometimes caught 1200 fish at one haul; it was reported that one company cleared 4800 dollars in one season.

three pence per pound. It was much more difficult to sell salmon than shad.

Some bass were caught with hooks after shad time. Sturgeon were taken on the falls with spears. Lampreys, called lamprey-eels, had long been plenty on the falls, and many were taken at night by hand, by the aid of torch-lights. Some were eaten in a few towns in old Hampshire, but most were carried to Granby, Simsbury and other towns in Connecticut.*

Shad seasons brought to the falls, on both sides of the river, multitudes of people from various quarters. Some came from Berkshire county. All came on horses with bags to carry shad, except a very few who had carts. Some, intending to purchase two loads of shad, led a horse. For some years there were only two licensed inn-keepers at the falls—Daniel Lamb and widow Mary Pomeroy, but every house on both sides of the river was full of men, and some lodged in shelters and out-houses. Horses filled the stables and many other places. It was estimated one day, that there were 1500 horses, on both sides of the river; this estimate is not reliable. A great number of the men brought victuals with them; many cooked shad, and others bought food at the houses. Many were detained one day or longer. They indulged in plays and trials of skill. Where there were so many men, and rum was plenty, there was of course much noise, bustle and confusion. The greater part were industrious farmers, and after leaving the falls, they wound over the hills and plains with bags of shad, in every direction. They were plainly dressed, according to their business. There was another class at these gatherings, composed of the idle, the intemperate and the dissipated. They came to drink and frolic, and some to buy shad if their money held out.†

*Lampreys came above the falls in great numbers, and entered the streams that run into the Connecticut, until the Holyoke dam was built in 1849. They were very numerous in Fort River in Hadley, below Smith's mills, and were caught by the light of torches, sometimes several hundred in a night. Men waded into the stream, and grasped them with a mittened hand and placed them in a bag. Sometimes the lampreys in the night crawled into and about the flutter-wheel of the mill, and into the throat of the gate, in such great numbers, that the wheel could not be turned in the morning until they were cleared away. —In Northampton Mill River, below the lower mills, lampreys were caught in the same manner as in Hadley, and in other ways. In a dark night, men might be seen in the river, clasping now and then with one hand a squirming lamprey, and holding in the other a birch-bark torch, which threw light on the river and on all objects on its borders. Very few were cooked in Northampton and Hadley; many were given to hogs. Some were conveyed to other towns in Massachusetts but most to Connecticut. None are now caught above Holyoke dam.

†There were great gatherings at Amoskeag falls, on the Merrimack, in the fishing season, more than a century since. In 1742, Rev. Joseph Secombe gave them a discourse, which was published. Judging from the title, it must have suited the merry-makers.

Many thousands of shad are still taken annually at South Hadley falls, though none can ascend the river above the Holyoke dam. Instead of a penny each, which was paid one hundred years ago, men now pay at retail for shad brought from these falls and from Saybrook, from 25 to 40 cents, and sometimes 50 cents.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Second Meeting-House in Hadley—Sounding-board—Square glass—Seats and pews—Seating—Spire—Clock—Weather-cock—Bells—Horse-blocks—Stoves—Plan of the lower floor.

At a town meeting Jan. 5, 1713, Samuel Porter, moderator, it was voted to build a new meeting-house* 50 feet in length and 40 feet in breadth with a flattish roof and a balcony† at one end; to be set as near as conveniently may be in the middle of the town street, against the town lot; Mr. Samuel Porter, Lieut. Nehemiah Dickinson, Sergt. Daniel Marsh, Peter Montague and Samuel Barnard to be a committee to carry on the work. The committee were "to buy glass, nails and other necessaries, let out work by getting clapboards, shingles, &c., and hire workmen for money, improving our own inhabitants as much as conveniently may be, and leveling all the work at money price." On the 2d of March, the town voted that the new meeting-house should be plastered with white lime, both the walls and overhead, and "that they will have joiners' windows." On the 2d of December, 1714, Capt. Aaron Cook, Esq.‡ Ens. Chileab Smith, Mr. Samuel Porter, Esq., Jonathan Marsh, Daniel Marsh, sen'r, Deac. Nathaniel White and Deac. John Smith were chosen to seat persons in the meeting-house. The house was then ready for use though not entirely completed.

*This second meeting-house stood 95 years, or until the last week in October, 1808. It was built in the street opposite the town lot, that lot on which three ministers have lived—Williams, Hopkins and Woodbridge. The first meeting-house was used only about 47 years, and the galleries had been built only 13 or 14 years in 1713. It was too far north to accommodate the people, and there may have been other reasons for a new house.

†By a "balcony at one end," they meant a steeple built from the ground, or tower, belfry and spire. The "flattish roof" would now be considered steep. The lower part of the steeple was 13 or 14 feet square. This was the first steeple in Hampshire that was built up from the ground.

‡The town-clerk sometimes gave to a man a title at each end of his name.

The Old First Church in Middle Street

Jan. 7, 1717, the town voted to make pentices over the meeting-house doors, and to do something to prevent the belfry from leaking; to make two pews on the north end and two on the south end, to complete the seats in the gallery, to case the seats in the alleys and to color the front of the gallery and desk.

The house was plastered according to the vote. The posts were all visible and not cased, and the upper part of each post was connected with a beam by a long, wide brace, which was also in sight. These posts and braces were made smooth and painted. The plastering covered the beams overhead. There was a strip of plastering on the outside, under the eaves.

In March, 1738, the old precinct gave Eleazar Porter liberty to build a new desk at his own cost; and voted to lath and plaster under the galleries, and to color the facings of the galleries.—Mr. Porter built a pulpit and a canopy or sounding-board over it, and some who remember them, affirm that they were handsomely wrought, and more elegant than the pulpit and sounding-board at Northampton and Hatfield. On the canopy were the letters and figures "M. R. H. 1739;" the letters were for March.*

"Jan. 7, 1751. Voted that the meeting house shall be repaired the ensuing summer with sash casements and square glass." It may be concluded from this vote that the windows were then of diamond glass set in lead. The sashes with square cornered glass were put up in the house in 1752. The "joiners' windows" in the vote of 1713 seem to refer to the frames around the diamond glass. There were twelve windows below, and thirteen above, besides those in the steeple. The pulpit had no window.

Seats and Pews.—The meeting-house was at first furnished with seats, long ones in the gallery, and shorter ones below. There may have been one or two pews on the west or pulpit side of the house. Pews were afterwards added from time to time, but not without opposition. A pew was considered more honorable than a narrow seat or slip, and many disliked to have the town build pews for the principal families while others sat in seats. When a motion to build a few pews was carried, the vote was usually reconsidered. The pews voted in 1717 and others in 1719 were not built for many years. Col. Eleazar Porter and Rev. Chester

*Such a structure over the preacher and pulpit was named sounding-board and canopy in England. In this country it was several feet high, had a peculiar form, with several sides and angles, and was generally of very nice workmanship as well as the projecting front of the pulpit. It excited the attention of children and they gazed upon it with wonder, as many who are now elderly persons can testify. It projected from the wall, and seemed to them to be hung up, with little to support it, and to threaten to come down with a crash.

Williams each built a pew before 1748, having liberty from the town; more were built some years later, but not without contention. A vote, Jan. 4, 1762, to build four pews, "two on the men's side of the body, and two on the women's side," was reconsidered, but it shows that in 1762, men did not sit with their wives.* The number of pews was increased until only four narrow seats remained on the lower floor, in 1783, and these were on the west side or front of the body. The seats in the pews were fastened down, and there was none of that clattering of seats, which was heard in many meeting-houses. Those who sat in a pew faced three or four ways.—Before 1772 there were two pews in the men's gallery and two in the women's gallery. Some years later, there were high pews over the stairs, and one was called the "Swallow's Nest." Previous to 1790 there was a row of pews next to the wall on the three sides of the gallery. Contrary to the common practice, the females in the gallery were on the right hand of the minister, and the males on the left hand.

Seating.—The Hadley records give no information as to the respectability of the seats, or the rules observed by the seating committees. It appears from the records of other towns, that the seaters had before them an estimate of the dignity of the seats or pews, and that in placing persons in them, they regarded three things—age, estate and places of trust, as expressed in Hatfield; age, estate and qualifications, in South Hadley and Amherst; and age, estate and usefulness, in some records. Seating persons in the meeting-house, sometimes produced warm contentions in Hadley as elsewhere. It was difficult to please all, and it was not uncommon that some were dissatisfied with their seats or seat-mates. In 1760, there was open opposition to the doings of the seaters, and for a time, sundry persons refused to take the seats assigned them, and crowded into higher seats, to the disturbance of the congregation. In later years, the reports of seating committees in Hadley were generally approved or rejected by the town, and when a seating was much disliked, the town chose a second committee, or added men to the first one, and alterations were ordered, or a re-seating. The fore-seats in the gallery were regularly seated before they were occupied by singers, and were very respectable seats. On the 13th of April, 1772, the town gave directions to the seaters of the galleries, "that the fore-seats in

*It is not known when men and women begun to sit together. It was soon after 1762. The young males and females in the galleries always sat apart, and they ascended by different stairs. Howitt says men and women are still separated in the churches of Germany. The sexes sit apart in other parts of Europe, and in many places in the United States.

the side galleries shall be left for the singers." This is the first notice of the separation of the singers from the congregation in Hadley.

The deacons' seat was before the pulpit and opposite the broad aisle. The top of the partition, next to the aisle, was wide, and the christening basin stood on this, and the minister entered the deacons' seat when he baptized a child. In front of this hung a leaf like that of a table, and this was raised up, on sacramental occasions. The table, and the bread, wine and cups upon it, were covered with snow-white cloths.

The tradition in Hadley and most other old towns, that formerly there were benches in some of the aisles for little children, appears to be true.* In 1738, Northampton voted benches for children before some seats and pews.

In 1750, the colored people sat in back seats in the gallery, and one of them, named Ralph Way, had liberty to take into his seat such negroes as he chose; but in 1772, any of the negroes might be seated with Ralph Way. After 1783, the high pews in the corners over the stairs, which were very conspicuous, were assigned to the colored people, that over the boys' stairs to the males, and that over the girls' stairs to the females, and they occupied them as long as the house stood.†

The tithingmen in Hadley sat in the gallery, and when one observed children or young people behaving improperly, he rapped on the top of the seat or pew, and then pointed at them. Sometimes he led playful children from their seats and placed them near himself. In two instances, a child was led down the stairs, and left near the parents or guardians.

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*The life of a little boy in Hadley was endangered on one of these benches about a century ago. Isaac Selden had turns of derangement, and when sitting in or near an isle on the Sabbath, he rose up, seized a foot stool, and was about to strike a little boy who sat in the aisle; the minister observed his motions and instantly gave an alarm, and the blow was so far averted that the boy was not seriously hurt. A great excitement was produced, and Selden was led away.

†Joshua Boston.—Among the negroes who sat in the pew for males was Joshua Boston, a son of Boston; both belonged to Col. Eleazar Porter, previous to his death in 1757. Joshua Boston is represented by those who knew him well, as tall, erect and portly; he was well dressed, gentlemanly in his manners, and there was much native dignity in his appearance. His dignified aspect attracted attention in the street, and when he entered the meeting-house. On the day of his funeral, after those who attended had left the grave-yard, a singular curiosity led the sexton to descend into the grave, open the coffin and gaze once more upon the countenance of Joshua, and he declared that it was still dignified and majestic. Joshua could read and write, sustained a good reputation, and was a member of the church in Hadley. He had been a soldier in the Revolutionary service. His color was that of a negro. He died December, 1819, and his age was said to be about 79. This man in 1758 was a chattel, and was valued at 20 pounds.

There is a tradition in Northampton and Hadley, that 100 years ago, those in the meeting-house rose when the minister entered.

At a meeting, Jan. 15, 1753, the precinct empowered Eleazar Porter, Esq. and Messrs. Jonathan Smith, Nathaniel Kellogg, Enos Nash and Samuel Smith, to cover the body of the meeting-house with quarter-boards* and color it,† to raise the steeple to a proper height; to put in new sills where needful, to rectify the underpinning and lay gravel and sand about it, and to shingle the west side of the roof if necessary. This committee might make sale of the clock‡ in the meeting-house and procure another, or get it rectified and mended.

It is evident that the spire or tapering part of the steeple, above the bell, was added after this meeting in 1753. It is said to have been neatly and symmetrically formed. The belfry or place where the bell was hung, was round, and had eight pillars, with some ornamental work. There was no communication between the steeple and gallery, but there was a passage into the space between the roof and beams.§ The height of the steeple was between 90 and 100 feet.

The Cock, which still surmounts the steeple of the third meeting-house, is believed to have been put up when the spire of the second house was added, not long after 1753. He has kept his lofty station, and shown the direction of the wind, for a century, and was removed from the west to the middle street on the steeple in 1841.‖

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*Quarter-boards were narrow boards. The third precinct of Hadley, (Amherst,) voted Oct. 8, 1735, to cover their meeting-house "with quarter-boards of spruce." White pine was often misnamed spruce. In 1749, Joseph Hawley, of Northampton, bought "800 spruce quarter-boards," which were narrow, sawed boards of white pine. All these quarter-boards seem to be sawed clapboards, but some intelligent men in Hadley think the old meeting-house was covered with split clapboards, and that sawed ones were not used there as early as 1753. This may be correct, but before the end of the century, sawed boards superseded the cloven-boards or true clapboards, and received the same name, in this vicinity.

†There was a vote in March, 1771, to color the meeting-house, if a committee, after examining it, reported that the timber would answer the cost of coloring. It was colored, but in its latter days most of the color was gone. Formerly the word color was used instead of paint.

‡This is the first notice of the clock. It is not known when or by what means it was obtained. There was a vote to repair it in 1759 and in 1803. It had only one dial and that was on the north side of the steeple. It is said to have been a pretty good time-keeper in the last century, but has long been silent and useless.

§The town's stock of powder was formerly stored in the meeting-house garret, in Hadley, as it was in many other towns.

‖When the cock was first placed at the top of the steeple, Zeb. Prutt, a young colored man, ascended to the summit, sat on the copper bird, and imitated the crowing of a rooster. Soon after this weather-cock was elevated to the top of the present steeple in 1808, two young

In 1763, the meeting-house had spread, and it was necessary to take up much of the floor with the seats, in order "to get the meeting-house together and secure it from spreading." The difficulty was apparently in the underpinning and sills.

Bell.—Such a bell as was at Northampton was to be purchased in 1690, (page 44.) March 1, 1731, the town voted to buy a bell, and left it with the selectmen to procure one. This seems to have been the fourth bell used in Hadley. This bell of 1731 was broken by five young men in a ringing frolic, and the town, January 3, 1785, voted to get the bell repaired [recast,] and to add to the weight, which was 336 pounds, so much as to make it 448 pounds. The five persons who broke the bell were to pay four dollars each. The bell was sent to New Haven to be recast.—The bell of 1785 was cracked in July, 1808, in attempting to toll it by the strokes of a hammer, and the present bell was obtained from Medway.

In 1743, curtains were voted for the west windows and three on the south end. In 1766, as many curtains were voted as the selectmen judged needful. There were curtains at the windows most exposed to the sun as long as the house stood.

Horse-blocks to aid old men and females to mount and dismount, were necessary near meeting-houses, as well as dwelling-houses, when men and women rode on horses. They were less needed at the meeting-house in a village like Hadley, than in towns where the inhabitants lived more scattered on farms; and there were family horse-blocks in Hadley on each side of the street. In 1762, Eliakim Smith built a horse-block for the town, near the meeting-house; it took 191 feet of boards and required near a day's labor, and cost 8s. 8d., besides the slitwork.*

There were no horse sheds nor Sabbath-day houses about the meeting-house in Hadley.

Iron Stoves were first employed to warm the meeting-house in Hadley in the winter of 1730–1731. Foot Stoves were previously used by the women and small children to warm their feet. Foot

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men, for mischief and sport, climbed the steeple in the night, lifted the vane from the spindle, brought it to the ground and hid it. They were found out, and were required to replace the cock on the spire.—Bailey's Dictionary, 2d Vol. 1737, says, "the cock is generally placed on the tops of steeples in England, and is called the weather-cock." The cock was common on steeples centuries before.

*Horse-blocks, or platforms with steps, were made of boards and slitwork, or of a large, solid log, or of stone. In towns, where most of the females rode to meeting on horses, there was a lively scene about the horse-blocks, after the congregation was dismissed. Young women easily alighted from a horse without the aid of a horse-block, and when necessary, they readily sprung upon a horse from a fence.

stoves do not appear in Hampshire county and other parts of Massachusetts until about 1730. For a long time, most of them were made of wood, and partly or wholly lined with tin, and the coals were placed within, in a small iron vessel. Towards the close of the last century, tin stoves, confined in a neat, wooden frame, became more common.* Heated stones, bricks or pieces of plank may have been used long before stoves. The people of former generations in these and other towns were hardy, and inured to the cold, and they suffered much less in the meeting-house in the winter, than some persons imagine. The ministers were hardy also, and their sermons in cold weather were seldom very short.†

Neither the first nor second meeting-house in Hadley was formally dedicated, and there were no unmeaning ceremonies at the laying of corner stones. Meeting-houses in New England were not dedicated for more than a century. They were "opened" with prayers, and sometimes with a sermon. The people of New England were too knowing to believe that any ceremony or solemnity could make wood, brick or stone holy, and they did not esteem their meeting-houses too holy to be used for useful civil purposes. The people of Hadley held town meetings in their meeting-houses near 150 years, though more often perhaps in the school-house.‡

In Hadley, persons were appointed to sweep and take care of this second meeting-house, and ring the bell, but they are not named in the records.

On the north post of the eastern door, was the place for publishments, and many persons as they entered the house, stopped on the steps long enough to see who were going to be married.

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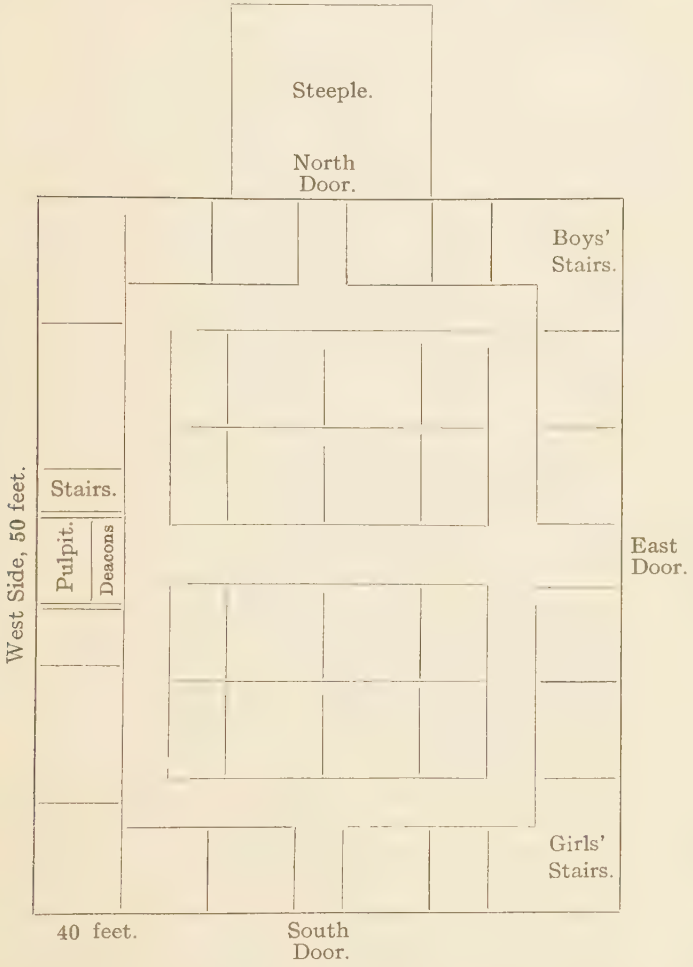
*Eliakim Smith of Hadley, made wooden stoves, from 1757 to 1775; they were perforated with holes, and entirely or partially lined with tin. The price of a stove was from 2s. to 2s. 8d., and of the lining from 1s. to 1s. 6d. Samuel Gaylord also made wooden stoves lined with tin. Tin stoves were sold in this vicinity in 1793, from 5s. 6d. to 6s. Stephen Kellogg, who died in Hadley in 1738, had a stove which was valued at two shillings, the only one noticed in Hampshire before 1745. Roxbury meeting-house took fire from a foot-stove in 1744, and was burnt.—Foot stoves were derived from Holland, where the women still carry them into the churches.

†The writer attended meeting in houses not warmed, until he was 33 years old, and is not conscious that he and those about him were seriously incommoded by the cold, except on a few Sabbaths. There were a few keenly cold Sabbaths in the winter, when young men and boys in the gallery knocked their feet together and made some noise. The experience of some Hadley men has been similar to that of the writer.

‡"The idea of a special sanctity transfused through the boards and timbers of a meeting-house by the mystic ceremony of a dedication, or by the grace of priestly benediction, to make it a sacrilege to use it for any other purpose, is repugnant to common sense and the simplicity of Christ." *N. Y. Evangelist, July* 17, 1851.

Plan of the Aisles, Pews, &c.

On the Ground-floor of the second Meeting-house in Hadley, as they were after 1788. No old plan is found; this is made from information derived from elderly people.



Many of the pews were nearly square; some were smaller than the square ones, and a few were larger. Two pews on the west side were denominated the "Great Pews," and 10 or 12 persons sat in each. There was a chair in each of these, and in some other pews. There were four narrow pews or slips on the west side of the body; in two of these, next to the middle or broad aisle, sat two of the most wealthy men in Hadley, about 1800, viz., Charles Phelps and Oliver Smith. The pews were all high-backed, and in the upper part were nicely turned, little balusters, which children were fond of handling. It is hardly necessary to say that the aisles and pews were uncarpeted, and the seats uncushioned.

CHAPTER XXIX

The second, third and fourth Ministers of Hadley—Ordinations—Inscriptions on the Gravestones of four Ministers—Texts and Sermons—The Lord's Supper—Baptisms—Lectures—Whitfield—Ministers' wood.

Rev. Isaac Chauncey, the second minister of Hadley.

The town of Hadley voted, Aug. 27, 1693, to send two messengers to procure a minister; they desired one to come "upon trial for some time." Not long after this, Mr. Samuel Moody* was preaching there, and Jan. 11, 1694, a rate was voted to pay him. Almost eleven months later, Dec. 3, 1694, the town voted to give Mr. Moody £35, in wheat, peas and corn for his labors. These votes indicate that he preached there a few months in 1693, and a longer time in 1694. Mr. Simon Bradstreet† began to preach in Hadley in the early part of 1695, and April 26, 1695, a committee was appointed to treat with him about settling as their minister, and there was a vote about his pay to that time. No agreement was made with him.

Mr. Isaac Chauncey began to preach in Hadley not far from July, 1695, and on the 16th of October, 1695, the town earnestly desired Mr. Chauncey to settle among them as their minister, and offered to him the homelot of about ten acres and buildings, that belonged to their former pastor, Mr. Russell, and twenty acres of meadow land, to be to him and his heirs forever, and a salary of 70 pounds for three years "in provision pay," and after that, 80 pounds per year in the same pay. It appears from subsequent votes that he was to be supplied with fire-wood. These fair propositions were evidently accepted. His acceptance and the time of his ordination are not recorded in the town records.‡

Mr. Chauncey's salary of 80 pounds in provision pay, was not equal to 60 pounds or 200 dollars in proclamation money. His houselot of ten acres and the buildings with 20 pounds for repairs, and twenty acres of meadow land, were worth in money about 700 dollars, and the getting of his wood cost the town six or seven pounds. He was well provided for and never complained. Jan. 5, 1713, after province bills were in circulation, Mr. Chaun-

*This Samuel Moody is supposed to have been a son of Rev. Joshua Moody, of Portsmouth and Boston, H. C. 1689. †This was a son of Rev. Simon Bradstreet of New London, H. C. 1693. He settled in Charlestown.

‡The church records were burnt in 1766.—The date of his ordination, in Allen's Biographical Dictionary, is Sept. 9, 1696; this seems too late.

cey requested the town to pay his salary in money, that is, in province bills, and said he would accept of £60 in money instead of £80 "in pay." The town consented to do this for ten years. The value of the bills had fallen some before 1713, and £60 did not equal 200 silver dollars.

As the province bills continued to depreciate, the town increased his salary to £70, £80, £85, and from 1720 to 1725 to £100, he providing his own firewood; and to £110 the next three years. In 1729 they voted £120, adding £10, "in consideration of the difficult circumstances of his family." In 1730, they voted £130. In 1731, the town granted £120, and added £40 "for the support of two indigent persons in his family."* In 1732, 1733 and 1734, they gave him £120, and £40 more yearly, on account "of the ill circumstances of his family," or "of the indigent persons in his family," and in 1735, they added £40 "in consideration of his son, &c." In 1736, they added, £20 for his son.† In 1637, the precinct granted £170, and in 1738 and 1739, £160. After Mr. Chauncey ceased to preach, his salary was reduced to £75 in 1740, £60 in 1741, and £70 a year for the succeeding years of his life. This reduction was apparently made with his consent.

Mr. Chauncey is represented as studious in his habits, and attentive to his duties. He evidently led a peaceable and quiet life with the people of Hadley. There is no intimation that there was ever any difficulty or misunderstanding between them. When he made a request, it was reasonable, and they readily complied. Several short letters from him are recorded, in which he expresses his satisfaction with what the town had done. Very few events of his ministry are known. Four of his sermons were published, viz., A Sermon at the ordination of Rev. William Rand at Sunderland, May 20, 1724, from 2 Cor. xii. 15. A Sermon on the death of Rev. John Williams, at Deerfield, June 12, 1729. A Sermon preached at Hadley upon a Lord's day, 1731, on the

*There is some uncertainty regarding the "two indigent persons" in Mr. Chauncey's family. One may have been his distracted son. There is an error on 234th page; Mr. Chauncey's son is not mentioned as one of the indigent in 1735, though he seems to have been one of them.

†Mr. Chauncey's son Israel graduated at Harvard College in 1724. He taught the grammar school in Hadley, and preached acceptably in several towns. He preached in Northampton nine months previous to August, 1726. He was invited to settle at Glastenbury, in March, 1727, but declined. Norwalk sent for him in 1727. He preached at Housatonnuck. The Boston Weekly Journal of Dec. 7, 1736, thus notices the derangement and death of this promising young man. "At Hadley something over a week ago, a small outhouse of Mr. Chauncey was burnt, and in it one of his sons, who was liberally educated and had preached some time, but of late was distracted, and was confined in the building consumed. He used frequently to cry fire, in the night, and for this reason, his cry now was not heeded till too late."

vanity of superficial religion, from Joshua xxiv. 19. A Lecture-Sermon preached at Hadley on the 16th of February, 1732, on the loss of the soul, from Matthew xvi. 26; this was delivered on a week-day.* Mr. Chauncey assisted at the ordination of Rev. Robert Breck, of Springfield, and gave the charge, Jan. 26, 1736, after a previous council of ministers from Hampshire had refused to ordain him, because they thought him to be heretical.

Rev. Isaac Chauncey was a son of Rev. Israel Chauncey, of Stratford, Conn. and grandson of Rev. Charles Chauncey, President of Harvard College. Rev. Nathaniel Chauncey, the second minister of Hadley, was his uncle; and Rev. Charles Chauncey, of Stratfield, now Bridgeport, an ancestor of Commodore Chauncey, was his brother. Mr. Chauncey of Hadley was born Oct. 5, 1670, graduated at Harvard College, 1693, and died May 2, 1745 in his 75th year. He became so infirm as to require assistance in the pulpit, in his 69th year, and preached but little after 1738. His estate was settled without the aid of the probate court. Four of his daughters married ministers.†

Rev. Chester Williams, the third minister of Hadley.

After Mr. Chauncey became infirm, the first precinct paid for preaching in 1739, to Mr. Edward Billings, £44, 15s. (he was ordained pastor at Cold Spring, May 7, 1740;) and to Mr. Hobart Estabrook, £39, 13s. (he was ordained at Millington in East Haddam, 1745.) In 1740, to Mr. Daniel Buckingham, £54, (he was settled in the ministry at Green's Farms, (Greenfield,) Fairfield Co.) to Mr. Benjamin Dickinson, who resided in Hadley, £22, 4s., to Mr. Noah Merrick, £7, 10s. (he was the first

*Prof. W. C. Fowler's interesting "Memorials of the Chaunceys," mention only these four publications of Mr. Chauncey of Hadley. These are not now to be found in Hadley. Many years since, the late Dr. Brown, of Hadley, had a printed Lecture or Sermon by Mr. Chauncey, to the young people of Hadley, and he read it in a conference meeting, a century from the time it was delivered. He and those who heard it, thought it an excellent discourse. Possibly it was the same as the Lecture-Sermon, preached Feb. 16, 1732. Allen's Biographical Dictionary says Mr. Chauncey's sermon at the funeral of Rev. John Williams of Deerfield, "displays very considerable learning and taste, uncommon for the time."

†Mr. Chauncey, as well as his predecessor and successor, offended against right, by holding persons in bondage. Arthur Prutt and his wife Joan are said to have been slaves of Mr. Chauncey. They had seven children.

His son, Josiah Chauncey, sold the homestead of 10 acres and 14 acres of meadow land, to Samuel Gaylord, Nov. 23, 1749, for 2770 pounds, old tenor, equal to 1231 dollars. Most of the homelot is still owned by Mr. Gaylord's posterity, and the Academy and the Meeting-house of the west parish stand on the same lot.

minister of Wilbraham, 1741,) and to Mr. John Woodbridge, who settled in South Hadley, £2, 10s.*

Mr. Williams began to preach at Hadley, about September, 1740, and at a precinct meeting held Nov. 3, 1740, the inhabitants desired Mr. Chester Williams of Pomfret to settle among them in the work of the gospel ministry, and voted to give for his encouragement, the town homelot of ten acres, and 300 pounds in money; and during Mr. Chauncey's life, an annual salary of 140 pounds, and the use of the town land, or instead thereof 30 pounds, as he shall choose; and after Mr. Chauncey's decease, 180 pounds in money and the use of the town land or 30 pounds in money. The salary to be made equal to silver at 28 shillings per ounce. They voted to provide a sufficiency of fire-wood.

The following is the answer of Mr. Williams:†

"To the church of Christ in Hadley first Precinct, and to said Precinct—Beloved Brethren; I have before me your call to the work of the gospel ministry in this place; and your several votes respecting a settlement and support, bearing date Nov. 3, 1740, to which I would reply as follows:—I have a grateful sense of what you offer for a settlement and support during the Rev. Mr. Chauncey's life; believing it to be your duty to minister to his support as long as God shall lengthen out his life among you, and mine to encourage and assist you therein. But I am in doubt whether what you offer for an annual salary after the Rev. Mr. Chauncey's death, be sufficient to support a minister in his work, so free from the entanglements of life as would be most for his and the people's comfort and interest, as he should be. Yet being unwilling to insist on any terms that should look unreasonable or mercenary or that threaten the peace of this place, but desiring only to be supported as it shall be for a minister's honour and the honour of the people, hoping I covet you more than yours, I accept of your call upon the terms you have proposed, having confidence in your honour, justice and readiness to do for my support at all times as my circumstances shall call for, and shall appear to be your duty. Begging your united prayers, that I may come to you always in the fullness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ, and be a faithful and successful labourer in this part of his harvest.

CHEST'R WILLIAMS."

Hadley, 5th December, 1740.

*Pay of preachers.—Hadley paid to men who preached one, two or ten Sabbaths, in 1739 and 1740, from 40 to 50 shillings a Sabbath, in the first old tenor, or from 13s. 4d. to 16s. 8d., in silver at 6s. per dollar. Mr. Josiah Pierce, the grammar school-master, preached occasionally at 13s. 4d. a Sabbath; in 1754, the precinct gave to him and others 20 shillings each Sabbath. Northampton paid to preachers, for three years after the dismission of Mr. Edwards in 1750, from 7 to 10 pounds a Sabbath, in old tenor, or from 18s. 8d. to 26s. 8d. in lawful money.

Mr. Benjamin Dickinson, a native of Hatfield, and Mr. Josiah Pierce, a native of Woburn, men of collegiate education and licensed preachers, resided in Hadley most of their lives. They often supplied vacant pulpits in Hadley and the towns around.

†I have supplied as well as I could a few words torn from the answer in the record.

Mr. Williams was ordained* Jan. 21, 1741, "to the great satisfaction of the people," says the Boston News-Letter. His salary of 180 pounds, payable in province bills at the rate of 28 shillings for an ounce of silver, did not exceed 150 silver dollars, or 45 pounds in the specie currency of 1750. He consented to the moderate salary proposed, trusting that the people would give more for his support, if necessary. His confidence was not misplaced. The precinct paid him almost every year, more than they had engaged to pay, and he appears to have been fully satisfied. As province bills fell, his salary was increased until it was £385 in old tenor, for 1747 and 1748. In 1752 and 1753, it was £55 in lawful money. The precinct continued the salary to his family through the year 1753, though he died in October, and they gave to his widow the use of the precinct land which he had occupied, for the year 1754.

It is not known that any thing was published by Mr. Williams. Tradition attributes to him energy of character, and earnestness as a preacher. He is said to have used plainness of speech, both in the pulpit and in conversation.† He evidently lived in harmony with the people, and was highly esteemed by them.

In the controversy that took place in Hampshire, respecting the qualifications for communion, Mr. Williams was conspicuous on the lax side of the question, and was opposed to the sentiments

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*Ordinations were very rare in the last century, in most towns; there were only two in the old parish of Hadley in the whole century. They were commonly on Wednesday. They were occasions of joy and festivity, and there was a great collection of people from many towns. An ordination dinner was provided at the expense of the town or parish, for the ministers and many invited guests. These entertainments were quite expensive in many towns. After the installation of Mr. Cumming, in the Old South, Boston, in 1761, the guests at the feast were so numerous, that it required two houses to hold them. The people of Hampshire were more moderate than those of some other counties. Northampton expended at Mr. Hooker's ordination, Dec. 5, 1753, $21,43, including 19 shillings for wine. At Mr. Williams's ordination, June 4, 1778, the expense was really less, though nominally more; 106 pounds of beef, pork and veal were provided for the dinner. The town paid for no liquor. There is no record of ordination expenses at Hadley, but it may be concluded that they did not exceed those at Northampton. In some places the young people had a supper and dance in the evening after an ordination. Miss Caulkins, in her History of New London, says "an ordination ball was as common as the ordination itself." There was sometimes dancing in Hampshire after an ordination. After Mr. Wells was ordained under the oak trees at Whately, Sept. 25, 1771, some gay, young men came back to Hubbard's inn at Hatfield, and had a supper, succeeded by fiddling and dancing. It is believed that dances after ordinations have been very few in this part of the country since 1800.

†He is said to have told a parish tale-bearer who came to his house, that if he came as a tell-tale, there were two doors in the room, and he might take which he pleased.

Mr. Edwards of Northampton, was sometimes led astray by the exaggerated reports of officious persons. Some of his troubles in regard to the young people in 1744 came from this source.

of Rev. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton on this subject, as were almost all of the Hampshire ministers. Mr. Williams was a member and the scribe of the Council, that dismissed Mr. Edwards, and he and Mr. Enos Nash, the delegate from Hadley, voted for his dismission, June 22, 1750. He and those who acted with him were of opinion that the Lord's Supper was a converting ordinance, and that persons believing themselves to be unconverted, might be admitted to the Lord's table. Mr. Edwards did not believe that the Lord's Supper was a converting ordinance, and insisted that those received into the church should make a credible profession of piety.*

Mr. Williams was a son of Rev. Ebenezer Williams of Pomfret, Conn. and his mother's maiden name was Penelope Chester; she was from Wethersfield. His father was from Roxbury, and was a nephew of Rev. John Williams of Deerfield, and a relative of Rev. William Williams of Hatfield. Mr. Williams of Hadley graduated at Yale College in 1735 and was a tutor two years. He made his will Oct. 1, 1753, being then "visited with grievous sickness" and died on the 13th of the same month in the 36th year of his age, and in the 13th of his ministry. He was buried on the 15th.† He gave his property to his wife, two sons, and three daughters—to the latter £100 or 333 dollars each when 21 or at marriage. His estate as appraised, was worth £1200 or 4000 dollars, after paying his debts. There were not many so large estates in the town. Much of his property must have been derived from his father or some other source besides the parish. Some came from his wife's father, Hon. Eleazar Porter, who was the most wealthy man in Hadley. Mr. P. gave to his daughter in household stuff and in-door goods, £172 or 573 dollars, and these things with the additions, were still prized at £172. The library of Mr. Williams was valued at £55.11.1; his homestead and buildings at £346; 18 acres of meadow land at £140; debts due to the estate, chiefly in Connecticut, at £490.—He rode a

*The Hampshire ministers found it more easy to assist the disaffected in Northampton and to dismiss Mr. Edwards, than to refute his arguments. They did not attempt to reply to him in print.

The belief of the minister and the people of Hadley in regard to qualifications for communion, differed widely from that of Mr. Russell and their fathers. They had become less strict than Mr. Stone and the church at Hartford, in the preceding century. The change must have begun under Mr. Chauncey.

From the "Life of President Edwards," it appears that not more than three ministers and two churches in Hampshire county, partly agreed with Mr. Edwards as to the Lord's Supper, in 1750. He thought that only one minister was fully of his mind, and no church.

†It is not known who preached his ordination sermon, or his funeral sermon.

valuable horse, and was well dressed. He was apparently attentive to his dress and appearance.*

Rev. Samuel Hopkins, the fourth minister of Hadley.

After the death of Mr. Williams, each minister of the association appears to have supplied the pulpit of Hadley one Sabbath. Mr. Pierce preached 21½ Sabbaths in 1753 and 1754. Mr. Mills preached several Sabbaths. Mr. Abel Newell preached six Sabbaths as a candidate in May and June, 1754, and the precinct requested him to preach longer as a "probationer," but he did not comply.†

Mr. Samuel Hopkins preached at Hadley the first time Sept. 22, 1754. He preached six Sabbaths, and the precinct desired him to preach longer as a "probationer." He came again and preached in December. On the 23d of December, 1754, after the first church in Hadley had made choice of Mr. Hopkins, the first precinct concurred with the church and chose him for their minister, and voted to give him a settlement of 200 pounds, lawful money, 60 pounds salary, to be governed by the necessaries of life, the use of all the precinct land, and his fire-wood. December 31st, Mr. Hopkins signified that he doubted the sufficiency of the salary and proposed that after two years, £6.13.4 (fifty pounds, old tenor,) should be added. The precinct concurred with his proposal, and voted that the annual salary should be £66.13.4, (222 dollars 22 cents.)‡

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*His horse was valued at £20 or 66⅔ dollars. No horse so valuable is found in any previous Hampshire inventory.—His apparel was appraised at £34, 10s. or 115 dollars. He had a cloak, a gown, 2 great coats, 6 coats, 6 waistcoats (one was of leather,) 5 pairs breeches (one of leather,) 7 shirts, 6 neckcloths, 3 cotton hkfs., 3 bands, 5 stocks, 5 caps, 2 hats, 4 wigs, 4 pairs gloves, 1 pair mittens, 17 pairs stockings (2 pairs were of silk,) 1 pair garters, 1 pair boots, 2 pairs shoes, 1 pair moccasons, gold sleeve buttons, 26s. 8d., silver shoe, knee and stock buckles, 18s., 2 gold rings, 20s., a tobacco box and a snuff box. Some of his garments were much worn.—He had a silver tankard valued at 22 dollars, a cane with a gold ferule, 16s. and a cane with a white head, 5s. 4d.

Mr. Williams gave to his wife, in one line, "my negro woman Phillis, my cows and sheep," and Phillis was appraised at £40, in connection with the cows and sheep.

†Mr. Abel Newell was settled as pastor at Goshen, Conn. in 1755.

‡Mr. Hopkins and the committee agreed, and the precinct voted, that the salary should rise or fall, from £66.13.4, as the following eight articles should rise or fall from the prices now agreed upon, viz., 1st, English goods at wholesale, which cost £100 sterling are now £170 lawful; 2d, husbandman's labor in summer, two shillings per day; 3d, men's shoes, six shillings per pair; 4th, wheat, four shillings per bushel; 5th, rye, two shillings and eight pence per bushel; 6th, Indian corn, two shillings per bushel; 7th, fall beef, one penny two farthings half farthing per pound; 8th, pork, two pence two farthings per pound; in the town of Hadley or county of Hampshire. Each eighth part of the salary to rise or fall as each of said articles shall rise or fall.

Mr. Hopkins returned the following answer:

"To the Church of Christ in Hadley first Precinct, and to said Precinct.—Beloved Brethren; I am informed by some of your committee of your compliance with what I proposed to you. I have a grateful sense, gentlemen, of your generosity, and am obliged to you for the respect you have shown me, and do accept of your call on the terms you have proposed; and beg your prayers that I may come to you at all times in the fullness of the blessing of Christ, and be a faithful and successful labourer in this part of his harvest.

SAM'L HOPKINS."

Hadley, Dec. 31, 1754.

The town voted Jan. 6, 1755, to raise money "for charges of the designed ordination." Mr. Hopkins was ordained on Wednesday, Feb. 26, 1755. His father, Rev. Samuel Hopkins of West Springfield, preached the sermon, from 1 Thess. 2: 7 to 12, and Rev. Stephen Williams of Longmeadow, gave the charge. There was a fast the preceding week, in reference to the ordination, and two sermons. Mr. Hopkins married Mrs. Sarah Williams, the widow of his predecessor, Feb. 17, 1756, and lived in the same house. On the 21st of March, 1766, the house was burnt, and almost all its contents. Liberal contributions were made in Hadley and elsewhere, and the people of Hadley erected a new frame in eleven days. Madam Porter, the mother of Mrs. Hopkins, was in the house on the night of the fire, and she thus notices the fire and some other events, in her interleaved almanac for that year.

"1766, March 21. A little before one in the morning, the house of Mr. Hopkins was burnt, amazingly quick after it was first discovered. The family being fourteen, had but a few minutes to escape. Most of us were almost naked, and all except Chester Willimas went out at windows." March 26. The family came together to housekeeping. March 30, Sabbath. Mr. Hopkins's first sermon after the fire was from Job. 1: 21. "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." April 1. The new house was raised. Nov. 24. Mr. Hopkins removed into his new house.*

Rev. Parsons Cook relates that, "while, amid the consternation of the scene, Mr. Hopkins bore away from the flames the last of his rescued children, he turned and addressed the fire as a living agent, saying, 'now burn and welcome.'" His youngest child was only 15 days old.

Mr. Hopkins's salary, whenever noticed in the records, before 1789, is £66.13.4.† Some addition was made in later years.

*August 10, 1768, Mr. Hopkins purchased the houselot of 10 acres and buildings for £266.13.4. Mrs. Hopkins previously had a right to the use of one-third. The town added half an acre in 1773. In 1814, John Hopkins sold this homestead, called 11 acres, and buildings, to Rev. John Woodbridge, for 3100 dollars, reserving his shop on the S. W. corner. This house of Dr. Woodbridge, which is now, 1859, 93 years old, is still a fair and commodious dwelling.

†The salary of Rev. John Woodbridge of South Hadley was the same many years. This sum, £66.13.4, was £500, in old tenor, turned into lawful money. Northampton gave Mr. Hooker a salary of 100 pounds after 1758.

Jan. 6, 1783, when the times were hard, the town of Hadley sent a committee to Mr. Hopkins, "to see whether he is willing to have any part of his estate taxed; or otherwise to bear any of the burthens of the present war, with his parishioners." His answer is not recorded.

Omitting the years of the Revolution, the prices of produce and labor did not advance very much between 1754 and 1789. The great rise did not begin until about 1789.

Mr. Hopkins was a son of Rev. Samuel Hopkins of West Springfield, who was a native of Waterbury, Conn. His mother, Esther, was a sister of Rev. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton. He was a cousin of the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, from whom "Hopkinsians" derived their name. He was born Oct. 20, 1729, and graduated at Yale College in 1749, where he was a tutor three years. He received from Yale College the degree of D.D. in 1802. He preached in Hadley 54 years, or until February, 1809, when he was struck with paralysis, which impaired his mental faculties. He died March 8, 1811, and Rev. Dr. Lyman, of Hatfield, preached his funeral sermon, March 12, which was published. Silk gloves were given to the pall-bearers who are named on 241st page. Dr. Hopkins published two Discourses on the church membership of infants, 1799; and a Half-century Sermon, 1805.*

His first wife, Mrs. Sarah (Porter) Williams, the mother of his nine children, died Feb. 5, 1774. He married Miss Margaret Stoddard of Chelmsford, Oct. 1776, and she died Oct. 3, 1796.†

Dr. Hopkins was a man of economical habits and a good manager. With a salary of 222 dollars aided by his settlement, &c. he brought up a numerous family, entertained much company, educated a son at college, and added to his estate.

Extracts from a communication in Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit," contributed by Rev. Parsons Cook, D.D., a native of Hadley, dated Lynn, Oct. 29, 1854.

"Remarkable as Dr. Hopkins was for facetiousness among his friends, he was never otherwise than dignified. And as he walked abroad, he carried with him such an amount of gravity and dignity, as inspired with reverence, all juvenile spectators, to say the least. The children just let loose from school, when he was passing, checked in mid-volley the explosion of their mirth, held their breath, formed a line and took off their hats for their customary token of reverence."

"His manner in the pulpit was entirely without action; his reading of his sermons was slow and drawling. His hearers had occasion to be something more than passive receivers. It needed laborious attention to draw from him what he produced. His mind was remarkable for sound judgment and practical wisdom. A distinguished lawyer, after hearing him preach, remarked that he would make a good judge.

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*Old people in Hadley who knew Dr. Hopkins, always speak of him with respect. They say that his delivery in the pulpit, was dull and languid. They are confident that he did not wear a wig, and many say that he did not wear a cocked hat. His common dress was a straight-bodied coat, a vest with skirts or lappets, breeches, long stockings, and shoes with buckles. Wherever he called, he was a welcome visitor, and in some places a long pipe was kept for him. He stooped considerably in his latter years.

†The families of the ministers will be noticed in the genealogical part of the work.

In his Theology, he was Calvinistic, but he held views of the means of grace different from those which now obtain among Calvinists. He placed among the sinner's means of conversion, his attendance on the Lord's supper. He felt it to be his duty to urge all persons whose lives were not immoral to connect themselves with the church. [He held the views of Mr. Stoddard, and not those of President Edwards.]

The Half-way Covenant was not in use under his ministry. There was no occasion for it. As unconverted men found admission to full communion, it was not necessary for them to enter the church half-way, to secure the baptism of their children.

From what I have said, it must not be inferred that Dr. Hopkins was lax in doctrine or discipline. He held the main body of Calvinistic Divinity, and he was not wont to hold back from his people, what he himself received.

One fact which contributed not a little to change the sentiments of his people against some of his peculiarities, was the frequent preaching of his sons in law in his pulpit. Dr. Emmons married his step-daughter, Dr. Austin, Dr. Spring, Mr. Worcester and Mr. Riddel—all Hopkinsian preachers, married daughters of his. These were frequently visiting him and preaching in his pulpit.

In Dr. Hopkins's day, the whole town formed but one congregation. No other sect had gained a foot-hold in it. And though there are now three congregations, they are all of the same denomination. In his day, it was a great point of interest to keep out other sects. And no small part of the minister's duty was to watch against interlopers. He had a rare sagacity in this matter.

[When it became needful for his people to settle a colleague he expressed great interest to secure the settlement of Rev. Dan Huntington, who resided in Hadley and was a popular preacher.]

Dr. Hopkins's social qualities were of the highest order. His wit and pleasantry were abundant, yet always tempered with prudence. He was an attractive companion for persons of all ages and all grades, and especially for young men. He would not unfrequently invite to dinner parties, young students and others, and of such parties he was himself the centre and life. His anecdotes and sallies of wit on such occasions were exhaustless. But his conversation, however facetious, was carefully guarded as to its religious tendency. He was remarkable for his talent at conveying reproofs when needed, in a way not to give offence.

He loved a timely joke, and it mattered little whether the laugh was with him or at him. He used to tell such as this. On visiting an invalid, he said to him—"It is a long time since you have been able to attend meeting; would you not like to have the neighbors called in, and have me preach a lecture at your house?" The invalid replied—"I should like it much, for I have not been able for a long time to get any sleep, and I know from much experience that your preaching will give me essential aid in this respect."

He used to tell a similar compliment which he received from Governor Strong. When on an exchange in Northampton, he dined with the Governor, and Mrs. S. offered him some pudding which he declined, saying that pudding before preaching made him dull. Gov. S. instantly replied,—"Did you not eat pudding for breakfast, sir?"*

He was to receive annually so many cords of good hard wood. On one occasion, a parishioner brought a load, about which he raised a question if there were not some soft wood in the load. To which the other replied—"and do we not sometimes have soft preaching?"

He would not have received such missiles if he had not been expert in throwing them.

Another communication in Sprague's American Pulpit says: "From all that I have been able to gather, I conclude that Dr. Hopkins must have been a man of excellent judgment, of fine moral qualities, an evangelical and instructive, but not very popular preacher, a faithful pastor; and held in high estimation by his brethren in the ministry and by the community at large."

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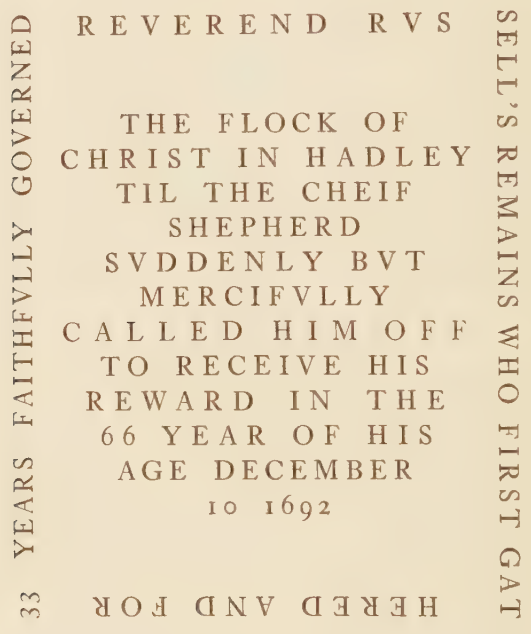
*I heard this anecdote in Northampton 30 years ago. Dr. Hopkins related it to Doct. Ebenezer Hunt the next time that he came over. It is presumed that the Governor's question was asked in a whisper, and not in the hearing of his family. Gov. Strong and Doct. Hunt were familiar friends of Dr. Hopkins.

Inscriptions on the Grave-stones of the first four ministers of Hadley.

The three oldest stones are sandstone; Dr. Hopkins's is marble. Three are upright; Mr. Russell's is a table. The inscription on Mr. Russell's is not in good taste.



Here lies interred, the body of the Rev'd Mr. Isaac Chauncey, pastor of the first church of Christ in Hadley, who was of a truly peaceable and catholick spirit, a good scholar, an eloquent orator, an able divine, a lively, pathetick preacher, a burning and shining light in this candlestick, an exemplary christian, an Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile. He departed this life May ye 2nd, A.D. 1745, aet. 74.

Here rests ye body of ye R'd Mr. Chester Williams, in whom bright parts, solid learning, unfeigned piety, happy elocution, universal benevolence, hospitality, and christian love, combined to form the exemplary pastor, the kind husband, the tender parent, the dutiful companion, and the faithful friend, who departed this life, October ye 13th, 1753, anno 36 aetat. suae.

Sacred to the memory of the Rev'd Samuel Hopkins, D. D. who in christian duty exemplary, in friendship frank and sincere, for prudence and meekness eminent; able in counsel, a pattern of piety and purity, ever upright and honourable in conduct, the epitome of the heart; as a peace-maker blessed, as a minister of Christ skillful and valiant in the truth; having with ability and charity long magnified his holy office, and served God and his generation faithfully, fell asleep, March 8th, A.D. 1811, in the 82 year of his age and 57 of his ministry.

Texts and Sermons.—It appears from Madam Porter's interleaved Almanacs, between 1751 and 1770, that Mr. Williams and Mr. Hopkins preached double sermons, or two sermons from one text, about two-thirds of the Sabbaths. This seems to have been a common practice in the country. Mr. Hopkins sometimes preached three, four, and even six sermons, from one text. His exchanges were not very numerous; were most frequent with Mr. Hooker of Northampton and Mr. Parsons of Amherst.

Ministers often adapted their sermons to events and seasons. Mr. Hopkins preached two sermons in reference to the earthquake* of Nov. 18, 1755. His new year's sermons, Jan. 1, 1764, were from Jer. 28: 16—"This year thou shalt die." May 13, 1764, he preached a spring sermon from Psalms 104: 30—"And thou renewest the face of the earth." April 26, 1761, Mr. Parsons of Amherst, preached at Hadley a spring sermon, from the beautiful description of spring in Solomon's Songs 2: 10 to 13.† Mr. Hopkins preached about singing, April 10, 1763, from 1 Cor. 14: 15.

The Lord's Supper was administered by Mr. Williams and Mr. Hopkins six times in a year, but the intervals were not equal previous to 1770, being sometimes more or less than two months. The Sacramental Lecture was commonly on Friday.—In the 17th and 18th centuries, the quantity of wine used on sacramental occasions was much greater than now, for the same number of communicants.‡

Baptisms were formerly administered in the meeting-house, and commonly the next Sabbath after the birth of the child. Mr. Hopkins's record of baptisms begins after the church record was burnt, March 21, 1766. For some years, a large portion of the children baptized by him were only from one to seven days old; some were older. A number were born on Saturday and baptized

*Madam Porter says—"Nov. 18, 1755, an awful earthquake about four o'clock in the morning."

†In the last century, ministers took texts from Canticles, as Solomon's Songs were called, mostly for sermons preceding the Lord's Supper. Mr. Williams of Hadley preached such a sermon, Feb. 2, 1752, from Cant. 8: 7—"Many waters cannot quench love," &c. Mr. Hopkins preached a sacramental lecture, March 20, 1761, from Cant. 2: 16—"My beloved is mine," &c. Mr. Parsons of Amherst preached a sacramental sermon at Hadley, March 31, 1754, from Cant. 1: 12. Most ministers preached sermons from texts in Solomon's Songs. –In April, 1728, Rev. Dr. Cutler, of the Episcopal Church, Boston, preached a funeral sermon from Solomon's Songs 8: 6—"cruel as the grave."

‡In Springfield from 1676 to 1681, each communicant paid a peck of wheat yearly for sacramental charges, worth from ten pence half penny to a shilling. In Northampton in 1666, each was to pay three half pecks of wheat in a year, worth about a shilling. The sacrament was administered six times in a year on Connecticut River; in some eastern towns once a month.

the next day. Mothers did not carry out their own children; the father was attended in the aisle by a female friend; sometimes by the nurse. The custom of baptizing infants so young gradually ceased, though there were a few cases in Hadley as late as 1789.*

Lectures on week-days were established in New England by the Puritans. The ministers and people in three, four or six towns in a neighborhood united, and had a lecture in one of the towns every week. Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield had these circulating lectures before and after Philip's war. They are noticed on pages 38 and 90. They must have been interrupted during the Indian wars. In the last century, Deerfield and Sunderland were added to the circle, and afterwards Amherst and South Hadley. For some years there were only six towns united, and the lectures were named "the six weeks lectures." Madam Porter notices public lectures in Hadley on Wednesdays, 1752 to 1764, and names as preachers at different times, the ministers of each of the seven towns.†

Mr. Whitefield once preached in Hadley and perhaps more than once. He first came to Northampton on the evening of Oct. 16, 1740, having preached at Hadley on the way. He visited the county again in 1745, and preached at Northampton June 15, and at Southampton June 17, and probably in other places. The leading men in Hatfield would not allow Whitefield to preach there, but many of the people came down to Northampton and Hadley to hear him. It has been said that when he preached in Hadley, his voice was heard in Hatfield.

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*The people of New England professedly rejected the absurd doctrine of baptismal regeneration, yet many seem to have been influenced by superstitious notions in regard to the efficacy of baptism. Hence the half-way covenant, and the anxiety to have a sick child baptized, and perhaps early baptisms. The diary of Rev. Jonathan Judd of Southampton, shows that he had been called up in the night to baptize a child near its end; and that he was sometimes sent for to go to Northampton, 8 miles, after Mr. Edwards was dismissed, to baptize a sick child, as if salvation depended on the performance of this external rite.

The baptism of babes in our meeting-houses 50 years ago, was an interesting sight, especially to the young, who rose up, and some stood on seats, and gazed with delight on the infant, when the mother in the broad isle divested it of the nice, and sometimes rich, christening blanket, and the father received it in a dress and cap as white as snow, and presented it to the minister before the deacon's seat. When the minister was about to pronounce the name and sprinkle the face of the child, all were still, and the young and others listened with much curiosity for the name, and looked earnestly upon the child, which almost always started and cried, when cold water was applied to the face. In those days, ministers, instead of laying a wet hand upon the face of the child, really sprinkled the face.

†The widow of Silas Billings of Hatfield, born about 1747, with whom I conversed when she was 88 years old, remembered the six weeks lectures. In regard to the early lectures, she said that the widow of Rev. William Williams of Hatfield, who was a daughter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, and born in 1676, told her that when a girl, she had often walked from Northampton to Hatfield to attend one of the lectures.

Ministers' Wood.—The quantity of wood carried to Mr. Williams is not stated. In his latter years, the town gave for ordinary loads 25s. O. T. or 3s. 4d. and for good sled loads, 4s. In 1759, wood for Mr. Hopkins was 3s. 4d. for cart loads, and 4s. for sled loads. In 1769, his wood was 55 middling loads, at 4s. 8d.; and in 1770, 60 loads at 4s. 8d. From 1772 to 1788, his wood was fifty cords a year at 6s. a cord. The price was 8s. per cord in 1797 and 1798, but lower in succeeding years. Mr. Hopkins's family was so small, that the quantity was only 25 cords for some years after 1801.

Fifty and sixty years ago, the minister's wood was got on days appointed, and the minister furnished the flip and other drink, but not the food. These were high days for young men and some not young, in Hadley and other towns.

CHAPTER XXX

Fourth Indian War, 1722—1726—Expedition to the West Indies—Fifth War, 1744—1749—Sixth War, 1754—1763—Small pox—Road to Albany—French Neutrals—Pirates.

The Indians were instigated by the Jesuit Rasles, to begin the fourth Indian war; he resided at Norridgewock on the Kennebec, and was slain Aug. 12, 1724. The French in Canada favored the Indians, but did not openly engage in the war. The principal attacks of the Indians were directed against the towns in Maine and New Hampshire. The towns in Massachusetts suffered less. The war commenced in 1722 and continued about four years, and the expenses of Massachusetts from May, 1722 to May, 1726, were not far from 215,000 pounds in province bills, of which near three-fourths were for the war. A large portion of this war expenditure was for Maine.

The war charges in Hampshire, paid by the province, may have averaged 5000 pounds a year, including the subsistence of Connecticut troops.* Garrisons were kept at Northfield and Deerfield, and at Brookfield which was connected with Rutland, and men were employed in the other towns as scouts and guards, and sometimes as garrisons. A new fort and garrison were

*Some Connecticut soldiers were in Hampshire in 1723, 1724 and 1725. Some Mohegans and Pequots came up.

added in February, 1724. On the 3d of that month, Timothy Dwight, with soldiers, carpenters and teams, left Northampton and went up the river; and in a few weeks they built a block house, named Fort Dummer, on the equivalent land, a mile or two below the present Brattleborough, which cost £256. This was the first building erected by civilized men in Vermont. Capt. Timothy Dwight commanded the garrison at this fort till the close of 1726. Capt. Joseph Kellogg, a native of Hadley, commanded at Northfield.* Capt. Samuel Barnard, and afterwards Lieut. Timothy Childs, commanded at Deerfield. Capt. Benjamin Wright,† formerly of Northampton, then of Northfield, was always ready to fight Indians, and he was at the head of several scouts and expeditions up the river and towards Lake Champlain in this war. Lieut. Eleazar Warner‡ was the chief officer at Brookfield, under Capt. Samuel Wright at Rutland. Col. Samuel Partridge of Hatfield, who was 80 years old in 1725, had the chief command in the county, and next to him was Lt. Col. John Stoddard of Northampton.§

Indian onsets in Hampshire.—Aug. 13, 1723, Thomas Holton and Thomas Merriman were slain at Northfield. Oct. 9, 1723, Ebenezer Severance was killed, Samuel Dickinson of Hatfield

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*Capt. Dwight's lieutenant was Elisha Searl, of Northampton, who had been many years a captive among the Indians, and had seen the vast prairies of the west.—Capt. Kellogg had been a captive, and had seen the Mississippi.

†Capt. Benjamin Wright had been much irritated by Indian cruelty. He once said, that if he took a pappoose, he would dash out its brains. "Nits will be lice," said the captain.

‡This man, afterwards Capt. Eleazar Warner of New Braintree, was experienced in Indian warfare and had visited Canada. He had incurred the ill will of an Indian, who came all the way from Canada to kill him in time of peace, but Capt. Warner had notice of his approach, and contrived to shoot the Indian, and his body was sunk in a pond in New Braintree.

§The pay of men in Hampshire per week, in this war, was for captains, 35 shillings, lieutenants, 20s., sergeants, 13s. 4d., corporals and drummers, 12s., common soldiers, 10s. All were supplied with food at 5 shillings per week, except at Fort Dummer, 5s. 6d. Troopers received the same, and in addition 3s. 6d. a week for a horse, and 3s. 6d. for a horse's feed. All were paid in province bills, which had fallen in the country about one-half. The soldier received less than a dollar per week. Wages by the year were no higher for farm labor. Those sent on long scouts or to a distance received more.

In December, 1724, the Hampshire towns were required to have a number of men supplied with snow-shoes and moccasons, for which each man was to be allowed 10 shillings. Hadley was to have 30 snow-shoe men.

Col. Stoddard suggested in 1724 that it might be well to provide some good dogs to pursue the enemy. None were so employed on this frontier, in this war.

Sickness.—Col. Partridge said in a letter, April 21, 1725:—"The hand of God is much upon the several towns upon our river, in sore sicknesses and many deaths."

taken, and two men wounded, at Northfield.* June 18, 1724, Benjamin Smith, son of Joseph S. of Hatfield, was slain, and Aaron Wells and Joseph Allis taken, when they were loading hay, about 3 miles from Hatfield village. June 27, 1724, Ebenezer Sheldon, Thomas Colton and a friendly Indian were killed, about a mile north of the present village of Greenfield. July 10, 1724, Lt. Timothy Childs and Samuel Allen were wounded in Deerfield meadow. Aug. 26, 1724, Nathaniel Edwards, 2d, of Northampton was killed and Abraham Miller wounded in the present Easthampton.† The next day a man was wounded in Westfield, and Noah Ashley of Westfield killed an Indian, for whose scalp he received £100.‡ Aug. 25, 1725, Deac. Samuel Field of Deerfield was wounded. Sept. 11, 1725, a scout from Fort Dummer was surprised, and Nathaniel Chamberlain of Hatfield and two others were taken, and Thomas Bodurtha of Springfield and John Pease of Enfield were slain. Three Northampton men belonging to a party of volunteers, under Capt. Thomas Wells of Deerfield, were drowned in Connecticut River, April 24, 1724.

Hadley was less exposed than other towns, and no person was hurt during the war. The records of the town do not once allude to the war. Hadley employed a few men as scouts and guards three or four months in 1724, and again in 1725, and the government paid a part of the expense. Many towns had guards in harvest time and in other busy seasons. Some soldiers from Hadley were at Northfield and Deerfield, and others were called out when there was an alarm. The cavalry of this and other towns were summoned many times.§

It was in this war that Massachusetts expended so much at Albany and Boston (more than 1500 pounds in 1723,) to engage the Maquas or Mohawks against the eastern Indians. (See page 124.) The Mohawks did not perform their engagements. Col. Stoddard believed that they were dissuaded by the Dutch and others at Albany.‖

*Hoyt, page 211, has erroneously represented this as an attack upon Fort Dummer.

†His widow, Hannah (French) Edwards, married Nehemiah Strong and was the mother of Judge Simeon Strong. Her son, Jonathan Edwards, lived in Amherst.

‡The bounty in this war for a scalp to those who went out at their own expense, was £100. Others received less. Lt. Gov. Dummer said in a letter to Capt. Kellogg at Northfield, July 25, 1724,—"I shall be glad to see a scalp or two brought down by some of your scouts."

§There were two companies of Cavalry in the county. The officers of the northern Troop in 1725 were Henry Dwight of Hatfield, Captain; Westwood Cook of Hadley, Lieutenant; Eleazar Porter of Hadley, Cornet; Nathaniel Coleman of Hatfield, Quarter-master. There were 39 troopers.

‖In 1724, some New York Indians were employed at Fort Dummer some months. They required more food and drink than the English, and proved inefficient.

A treaty of peace with the eastern Indians was signed at Boston, Dec. 15, 1725, and ratified at Falmouth, Maine, Aug. 5, 1726. A present of £300 was made to them not long after. The hostile Indians in Canada became peaceable.

The number of towns in Hampshire in 1726 was only twelve,* and one of them, Brimfield, was not incorporated until 1731. The people began new towns after the peace. When Worcester county was formed in 1731, Brookfield was included in it.

Expedition to the West Indies.—In 1740, the British government, being at war with Spain, sent to the colonies for men to join an expedition to the West Indies. 1000 men were enlisted in Massachusetts, but only 400 were then wanted; 100 more were sent in 1741. Of these 500 men, only 50 ever returned; the others fell victims to the fatal climate. These men were induced to engage by liquor and delusive representations. Gov. Shirley in 1741 talked about "lands in Cuba."†

The fifth War.

The war between Britain and France began in Europe in the early part of 1744, and soon extended to their colonies. Col. John Stoddard had the command in Hampshire until his death, June 19, 1748. He was succeeded in a few weeks by Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield.‡ Many new towns and plantations had been commenced in Hampshire since the last war. All of those

*Their proportion of a province tax of £20,000, in 1726 was—Springfield, £249.19; Northampton, £194.4.4; Hadley, £114.1.8; Hatfield, £93.5.8; Westfield, £99.3.8; Suffield, £109.5; Enfield, £86.11.2; Deerfield, £53.1.6; Brookfield, £19.18.10; Sunderland, £19.8.10. Northfield and Brimfield were not taxed.

Expresses traveled alone between Boston and Albany, in this, as in the preceding wars. Benjamin Alvord of Northampton often went to Boston as an express. Joseph Hawley in June, 1724, "thought it much boldness for one to travel alone," but Alvord was not afraid. He was an express in the next war.

†In 1740, Capt. Stephen Richards, after having obtained some men at Watertown and Newton, came up to Hampshire, and enlisted men in Suffield, Springfield and Westfield for the West Indies. It was affirmed that "he had a drummer, and plied drink very freely." In this manner, young men have often been incited to become soldiers. Rum and "lands in Cuba" would have the same effect with many now.—Capt. R. had 50 yards of ribbon for cockades.

‡Eleazar Porter of Hadley was Lieut. Colonel under Col. Stoddard. He was better fitted for civil than military life, or as Rev. T. Woodbridge of Hatfield wrote July 21, 1748,—"Mr. Porter has not a genius for war." He was respected by all. Secretary Willard wrote to Maj. Israel Williams, July 7, 1848—"The governor has thought it a proper respect to Col. Porter to offer him the command of the forces in Hampshire, either singly or jointly with you—expects he will decline." He declined in a few weeks, and Major Williams was appointed colonel in August.

Doct. Douglass says there were 2600 men in the Hampshire Regiment in 1748. The regiment seems to have been divided the latter part of 1748.

above Northfield were added to New Hampshire in 1740, by the king in council, who established the north line of Massachusetts far south of the line claimed by her, and even 14 miles south of the line claimed by New Hampshire.

Massachusetts maintained garrisons in this war at No. 4, or Charlestown, and Fort Dummer, and at times in the Ashuelots and other places in New Hampshire. Fort Shirley was built in the present Heath, Fort Pelham in Rowe, and Fort Massachusetts in East Hoosuck or Adams, and these forts were garrisoned. Soldiers paid by the province were stationed at Northfield and Greenfield, and in fortified houses or other works in Falltown, Colerain, Southampton, Blanford, Stockbridge and upper and lower Sheffield, in most of these only a part of the year. Sometimes there were troops at Deerfield, and a few men at No. 1, and No. 2, west of Blanford, and at Shutesbury and New Salem. Some of the places named were at times manned by soldiers from Connecticut. There were palisaded or picketed houses, some with mounts, in Northampton, Hatfield and other places that were not guarded at the expense of the province.*

Scouting was continual, and much was paid to scouting parties. Scalping parties also went out; but it was very rarely that a scalp was obtained. In 1745, 100 pounds in new tenor were offered to volunteers for scalps; and in 1747, when the bills had fallen much, 250 pounds. Nathaniel Kellogg of Hadley was at the head of a party of "volunteers" in 1746. Their object is not stated. 300 pairs of snow-shoes were ordered to be sent to Hampshire, January, 1746.

Capture of Louisburg.—On the 17th of June, 1745, at the end of a siege of 49 days, Louisburg in Cape Breton surrendered to the forces of New England, aided by a British squadron. By this capture of the strongest fortress in North America, New England acquired renown, and there was great rejoicing throughout the land. Sadness succeeded and eventually great disappointment. Previous to the surrender, only about 100 lives had been lost, but after that event, fatal diseases prevailed, which were destructive to the soldiers; Douglass says New England lost about 2000 men. Douglass is a careless writer, but a more cautious one estimates

*The following may give an idea of some of the fortifications or stockades of those days. In 1751, Ephraim Williams and others proposed to picket Fort Hoosuck in this manner:—To get 3000 pickets 6 inches in diameter, 9½ feet in length, sharpened at the upper ends; the lower ends to be set in a trench 18 inches deep, and a rib to be fastened across the whole by a pin through each picket and rib.

the loss at 1500. When peace was made, Britain restored Cape Breton to France.*

Soldiers were enlisted for this enterprise in all the Hampshire towns, and almost all the towns lost men by sickness. With few exceptions, the names of these men are not to be found. Major Seth Pomeroy of Northampton commanded a company at Louisburg, and there were other captains from Hampshire.†

There was a project for reducing Canada in 1746 by Britain and the colonies. Men were voted liberally by the colonies; Massachusetts voted to raise 3000 men, May 31, 1746, and actually enlisted 2000. Britain did not send the promised fleet and army, and the levies for Canada were kept on foot until Oct. 1747, and then dismissed. Many in Hampshire had enlisted in this Canada expedition. The Canada soldiers cost Massachusetts £68,000 before May, 1747, and much after. They aided in defending the frontiers.‡

The war continued in Europe until the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, Oct. 7, 1748, and in New England, a few months longer. Several persons were killed and taken in this war at the upper towns and forts in Hampshire, and Fort Massachusetts was taken Aug. 20, 1746. The attacks of the enemy were more frequent in New Hampshire, north of this county, and a much larger number of men were slain and captured than in Hampshire.

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*The Louisburg Expedition cost Massachusetts £261,700 in new tenor or last emission bills, which were nearly equal to silver at 6s. 8d. per ounce when the war began. The wages of the men on land amounted to £88,871, and their provisions to £54,153. The services of many continued several months in 1746.—Britain allowed Massachusetts 183,649 pounds sterling.

The wages of men at Louisburg, per month, in last emission bills, were for a colonel, £12, lieut. col., £10, major, £8.10, captain, £4.10, lieutenant, £3, ensign, £2, sergeant, 32s., corporal and drummer, 28s., private soldier, 25s. or 6s. 3d. per week. A surgeon, £6.5 per month, a chaplain, £6. Provisions were much higher than in New England, and were estimated at 6 shillings per week for each man.—Massachusetts paid a bounty of 20 shillings each to 3433 men enlisted for the first embarcation, and to 674 men for the second; and enlisting officers received 2s. 6d. for each man enlisted. Every man received a blanket. A second bounty of 25 shillings was paid at Louisburg after the reduction of the place.

†In Major Pomeroy's muster-roll, three men are said to belong to Hadley; two of them seem to be from South Hadley. Of the three, Reuben Smith, son of Joseph, returned, and Peter Montague, Jr. and John Taylor died. Phinehas Smith of South Hadley was at Cape Breton under Col. Wm. Williams. Joseph Cook of Hadley and South Hadley was there also. Doubtless there were some from Amherst, and others from Hadley and South, Hadley.

‡The expenses of Massachusetts in five years, from May, 1744 to May, 1749, including Cape Breton charges, (estimating the expenses of one year, not found,) exceeded 670,000 pounds, in bills of last emission.

The rations allowed to troops in garrisons were per day, one pound of bread, half pint of peas or beans, two-thirds of a pound of pork, and in six weeks, one gallon of molasses. Marching forces had one pound of bread, one pound of pork and a gill of rum.

Those slain not far distant from this part of the county, were the following:—Aug. 25, 1746, at the Bars south of Deerfield, Samuel Allen, Eleazar Hawks, Oliver Amsden, Simeon Amsden and Adonijah Gillet were slain; Samuel Allen, Jr. was taken, and Eunice Allen's skull was fractured, but she recovered. Oct. 19, 1747, John Smead was slain near the mouth of Miller's River. In Southampton, Elisha Clark was slain Aug. 27, 1747, and Noah Pixley May 9, 1748.*—Samuel Goodman of South Hadley was taken at Fort Massachusetts, and carried to Canada, where he died March 21, 1747.

In the "brave little garrison"† under Capt. Stevens, that so courageously defended the fort at No. 4 (Charlestown, N. H.) near the first of April, 1747, were six men from South Hadley and Amherst, viz., Eleazar Smith, William Boltwood, Nehemiah Dickinson, Nathaniel Church, Jr., Josiah Snow, and Ebenezer Dickinson. In the same fort were nine from Northampton.

The sixth War.

This was commenced in 1754; and in 1755 an expedition was undertaken against Crown Point, a French fortress on the west side of Lake Champlain. It was unsuccessful as were the succeeding campaigns of 1756, 1757 and 1758, in the same quarter, owing principally to the incapacity of the British commanders. In 1759, the French evacuated Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and Quebec surrendered, and in 1760, Montreal and the rest of Canada were taken. The war continued until 1763. For each of these six Crown Point and Canada expeditions, Massachusetts voted to raise from 4000 to 7000 men, excepting a less number in 1757; and men were raised yearly to defend her own frontiers, and many were sent to Nova Scotia, Louisburg, &c. The Treasurer's book for 1759 records the payment of wages to "eight companies, up the river St. Lawrence, at the reduction of Quebec." The province levied about 3000 men in 1761, and nearly as many in 1762. Some hundreds from Massachusetts joined a British expedition to the West Indies in 1762, and nearly all perished.

*In Southampton, the house of Rev. Jonathan Judd, which is still standing was picketed and had a mount, in this war.

†See an account of this defense in Hoyt's Indian Wars, pages 242 to 245. Hoyt has not the names.

Fourteen Hampshire towns were in the province tax in 1746, and 18 in 1751. Three united with Connecticut about 1747. In 1751, Northampton was taxed £196, Hadley, 156, Hatfield, 91, Deerfield, 89, Sunderland, 51. Whole tax, £30,394. Polls paid 5 shillings.

In 1762, there were men from this province at Crown Point, Halifax, Newfoundland, and "beyond Niagara."*

Until Canada was subdued, the enemies made attacks upon the western frontiers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, as in the preceding war, and the killed and captured were numerous. Massachusetts furnished soldiers for some places in New Hampshire, and for forts or fortified houses at Northfield, Greenfield, Falltown (Bernardston,) Colerain, Charlemont, Huntstown (Ashfield,) Fort Massachusetts, West Hoosuck (Williamstown,) New Framingham (Lanesborough,) Pontoosuck (Pittsfield,) and Stockbridge. Connecticut sometimes garrisoned Pontoosuck and Stockbridge. Men were not posted at Southampton, Blandford and Sheffield after 1755.†

Many of the men in the garrisons were scouts. These were provided with snow-shoes and moccasons. On the western frontier were scouting parties, ranging parties and scalping parties; all wishing to obtain scalps. The bounty offered in June, 1755, to those in service, was 40 pounds for Indian scalps; to volunteer companies, 200 pounds. In May, 1757, the bounty to volunteers was raised to 300 pounds for each scalp. I find in the Treasurer's accounts for 1757 and 1758, that he paid 300 pounds of 1000 dollars each, for five scalps.‡

Capt. Moses Porter was the only captain in the service from Hadley, during the war. In 1755, he commanded a company in Col. Ephraim Williams's regiment, and under him were Lieutenant Hezekiah Smith, Ensign Reuben Wait of Hatfield, Clerk Joshua Ballard of Hadley, 3 sergeants, 4 corporals, a drummer and 38 privates. In the fighting on the 8th of September, 1755, in the vicinity of Lake George, there were slain of this company, Capt. Porter,§ Ens. Wait, Henry Bartlett of Hadley, Asa Strat-

*New England lost thousands of her active and hardy young men in these military expeditions, and the morals of survivors were injured. Many of the British officers were profligates.

†Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield had the command on this frontier. He was colonel of the northern Hampshire regiment, and John Worthington of Springfield, of the southern.

‡In June, 1755, 20 pounds were offered for female scalps and the scalps of males under 12 years. This offer was not repeated. The governor of Pennsylvania offered 50 dollars for women's scalps in 1756.

§The late Lieut. Enos Smith of Hadley, informed me that he saw Capt. Porter, when he left Hadley for Albany, in the spring of 1755. His military dress appeared to Smith, then 9 or 10 years old, very rich and showy. Capt. Porter was slain by the Indians, and his dress became their prey. He left a wife, a daughter who married Charles Phelps, Esq. and a good estate. He had recently erected a handsome house, about two miles north of the village, on "Forty Acres," so called, and he owned about 300 acres in and near Forty acre field, and on Mount Warner. His house and barn were raised May 27, 1752, and he and his family removed to this place Dec. 5, 1752, This house, built 107 years since, is occupied

ton of Northfield, and Zebadiah Williams perhaps of Amherst. James Hulbert was wounded. Col. Williams was slain, and 46 men in his regiment, and 24 were wounded. The news of the battle and deaths did not reach Hadley until Sunday, Sept. 14.

Men engaged in this war from Hadley, South Hadley, Amherst and Granby.

Officers.—The commissioned officers from these places, besides Capt. Porter, were Job Alvord from South Hadley, who was an Ensign under Capt. John Burk in 1757, and was in the capitulation of Fort William Henry. He was a lieutenant in 1759. Joshua Ballard of Hadley was an Ensign after Sept. 8, 1755, and a Lieutenant in 1759. James Gray of Hadley was an Ensign in 1759. John Woodbridge, Jr. of South Hadley, was a Lieutenant in 1760. He had been an officer before, and is said to have been at the taking of Quebec. Jonathan Cook of Hadley was a Lieutenant in 1758. Asahel Judd of South Hadley was an Ensign at Nova Scotia, and died there in 1756.

Soldiers.—The names on the next page, of sergeants, corporals and privates were derived from muster-rolls, and rolls of enlistments, and other papers in the state house at Boston. There were other lists which have not been preserved, and the names of some soldiers are not found. There may be errors in the place of residence, as Amherst was not made a district and named until 1759. Granby was a part of South Hadley during the war.

The dates indicate the years in which the names of the Crown Point and Canada soldiers first appear. For example, all between 1758 and 1759 are first found under 1758. Many were in the service two, and some three or four campaigns. Very many were young men from 16 to 25; a few were above 40, and two were above 50. John Clark of Hadley and his two sons, John and William, were soldiers, (Scotch-Irish.) Samuel Hawley, Jr. of Amherst and his son Elijah belonged to one company. Some of the soldiers possessed property; the greater part were men of small estate or no estate, including servants, apprentices and other minors.

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by Rev. Dan Huntington, who married the daughter of Charles Phelps, and it is still a convenient mansion, of respectable appearance. Charles Phelps put on the present mansard or gambrel roof, and made other alterations. He added to Capt. Porter's farm until he had about 600 acres. This farm was noticed by Pres. Dwight and he declared this estate to be "the most desirable possession of the same kind and extent, within my knowledge." Mr. Phelps gave it to his son, the late Charles P. Phelps, Esq. and to his daughter, the late Elizabeth W. Huntington.

HADLEY.

John Clark, 1755
William Clark
Hezekiah Hubbard
Eliakim Smith
Benjamin Knights
Joseph Alexander
Henry Bartlett, slain
Nathaniel Church, Jr.
John Eastman
William White, 1756
Elisha Smith
Joseph Wright
Jabez Cook
John Clark, Sr. aged 52
Azariah Selden
Samuel McNeill
Josiah Smith
John White, Jr., 1757
Matthias Kelsey
John Brooks
Aaron Cook, 1758
John Bartlett, died
David Crosby, died
Edmund Hubbard
Ebenezer Stearnes, died
Daniel White
Stephen Coats
Timothy Nash
Thomas Selden
Robert Emmons, 1759
James Meacham
Samuel Catlin, Jr.
John Mills
Samuel Cook
Caleb Lyman
Benjamin Smith, 2d
Elisha Smith, 2d
Timothy Church
Richard Church, Jr.
Cotton Gaylord, 1760
Oliver Bartlett
Nathaniel Fox
Warham Smith
Jonathan Jones, died
Oliver Thomas
Eph. Wheeler, 1761
Aaron Cleaveland
William Farrand, 1762

SOUTH HADLEY.

Titus Smith, 1755
Noah Goodman
Daniel Crowfoot
Josiah Snow
John Church
John Hillyer
Samuel Henry, 1756
Elisha Taylor
Eleazar Loveland
Moses Taylor
John French, 1757
Jesse Bellows
Obed Severance, died
Oliver Taylor, 1758
Benjamin Pierce
Asa Goodman
Seth Smith
Josiah Henry
William Gaylord, Jr.
Benjamin Church
Philip Smith
James Patrick
John Marshall
Samuel Rugg
Joseph Hillyer
Thomas Fairfield
Joel White
Ebenezer Stoddard
James Ball, aged 44
Simeon Goodman, 1759
William Taylor
Jabez Kellogg
Titus Pomeroy
Martin Wait
Nathaniel Bartlett
Timothy Hillyer, Jr.
Joel Church
Silas Smith
Ephraim Smith
Samuel Wheeler
Joshua Taylor, aged 53
Samuel Ball, 1760
Nathaniel Gaylord
John Camp, Jr.
Thomas Rockwood
Azariah Alvord
Jabez Snow
Thomas Stanley, died
Artemas Newton, died
Daniel Taylor, 1761, died
Eliphalet Gaylord
Eleazar Olmstead
Simeon Church, 1762
Gershom Barton

AMHERST.

David Smith, 1755
David Dickinson
Preserved Clapp
Reuben Dickinson
Nathan Dickinson, Jr.
Jonathan Moody, Jr.
Oliver Cowles
Elijah Baker
Justus Williams, 1756
Samuel Hawley, Jr., died
Elijah Hawley, died
Pelatiah Bucknam
Joseph Clary
Noadiah Lewis, 1758
Caesar Prutt
Asahel Moody
Eleazar Harwood
Thomas Morton
Benjamin Bucknam
Isaac Ward, Jr., 1759, died
Nathaniel Dickinson
Samuel Graham
Charles Chauncey
Abner How
Charles Wright
Philip Ingram
Nehemiah How
John Keet, Jr.
Isaac Temple
Alexander Smith, aged 41
Moses Warner
David Blodget
Lemuel Moody
Eli Colton
Paul Guilford
Nathan Davis
Simeon Walker
Israel Chauncey, 1760
Benj. Harwood, died
Micah Guilford, died
Solomon Sartwell
John Gould

GRANBY.

Asaph Stebbins, 1755
John Moody, Jr.
Francis Green
Gideon Moody, died
Josiah Montague
Nehemiah Dickinson
Samuel Lane, 1756
Benjamin Eastman
William Negus
Stephen Warner
Timothy Smith
Timothy Burr, 1757
Wm. Negus, Jr.
Waitstill Dickinson, 1758
Joseph Dickinson
Ebenezer Taylor
Elisha Barton
Ezekiel Barton
Asahel Smith
Thomas H. Moody
Eleazar Warner
John Negus, 1760
Ithamar Amidoun

The soldiers from these towns served under various captains,—Moses Porter of Hadley, Elisha Pomeroy of Northampton, Elijah Smith of Belchertown, Salah Barnard of Deerfield,

The bounty offered to induce men to enlist, for one campaign, was for some years, six dollars; next it was four pounds, and afterwards 20 dollars, and some received 30 dollars; in 1762, it was seven pounds. Such bounties were a strong inducement to poor men and young men. Most soldiers were enlisted; some were impressed. When men of property were impressed, they generally paid a fine or provided a substitute.*

On the 9th of August, 1757, Fort William Henry, near Lake George, surrendered to the French. The Indians disregarded the capitulation, and a scene of pillage, cruelty and bloodshed ensued. There was a great alarm before the surrender and massacre, as well as after, and thousands of the militia of Massachusetts marched westward. They were not needed and soon returned. Few went as far as Albany. Gen. Pepperell wrote from Springfield, Aug. 13, that the people were so ready "to go to the assistance of the distressed, that this part of the province seems almost evacuated, the whole militia within 40 or 50 miles being drawn off."

John Burk of Bernardston, Jonathan Carver of Montague and others. Capt. Carver was the author of "Carver's Travels."

*The wages varied. The pay of privates, most of the time, was 36 shillings per month, corporals, 38s. 7d., sergeants, 43s. 1d., ensigns, £3, 10s., lieutenants, £5, captains, £8. Soldiers in garrisons and scouts on the frontier received less. Those who enlisted soldiers commonly were paid 3 shillings for each one; sometimes 6 shillings. Those who furnished provisions for the soldiers at Northfield, Greenfield and Southampton received for each man 4 shillings per week; at other places on the frontier north of Stockbridge, from 4s. 8d. to 6s., the transportation being expensive. A week's rations for each Massachusetts soldier north of Albany cost 5 shillings in 1755 and 1756. They had bread, meat, peas, rum, a little flour and meal, and a small quantity of sugar, ginger, butter and molasses. They were allowed more than they consumed. The gill of rum per day cost two shillings per gallon, and was probably hot from the Boston stills. The British seem to have furnished provisions for the Crown Point and Canada troops after 1756.

Bayonets were useless in Indian warfare, and there were few in Hampshire before this war. The province purchased many thousands of bayonets, or "bayonets and slings," (meaning belts,) after the war commenced. Some cost seven shillings each.

Expresses who went from Connecticut River to Boston and back, received £3, and sometimes £3, 6s. Benjamin Alvord of Northampton was an express in three wars. Charles Colton rode courier from Boston to Albany and back 31 times in 1759, and received £7 for each time. He kept 7 horses on the road, and went with speed.

The expenses of Massachusetts for 8 years, from May, 1755 to May, 1763, were not far from 1,265,100 pounds, or 4,217,000 dollars. This aggregate, which I formed from the accounts of the province Treasurer, is not exact, but it is not too high. Not less than four millions of dollars were for military expenses. Great Britain repaid to Massachusetts at different times, from 1756 to 1766, about one and a half million of dollars. The province taxes in the eight years of war amounted to 608,000 pounds, or a little more than two millions of dollars. The currency was gold and silver.

The province tax of a few towns in 1761, follows:—Northampton, £418, Hatfield, £270, Hadley, £194, South Hadley, £204, Amherst, £142. The whole tax was 75,000 pounds. The poll tax was 10 shillings.

Captains and soldiers from Maine first appeared in Massachusetts Proper in this war. Maine men crossed the Connecticut in 1755, 1756, 1757, &c.

Of the Hadley militia, Capt. Moses Marsh, Ens. Eleazar Porter, Sergeants Elisha Cook, Jonathan Cook and Josiah Dickinson, one corporal and 38 privates were gone 12 days, and their miles were estimated at 15 a day, or 90 miles each way. They probably went as far as the North River. Soldiers found themselves and were allowed 2s. 8d. per day.—Of the South Hadley company, Capt. Samuel Smith, Lieut. Luke Montague, Sergeants Aaron Nash, Joseph Moody and Reuben Smith, four corporals and 54 privates were gone also 12 days, and their distance both ways was called 180 miles.—The list of the East Hadley company that marched in this alarm, has been lost.

Diseases destroyed more lives than the French and Indians. There was much sickness in the army every year, and in the latter part of the season, sick men were dispersed in various places along the route, from the camp to Albany and Greenbush, and to Sheffield and Connecticut River. Many men rode from Hampshire and elsewhere towards the camp, seeking for a sick relative or friend, and took care of him when found, till he died, or was able to ride home. Some died after they reached home. Men were sometimes sent from Boston to look after the sick along the roads to the camp, and see that they were tended, and supplied with necessaries. There were hospitals at Sheffield,* No. 1, (Tyringham,) Westfield, &c. 17 soldiers died in the hospital in Sheffield in less than a year, in 1756 and 1757.

The Small-pox became prevalent in the latter years of the war, and many died with it. Some, not knowing that they had been exposed, brought home the disease and gave it to their friends. In the Westfield hospital, 12 soldiers had the small-pox from Nov. 1760 to Feb. 1761, and 6 died; and 4 died in Brookfield, in the same months. Tenders for small-pox hospitals were impressed by authority. But few persons had had the disease, and such were necessary for tenders.†

*Probably Upper Sheffield is meant, now Great Barrington. Much rum was consumed in these hospitals,—30 gallons at Sheffield hospital in less than a year, and 17 gallons of rum and some gallons of wine at Westfield small-pox hospital, in three months.

†In 1732, John Bedortha caught the small-pox among the Dutch, and died in West Springfield. This may have been the only case in Hampshire before this war. In 1757, there were cases in two families in South Hadley; in 1760, in several towns. In 1761, there was a place for inoculated small-pox in or near Springfield. Elisha Porter of Hadley was inoculated at Springfield in Feb. 1761. Caleb Strong, Jr. of Northampton had the small-pox by inoculation the same year.

Bonfire.—After the surrender of Quebec in 1759, a bonfire on Copp's Hill in Boston was made of 45 tar barrels, 2 cords wood, a mast, spars, boards, a barrel of tar, and 50 pounds of powder, and cost, with another on Fort Hill, £25.12.4. The province paid this sum, and for 32 gallons of rum much beer for the people, and £44 for the dinner and wine of the Council and Court.

Road to Albany.—The way from Hampshire and Hartford to Albany, in early days, was through the villages of Westfield and Kinderhook, and the territory now in Blandford, Sheffield, &c. A later road crossed North Sheffield, (Great Barrington.) Almost all the travel between Hampshire county and Albany, for near a century, was through Westfield. In 1755 and after, some soldiers went to the camp north of Albany and returned, by way of Charlemont and Fort Massachusetts, and some crossed the woods of Vermont, yet most of the travel to and from the camp was through Westfield.*

French Neutrals.—Of those French people, who were cruelly driven from their homes in Nova Scotia, and dispersed among the British colonies, in 1755 and 1756, near a thousand were brought to Massachusetts, and their support cost the province and towns many thousand pounds. One family was sent to Hadley and one to Northampton about 1761. Hadley voted, Jan. 4, 1762, "that the family of French Neutrals now in this town shall be supported together, during the town's pleasure." March 25, 1767, the town voted three pounds to remove the French Neutrals, "whom we are obliged to support," to Canada. They were removed before January, 1768.

The father of the family sent to Northampton was named Silvine Dupee, and he had a wife and seven children. This family and that at Hadley appear to have been kindly treated. Silvine worked for Deac. Ebenezer Hunt and others, and received his pay in provisions and clothing. The town gave him 4 shillings per week through the year and the use of a house, and he kept a cow. The family was not here in 1768.

Pirates.—In the days of our forefathers, stories of the cruel deeds of pirates were recited around the kitchen fire, as well as those of the barbarities of the Indians and of the strange doings of the witches.

William Kidd, famous in pirate history, was arrested at Boston in 1699, and executed in England in 1701.† June 30, 1704, 6 pirates were executed at Boston. Of the gold taken with them,

*The road through Blandford towards Albany, though laid as a county road in 1754, was little more than a horse path in this French war, and teams could have drawn only light loads. Pork and flour purchased in Hampshire for the army, were sent down the Connecticut and up the Hudson. A horse road was marked out in 1753, from 15 miles east of Albany through Pontoosuck to Northampton; it was little used. Before Sheffield was settled, when the Housatonnuc was high, posts have been sent from Hampshire to Albany by way of Woodbury, Conn. where was a ferry.

†There have been men in Hampshire foolish enough to dig for Kidd's money, on the banks of Connecticut and Westfield rivers.

788 ounces were sent to England, after paying £727 for charges. July 19, 1723, 26 pirates were hung at once at Newport, R. I. under their own blue flag, hoisted upon the gallows. They had taken 45 vessels. 3 pirates were executed near Boston, July 12, 1726, and 5, Nov. 2, 1726, and 4 at Newport, Nov. 3, 1738. Many were executed in the southern colonies. Pirates were hung and buried near low water mark.

CHAPTER XXXI

Noxious Beasts and Birds—Wolves—Wildcats—Bears—Catamounts, Crows and Blackbirds—Woodchucks—Furred Animals and the Fur Trade—Beavers—Raccoons—Muskrats—Deer and Deer Hunting—Venison—Deerskin Garments—Wild Turkeys—Pigeons—Rattlesnakes.

Wolves were very common and destructive in the New England and other colonies, and long tried the patience of our fathers. Wood in 1634 considered them "the greatest inconveniency in the country." A reward has been offered in Massachusetts for killing wolves since 1630. The nocturnal howlings of these ravenous animals have been heard by the inhabitants of almost every township. Wolves annoyed the people of Hampshire more than 100 years after the settlement of Northampton and Hadley.

The reward for destroying wolves in 1643 was thirty shillings. In 1662, it was forty shillings, of which the county was to pay twenty, the town ten, and the colony ten.* In 1693, the bounty for grown wolves was twenty shillings, and for whelps five shillings. In 1717, it was raised to four pounds for grown wolves and one pound for whelps, all paid by the province. After 1741, the bounty varied from thirty shillings to four pounds.

The colony paid for 147 wolves killed from 1650 to 1655, for 37 destroyed in 1657, 58 in 1662, 140 in 1683, 158 in 1684, 319 old wolves and 26 whelps in 1694, 297 old ones and 40 whelps in 1697, and 305 old ones and 34 whelps in 1698. Not so many were killed after 1700. Wolf-killing was at its height the latter part of the 17th century. According to the treasurer's accounts, in 28 years, between 1700 and 1737, a bounty was paid for killing

*The heads were to be carried to the constable or selectmen, who were to cut off the ears. Capt. Aaron Cook of Northampton was a famous wolf-killer, and he once sent a wolf's head by his daughter. Wolves killed sheep, goats, calves, swine and deer. When the county reward was 20 shillings, it required most of the Hampshire county tax, some years, to pay for wolves.

2852 old wolves and 191 whelps, averaging a few more than a hundred in a year. The yearly number was not given after 1737. Wolves were killed in many of the Hampshire towns down to 1775, and in some, several years later.*

The colony treasurer credited to Hadley 7 wolves in 1662, 11 in 1669, 8 in 1672, 3 in 1674, 43 in three years, 1680, 1681 and 1682, 10 in 1683, 19 in 1684, and 10 in 1694.† Wolves were killed in Hadley in the years omitted, and in the last century, but the returns are not found. The town offered in 1686, ten shillings for every wolf killed in the town, and brought to the constable, and the same in 1692.

Some wolves were caught in traps and some were shot. Many were taken in pits called wolf-pits, which were fitted to entrap them. Wolves were seldom killed by dogs.

Wildcats.—A reward for their destruction was first offered in 1727, viz., twenty shillings for those over a year old, and ten shillings for those younger. In 1753, the reward was ten shillings and five shillings. It appears by the province treasurer's accounts, that 251 old wildcats were killed in 1728, 261 in 1729, 436 in 1730, 175 in 1731, 679 in 1733, 330 in 1734 and 49 in 1736. In these seven years, 2181 old wildcats and 88 young ones were destroyed. After this havoc, they did not again become so numerous.‡

Bears.—In 1742, a bounty was first offered to those who killed bears, viz., ten shillings for old ones and five shillings for cubs, from the first of April to the first of September. The small reward, and the delay in giving it, evince that bears were much

*6 were killed in Northampton in 1763, 5 in Greenfield and 2 in Amherst in 1765, &c. Northampton was disturbed by wolves after 1772, and they howled near the dwelling of the father of the writer in Westhampton, in 1775. They seldom troubled the people of Hadley and South Hadley after 1765, yet in March, 1785, Hadley offered 4 pounds to any Hadley man who should kill a wolf, if his track was taken in the town.

About the year 1805, two wolves ranged some time from the northern part of Hadley and Amherst to the northern part of Montague, and killed many sheep. Men from three or four towns turned out after a light snow, and surrounded and killed them. One of my informants often heard these wolves howl in the woods of North Hadley, and he was in Montague when one of them was brought in on a pole by two men. The hunters had a merry time.

†Eleven of the wolf killers in Hadley from 1668 to 1672, were John Smith, Philip Smith, Robert Boltwood, Samuel Boltwood, Hezekiah Dickinson, Thomas Wells, David Hoyt, Joseph Selden, Azariah Dickinson, Thomas Dickinson, James Beebee.—Goodman Ayres, Corporal Coy and Goodman Pritchard killed many wolves at Quabaug.

In the winter of 1660–61, John Holton of Northampton killed a wolf on the ice of the Connecticut, between Northampton and Hadley; and the county court decided that each town should pay half of the town bounty.

‡The common wildcats of New England were a species of lynx. The fisher was sometimes called the black wildcat. It may be supposed that many of the wildcats were killed in Hampshire, and many in Maine.

less hurtful than wolves and wildcats, yet in some seasons, especially when acorns and nuts were scarce, bears destroyed pigs and sheep, and devoured soft corn.*

Catamounts or Panthers.—There were a few of these animals formerly near the western border of New England. Connecticut offered a bounty for them in 1694 and 1713, and paid for four or five in 1769. Massachusetts first offered a reward in 1742, of 40 shillings; in 1745 of 50 shillings; and in 1753 of 4 pounds. The killing of a catamount must have been a rare occurrence. An animal called a catamount was killed by some Northampton hunters in 1764, and there are stories of others shot in Hampshire in later days. Some of the tales relating to the catamount are not reliable. It had a terrific scream, but rarely if ever attacked man, woman or child.†

Town Premiums.—The province once offered rewards for killing small vermin;‡ the towns often gave premiums, especially for the destruction of crows and blackbirds. For many years, the blackbirds were the most mischievous, and most towns offered rewards for killing them before they made war upon the crows.

Hadley first offered a premium of one penny each for blackbirds, Jan. 7, 1717, and their heads were to be cut off in presence of one of the selectmen. At the same time, 8 pence each were offered for wood-hatches, meaning woodchucks;§ and their ears were to be cut off in presence of one of the selectmen. Hadley first voted a premium for crows, of one shilling, May 8, 1727. In 1730, the bounty was one shilling for grown crows, 6 pence

*The late John Cook of Hadley informed me that about 1788, John Montague shot a bear which his dog had treed in Hadley meadow, and carried him into the street on the top of his load of corn. This was long after bears had disappeared from Hadley.

Bear's meat was eaten in these towns, and was accounted about as good as venison. The price in Northampton from 1721 to 1759 was from 1½ to 2 pence per pound, in lawful money.

†The stories about lions in the early writers of New England and of the other colonies, came from the reports of Indians who had seen the catamount and heard its scream. It was named by some Indians, *qunonou*, meaning apparently, the long animal. Eliot in his Indian Bible has qunonou for lion.

‡In 1740, the province offered for five years, 6 pence for crows, 3 pence for blackbirds, and 4 pence for water rats, (?) gray and ground squirrels. These vermin cost the province 105 pounds in 1744. Doct. Franklin said in 1749, that the worms had greatly multiplied in New England since the destruction of the blackbirds, and done more damage than the birds.

§Northampton and Hatfield gave premiums for woodchucks for a short time. The premiums which some towns offered for foxes, woodchucks, skunks, squirrels and blue jays did not continue long.

The custom of giving rewards for the destruction of creatures denominated vermin, is more than 300 years old in England. Various scarecrows, to keep birds from wheat, cherries, &c. were common in England before 1600.

for young ones, one penny for blackbirds, and half a penny for young ones. From 1772 to 1800, blackbirds were omitted, except one year, and the reward for crows was commonly one shilling.

The shrewd and cautious crow has maintained himself against all the arts and efforts of men, and still abounds. He does much harm by pulling up the springing corn; and he is also useful as a scavenger, devouring reptiles, worms, insects and all sorts of dead carcasses.

Woodchucks* and Skunks were very rare in New England when first settled by the English. These and some other quadrupeds, and many species of birds, greatly increased in the neighborhood of civilized men, whose farms yielded much more food for them than the forests and Indian towns.

Furred Animals and the Fur Trade in Hampshire.

Beavers, which were once numerous in this region, were almost all caught by the Indians before Philip's war in 1675. The beaver trade with the Indians, for some years, was in the hands of John Pynchon, and of those appointed by him. He packed for England in six years, from 1652 to 1657, 47 hhds. containing 8992 beaver skins, weighing 13,139 pounds, and sent 663 pounds in bundles. From 1658 to 1674, he packed 6480 beaver skins. Most of these skins may have been worth about 8 shillings sterling per pound in England. From 1652 to 1674, he packed 699 otter skins, about 900 skins of muskrats, and many of the gray and red fox, raccoon, marten, fisher, mink and wildcat. Also 426 moose skins, weighing from 12 to 25 pounds each, and 67 pounds of the drug called castor, obtained from beavers. Very many of the beaver and other skins were brought from the north and west, and most were purchased of Indians.† [Derived from Pynchon's Account books.]

In the inventory of Samuel Porter of Hadley, in 1722, are three hhds. of furs in Boston, shipped for England, valued at £148, 8s.

Deac. Ebenezer Hunt of Northampton, manufactured hats extensively during 40 years after 1734. He sold hats to people

*Woodchucks were caught and their skins tanned for whip lashes, perhaps 100 years ago. 50 and 60 years since, many boys in the Hampshire towns caught them in traps set at the mouth of their holes; the skins were divested of hair by the aid of lime or ashes, and then tanned—many of them in the common soap barrels. The writer in his boyhood tanned many in soap. The boys obtained spending money for the whip lashes.

†The Indian names of some animals, in the accounts of fur-dealers, were for wildcat, pessow; mink, nottomag; marten, openock, and sometimes wappenauk; fisher, wullaneag. Raccoon was a name derived from Virginia Indians. Skunk was spelled by Wood in 1634, squncke, which may have been the Indian name.

residing near and far off, and bought of them furs and skins. He had of men living in middle Hampshire, including Hadley, South Hadley, Granby and Amherst, the skins of raccoons, minks, muskrats, red and gray foxes and deer, and rarely the skin of a beaver, otter, marten, wildcat and wolf.* From towns up the river, in the county and north of it, he obtained some beaver skins, and at times the skin of a fisher, bear and moose. He bought most of his beaver in Albany and Boston, and many raccoon skins in Albany.

Oliver Warner of Hadley learned the hatter's trade of E. Hunt, and made and sold hats and bought furs in Hadley, many years after 1750. His business was not extensive. Josiah Dickinson from Hadley, succeeded Hunt in Northampton.

Deer and Deer Hunting.—For a long time, the mild and nimble deer were very numerous. The early planters of Hampshire,† though they occasionally hunted deer, turkeys, &c. were too industrious to spend much time in such pursuits. The Indians were the principal hunters in this region while they remained. Many persons of the succeeding generations sometimes diverted themselves by hunting; few let this recreation interfere with their

*Hunt gave after 1750, for good beaver, 10 to 12 shillings per pound, and for inferior, much less; for a few otter skins, 8 to 12s. each; raccoons, 1s. 6d. to 3s. 6d.; minks, 1s. 6d. to 3s.; red and gray foxes, 2s. to 3s. 3d.; muskrats, 4 to 9 pence. Only the fur of beavers, raccoons and muskrats was made into hats. Beaver hats were sold, after 1750, from 20 to 42 shillings each, and raccoon and muskrat hats, from 12 to 20 shillings. Felt hats, 3s. 4d. to 5s. 6d.

Raccoons have been hunted more than two hundred years, both for pleasure and profit. Fifty or sixty years ago, and long before, they were commonly hunted in the night, by the aid of a good dog, which treed them. A raccoon on a climbable tree was shaken off by a man, and caught by the dog; sometimes one was shot by moon-light; the hunters often kindled a fire and waited until morning, and then shot one or more; if a raccoon was in a hollow tree, it was cut down and the dog seized him. The writer when a boy carried a lantern for raccoon hunters two or three nights. These animals still devour green corn, and are still hunted in many of our towns. The meat was esteemed by some in the last century nearly as good as venison.

Muskrats have been plenty in some parts of Hampshire for two centuries, and they are still hunted, perhaps more for sport than for the skin. When a flood covers most of the meadows and low lands, and muskrats are driven from their habitations, boats may be seen in Northampton and elsewhere carrying men with guns and a dog, and now and then is heard the peculiar, clicking noise made by the discharge of a gun near the water, and the dog leaps into the water and brings to the boat a musquash, if one has been killed. They are hunted in other ways. This animal was called tump in Northampton 100 years ago, and still is; perhaps an Indian name.

That large animal, the moose, doubtless came into Hampshire. One was killed at Brookfield in Sept. 1765, another in Sept. 1767, 6 feet high, and one in New Braintree in Sept. 1769, 5 feet high.

The raisers of the meeting-house in Upper Ashuelot, (Keene,) June 22, 1737, feasted on the flesh of a moose, killed the day before.

†Many of the early settlers of Massachusetts brought from England, "fowling pieces," so called.

regular business.* Noxious animals were hunted from necessity. Deer were more useful to men than all else that was hunted. As these animals were lean in winter, and the females produced their young in the spring, Massachusetts enacted in 1698, that deer should not be killed between January 1st and August 1st. These dates were afterwards altered a little. Other colonies had similar laws. In 1739, each town of the province was required to choose men annually to prosecute or inform against those that killed deer out of season. In March, 1740, Hadley chose Lt. Westwood Cook of the old precinct, Samuel Rugg of the South precinct, and John Nash of the east precinct. Two men called "Deer Reeves" or "Informers of Deer," were chosen yearly in Hadley, from 1758 to 1780. Only a few deer were killed in Hadley after 1780. The county records notice the prosecution of many persons in Hampshire, for killing deer unlawfully. The fine was 10 pounds, half to the informer.†

Seventy or eighty years since, a number of men in the old towns were denominated the "old hunters." They had chased deer and other animals long before the revolution, and sometimes a jovial party and a venison feast had succeeded a hunt. Many of their hunting stories were formerly in circulation, some of them wild and hardly credible. Some hunters were trappers also.‡

Venison.—William Pynchon and John Pynchon bought much venison of the Indians, from 1645 to 1662, and sold it to the

*Those who spent a large portion of their time in hunting were poor. The habits of such are inconsistent with regular industry. Hunting does not increase property nor improve morals.

†A few men in Hadley, South Hadley, Amherst and Granby were prosecuted. The following from the county records exhibits the form of some complaints.

At a court in Northampton, March, 1763. "John Worthington, Esq. Attorney for our sovereign lord the king, in this behalf, here instantly complains and gives this court to understand and be informed, that Azariah Selden of Hadley, in the county of Hampshire, yeoman, on the 8th day of March current, did at said Northampton, wittingly and willingly, with force and arms, kill one wild deer, and then and there had in his possession the raw flesh and raw skin of one wild deer, killed since the 21st day of December last, contrary to a law of this province, the peace of said lord the king, his crown and dignity." He was fined 10 pounds and costs 29 shillings. Noah Smith, Jr. of Hadley, the informer, was to have half the fine.

‡Levi Moody of Granby, born in 1784, informs me that deer continued on the extensive pine plains in the eastern part of Springfield, and were killed by hunters from South Hadley and Granby down to 1800 and after. When pursued by hounds, they often crossed Chicopee River. Mr. Moody has shot deer on these plains, the last one in 1820.

Heath-hens, similar to prairie hens, were formerly on the Springfield plains. Mr. Moody hinks they have not been seen for about 50 years.

Several persons have been undesignedly shot and killed in Hampshire in hunting. Joseph King was killed by Samuel Burt of Southampton, Oct. 8, 1742; Nathan Tuttle of Montague by his son, Sept. 16, 1762; John Lammon of Palmer by John Davis of Ware, Dec. 5,

inhabitants of Springfield, from two pence to two and a half pence per pound.

In Northampton, from 1674 to 1771, the price of venison, (reduced to lawful money,) was two pence and one and a half penny per pound; lean was often one penny. Josiah Pierce of Hadley bought venison at two pence per pound in 1764. Many quarters of venison appear to have weighed from 14 to 30 pounds each.—The venison pasty or pie, so much esteemed in England, was rarely noticed in New England.—Venison was sometimes salted in a cask.—Deer's tallow was made into candles.

Deer Skins and Garments.—Leather garments were common in England. A vast number of deer skins were dressed in New England, and many were dressed in oil. Some deer's leather was called wash-leather. Dressing deer skins, moose skins and beaver skins, was a regular trade. Jonathan Moody of Amherst was a dresser of deer and other skins; also his son Lemuel. Breeches were the most common garment made of deer's leather;* jackets or waistcoats were numerous; there were leather doublets and coats, and some had a leather suit. A few had wash-leather stockings, and many had deer skin gloves. Moccasons were made of deer's leather and moose leather. "Leather Breeches Maker and Glover" was a common mechanic in Boston. Many men in Hadley formerly had leather breeches, and some had other leather garments. Rev. C. Williams of Hadley, (page 324,) had leather breeches and waistcoat. Leather breeches were worn by some military men. When sheep skins were scarce, some leather aprons were made of dressed beaver skins.

Wild Turkeys were abundant in this and other colonies. No notice is found of them in the towns on Connecticut River previous to 1700. The Pynchons did not buy nor sell them. They naturally frequented the oak, chestnut and beech forests, more than the pine lands, the former furnishing the most food. Wild Turkeys were sold in Hartford about 1711, at one shilling and 1s. 4d. each, and in Northampton in 1717 at 1s. 4d. From 1730

1764; Ezekiel Wood by Samuel Coleman of Southampton, Dec. 1, 1778; Major Jonathan Allen of Northampton by Seth Lyman, Jan. 7, 1780; a son of Rev. Edward Upham of Agawam, while hunting bears in the night.

*Many years ago, a woman informed me that in her youth, young men sometimes went to courting, in deerskin breeches. Such were worn on the Sabbath, in cool weather.

Dressed deerskins differed much in size and value. In this vicinity, for 50 years before 1770, the greater part were sold from 8 to 24 shillings each, in lawful money. The skins of bucks were larger and more valuable than those of does. Many skins were sold from 12 to 16 shillings.

to 1735, the price of those dressed was in Northampton equal to one and a half penny per pound, in lawful money; they weighed from 5 to 15 pounds. In 1766, the price was 2½ pence; in 1788, 3 pence; a few years after 1800, 4 to 6 pence; and about 1820, 10 to 12½ cents.

In the last century, turkeys were hunted on Holyoke and in other places in the old township of Hadley.* Deer hunters were also turkey hunters. Turkeys were killed after 1800, but they were not as plenty as on the west side of the river.† Thaddeus Birge of Northampton, supposes that he shot about 100 turkeys between 1803 and 1820, and none of them on Tom; and the late Oliver Warner killed a large number in those years. Others killed many on Tom. Wild turkeys continued on Tom and Holyoke longer than elsewhere. There was a flock on Tom in 1842, a few in 1845, and a single turkey in 1851. A few remained on Holyoke nearly as long. All are gone.

Pigeons passed over the eastern part of Massachusetts in countless multitudes, in early days. Wood says in 1634, "we could see neither the beginning nor ending of these millions of millions." They are not named in Hampshire until after 1700; but undoubtedly some were here. In 1741, they had a breeding place near the line between Hampshire and Vermont, and their nests on the beech and hemlock trees extended for miles. Pigeons were taken in nets around Boston as early as 1700, and in this county before 1740, and many were shot. They were sometimes decoyed by a flutterer or stool-pigeon, but were more often taken without such a lure. Levi Moody says that in former days, they were at times caught so abundantly in Granby, that they could not all be sold nor eaten, and the bodies of many were given to the hogs, after the feathers were plucked from them. Pigeon feathers were much used for beds. In August, 1736, pigeons fell in Boston to two pence per dozen (not a penny, lawful,) and many could not be sold at that. In Northampton, from 1725 to 1785, pigeons when sold, brought usually from 3 pence to 6

*I have been told that many years since, the initials of several Hadley turkey-hunters might be seen in the bark of a white birch tree, near the path over Holyoke, called by the hunters, Turkey Pass.

†About 1800, when a boy, I often saw small flocks of wild turkeys in the woods near my father's; observed their tracks in the snow in the winter, and heard their gobbling in the spring.

The old writers of several colonies tell large stories about the weight of some wild turkeys, reporting it to be from 40 to 50 pounds, and two report 60 pounds. Vanderdonck, more moderate, says fat ones weigh from 20 to 30 pounds. In Northampton, Mr. Birge killed only two or three that weighed 24 pounds, and Mr. Warner's largest weighed only 18 pounds. These weights were before the turkeys were dressed.

pence per dozen. In 1790, they were 9 pence, and a few years after 1800, 1s. 6d. Since 1850, they have been sold from 75 cents to $1,50 per dozen.

Partridges are greatly lessened in numbers, and their drumming, a sound of spring, is much less frequent. Quails, which were sometimes caught in box traps, and by the aid of the figure 4, are rare, and their prediction of *more wet*, is seldom heard. Wild ducks were formerly abundant; now but few alight about our ponds and streams. Wild geese are still more uncommon. The woodcock, a bird which the old fowlers would have despised, is shot on both sides of the river.

Hunters in Hampshire, previous to the middle of the last century, bought more lead than shot. They had molds and run bullets and perhaps large shot. Samuel Alexander of Northampton, who spent much time in hunting and was poor, bought of one trader in six years, from 1720 to 1726, 22 pounds of powder and 24 pounds of lead. Several kinds of shot, named pigeon, duck, goose and turkey shot, were sold. The first Thomas Smith of Hadley and others of the family bought many turkey shot.*

The Rattle Snake excited the curiosity of many Europeans who came to this country. Wood in 1634 obtained from reports some correct notions respecting this poisonous reptile. He remarked that it was "a most sleepy, unnimble creature, never offering to bite unless trod upon." Five or six men had been bitten, and all had been cured by snake weed. Rattle snakes inhabited Mounts Tom and Holyoke, when Northampton and Hadley were settled, and some still remain. It is believed that in 200 years no man has lost his life by them in these towns, though some have been bitten. May 27, 1751, a son of Hugh Queen of South Hadley was bitten; Doct. Crouch of Hadley visited him and scarified about the wound; he was brought to Hadley the same day, and Doct. Mather of Northampton went over to see him. He returned to South Hadley in 11 days. Enos Pomeroy, son of Stephen P. of Hockanum, was bitten in his father's garden, and two young men named Smith, south of Holyoke; these were cured. The bite has been fatal in a few cases elsewhere. A small number of rattle snakes are killed almost every year on the sides and near

*The old hunters and fowlers did not shoot singing birds, nor did the Indians. That barbarous practice belongs to later times.

Squirrel hunts with two sides, and shooting at tame turkies about the time of Thanksgiving, are sports introduced into this part of the country since the revolution, which do not make better the habits or heart of any one.

the foot of these mountains. They are as clumsy as they were in the time of Wood.

Physicians formerly supposed that there was much medicinal virtue in the flesh and gall of the poisonous viper of Europe, and of the rattle snake of America. The flesh of the latter was eaten by some infirm persons in this vicinity in the last century, and the gall was mixed with chalk and made into balls.* These precious balls were bought even by physicians; Doct. Crouch of Hadley and Doct. Hunt of Northampton gave 8 shillings per dozen for them. Traders bought them. Col. Eleazar Porter had two pounds of snake balls, valued at 24s. 6d. in 1758.

This History had been printed to this page and read by Prof. F. D. Huntington, before the celebration at Hadley June 8, 1859.

When Hampshire and Hampshire county are mentioned, they mean the old county of Hampshire, comprising the present Hampshire, Hampden and Franklin.

CHAPTER XXXII

Husbandry—Wheat, Peas, Rye, Meslin, Barley, Oats, Beans, Buckwheat, Indian Corn, Potatoes, Turnips, Pumpkins, Flax, Hemp, Broom Corn, and Brooms—Hay Grasses, native and foreign—Cider and Apples—Apple Molasses—Beer—Gardens.

The first planters of Massachusetts, for want of oxen, tilled their lands mainly with the spade and hoe, for some years. When this valley was settled, men had cattle and plows. The people of Northampton plowed for the Indians 16 acres in Hadley in 1654. It is not known where this first plowing in Hadley was done.

Wheat.—No part of New England was more productive of wheat and other grain than the valley of the Connecticut. In

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*About 1773, my father killed five rattle snakes near the foot of Pomeroy's mountain in Southampton, cut off their heads, fastened the bodies to the saddle by the mail straps, and carried them to his father's house, dangling from his saddle.

That rattle snakes have the power of fascination has long been believed by some. This is disputed by many naturalists.

The stories told of black or other snakes winding themselves round the bodies of persons in New England are fabulous.

Another person bitten by a rattle snake was Stephen Coats at Hockanum, Sept. 5, 1760. Dr. Crouch or Doct. Kellogg scarified and dressed his toe, and he grew well.

A chapter could be added respecting the hunting of foxes, hares, squirrels, &c. and the trapping of various animals.—Among the hunters of Hadley, none were more fond of the sport than Major John Smith and Timothy Stockwell.

the three towns above the falls, Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield, every farmer raised wheat, and wheaten bread was common, though much Indian corn was prepared for food. Large quantities of wheat were sent to Boston for rates, debts and goods. Both winter and summer wheat were raised; apparently most of the latter. The alluvial lands became less productive as early as 1680, and the crops of wheat were considerably diminished before 1700.* In the next 60 years, the crop became so uncertain and so often failed, that most men ceased to sow wheat on the intervals. The greater part of the wheat consumed in Hampshire for a long time, perhaps 60 or 70 years, in the last and early part of the present century, was raised on uplands newly cleared. During much of this period, wheat was sparingly used in Hadley and other towns; many families had only enough for the entertainment of friends and the annual Thanksgiving.† Some wheat is still sown on the intervals and uplands, but the crop often fails. Enriching land with manure does not restore those properties which it had when new.

Some wheat flour was sent to Hartford and Boston from Hampshire and the region north of it, during the revolutionary war, and some years later. In a few years after 1800, barrels of flour began to be brought up the river, into Hampshire. There were no sellers of such flour in Springfield and Northampton‡ in 1807, though a few barrels had been received by bakers and others. Barrels of flour were advertised by Hadley traders in 1809.§ For some years the quantity sold in this vicinity was not large. After the Erie canal and rail roads were made, the quantity of wheat flour consumed in New England was vastly increased. It has been more freely used by all for many years than in any preceding generation, not excepting the first.

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*The blasting of wheat began in Eastern Massachusetts and in Plymouth in 1664, and in Connecticut a few years later, and continued. It was mentioned by writers and in Fast Appointments, and was deemed a judgment. It may have been chiefly owing to the exhaustion of the soil by many crops. The Hampshire lands had not been tilled so long, and the blights did not begin here so early. In the last century, the blasting of grain in many places was attributed to the barberry bushes.

The English sower sometimes had a seed-basket, called a seed-lip, fitted to his side, and some of the first settlers of Hadley had a seed-lip. Loudon's Agriculture has a picture of a seed-basket.

†Pies were sometimes made with rye paste for the bottom and top; some had rye below and a wheaten upper crust.

‡My informant as to 1807, is Josiah D. Whitney of Northampton, who came from Springfield and established himself in Northampton in 1807.

§Barrels then held 1¾ cwt. or 196 pounds, and had for twenty years or more. This singular quantity originated in the old way of selling flour by the 112 pounds.

Peas.—These were extensively cultivated on the intervals of the Connecticut, and many were sent to Boston. They were valued no higher than rye in the 17th century; in the next half century, they were injured by pea-bugs, much less land was sown, and the price of good peas became equal to that of wheat. Field peas were sown by some in Hadley down to the present century.*

Rye.—This species of grain was early raised in the eastern part of Massachusetts, and in some places in Connecticut. In the three towns in Hampshire above the falls, where grain was sowed on the intervals, rye is only once named in records before 1685. It was not received for town rates in Hadley until 1690, nor in Hatfield until 1694. It seems to have been sown on land that had ceased to yield good crops of peas and wheat, and the production gradually increased, and still continues. Rye has been extensively cultivated on uplands in all the towns once included in Hadley. The pine plains yield moderate crops of the best rye.†

Meslin.—Not long after 1700, and perhaps before, some farmers in these towns sowed a mixture of wheat and rye, probably on land that would no longer produce wheat alone. This mixed grain, named meslin, was long used for bread, and was raised in Hadley as late as 1800. Meslin was a common crop in England, 200 years ago.

Barley.—This was raised and converted into malt from early days; and many in Hadley and elsewhere raised a patch of barley down to 1800, and even after that time.‡

Oats were raised here in the 17th century. They have always been more light and chaffy in New England than in Great Britain. Peas and oats were often sown together, and sometimes rye and oats in the last century, and these mixtures were called provender.

Beans were seldom raised for market in Hampshire, for a century after the settlement of Hadley; many farmers planted a few French or Indian beans in their gardens and fields. As long as

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*Peas were harvested by "hooking" them, and some of the small peas-hooks of former days for cutting up peas, have been used in Hadley since 1800.

†Most of the people of these and many other towns in Hampshire, though they consumed much corn, commonly had bread made of bolted rye-flour, for three-fourths of a century or longer, and rye bread is now used in considerable quantities. In the counties east of Hampshire, the common bread of the inhabitants was made of sifted rye flour, mixed with corn meal, and was, as Pres. Dwight says, "dark, glutinous and heavy."

‡Orange Warner was the last maltster in Hadley, and he continued till the latter part of the last century. Four Warners in succession carried on the malting business not far from 130 years, viz., Andrew, Jacob, Jacob, Orange.

field peas were plenty, beans were less valued than afterwards.*

Buckwheat was not formerly much regarded. A little was raised in Massachusetts for animals a century ago. Some was sown in this vicinity after the revolution, and it was sold from 1s. 8d. to 2s. per bushel. It has been grown more extensively in the present century.†

Indian corn or maize.—The people of New England could hardly have been sustained without this American grain. It has furnished them with much of their food in all generations.‡

Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, previous to 1676, sent to the Royal Society in London, a particular description of Indian corn, and of its cultivation and uses, which was published in the "Philosophical Transactions and Collections" of the Society. The length of the ear was then about 9 inches, and the colors of the corn were yellow, white, red, blue, olive, greenish, black, speckled, striped, &c. but yellow and white were the most common.§ The stalks grew to the height of 6 or 8 feet. The Virginia corn was much taller, and the Indians had some much shorter. Corn was planted in rows 5 or 6 feet apart each way, and 4 or 5 grains in a hill. In Winthrop's days, corn was hoed three times, and at the third hoeing, a hill was made. Farmers had begun to plow between the rows. Some English, following the example of the Indians, planted beans in corn-hills and pumpkins and squashes in vacant places between the hills. They very early discovered that every ear of corn had an even number of rows.

Doct. Douglass of Boston gave the New England method of cultivating Indian corn in 1750. The land was plowed twice, and furrows made for the rows, making the hills about 4 feet apart. The planting was done at the end of April and beginning of May. Two furrows were plowed between the rows at each hoeing, viz., weeding, half-hilling and hilling. Some hoed four

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*It is believed that our fathers were ignorant of baked beans in the 17th century, as the English still are.

The field beans cultivated in England for centuries, have an erect, stiff stalk, and are sown like grain; they are mostly given to animals. The English have had the French kidney beans in their gardens for string-beans.

†Buckwheat flour began to be sold for cakes in this vicinity in 1833. Some housewives had long before made cakes of it. In Pennsylvania and some parts of Europe, buckwheat cakes were eaten more than 100 years since.

‡Many could formerly say with Barlow, in the Hasty Pudding Song—"And all my bones were made of Indian corn."

Indian corn was more plenty than English grain, but the price was so low in Boston that the producer could not afford to give 1s. 4d. a bushel to transport it. Corn was sent to market in pork and beef.

§Sixty years ago, besides the common yellow corn, there were ears that were red, blue, pied, &c.

times. The stalks were cut for fodder. The ripe corn was gathered at the end of September and beginning of October, and yielded on an average 25 bushels to an acre. Douglass used old style.*

From these and later accounts, it may be inferred that there was no great change in the mode of cultivating Indian corn, down to the end of the last century. On the intervals of Hadley and other river towns, 70 and 80 years ago, the crops of corn were light, except those manured, many yielding not over 15 or 20 bushels to an acre.† The quantity of manure made was not large, and it was put on the homelots, and on the nearest parts of the meadows. In Hadley, seldom was a load of manure carried west of the bank of the plain in the Great meadow. Much land was planted and sowed to which no manure had ever been applied. The rotation of crops did not extend beyond corn and rye, corn and oats, or corn, oats and rye. The hills of corn were 5 or 6 feet apart. The homelots were manured and better managed, and they produced good crops of grass and grain. They were chiefly mowed.‡

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*After making an addition of 11 days for new style, it will be found that corn was planted and ripe as early in 1750 as now.—Stalks were generally cut in Hadley 75 years ago, but were not highly valued. They were sold by some from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per acre. Those below the ear were not cut.—In Hadley, the corn harrow was used among corn soon after 1700.

†Some persons estimate that the average crop of Indian corn in Hadley, by the acre, is now nearly twice as much as it was 70 years ago. The assessors' return in 1855, which may be too high, was 1142 acres of corn, averaging 37 bushels to the acre.

‡Huskings.—Those who had a corn-house, husked their corn in that; others in the barn, and sometimes in the great kitchen. The evening husking party was generally composed of the family; sometimes a few neighbors were present. They were lively and cheerly, but not very noisy. There was a plain repast at the close. The boisterous husking frolics, and the kissing connected with red ears, which took place in some parts of New England, were not known in Hadley and the towns around. I never knew such huskings in my native town.

The samp or nausamp of the New England Indians and the homony of the Virginia Indians, were nearly the same. The English used much samp, made of Indian corn coarsely beaten or ground.

Hasty Pudding was made in Great Britain of flour and milk, and of oatmeal and water, before New England was settled. This name was very improperly given to our puddings of Indian meal and water, for every thing made of Indian meal requires to be thoroughly boiled or baked. Hasty pudding or mush is still much used in New England and the other states. It was the custom formerly in Hadley and other towns to make hasty pudding once a week or oftener. It was commonly made on Saturday, and eaten with milk at night and the next morning. The people of Northampton were noted for their love of hasty pudding.

The New England hard Indian pudding, boiled many hours in a linen bag, was long a part of the dinner, in most families in farming towns. Some are still made. They were common in all this region. It was reported that one or two families in Hadley had 365 such puddings in a year.

Succotash.—This seems not to have been originally the name of boiled green corn and beans. According to Roger Williams, m'sickquatash was corn boiled whole. Gov. Win-

Potatoes.—The culture of potatoes was introduced into New England by the Scotch-Irish,* who came over in 1718. Few, if any, were raised in Hampshire, until the Scotch-Irish settled in Palmer, Pelham, Coleraine and Blandford. The people of Northampton, Hadley and some other towns were indebted to the planters of Pelham for their knowledge of potatoes, and of the manner of cultivating them. A few potatoes were planted in these towns as early as 1750, but not many until several years later. Josiah Pierce of Hadley raised 8 bushels in 1763, 60 bushels in 1766, and 130 bushels in 1769. Very few, if any, had so many. Most farmers were satisfied with a few bushels. They had in Hadley 65 years ago, the cragged Spanish or hog potato, fit only for hogs, and a red potato used for the table. A good white potato followed. The potato disease began in some places in 1843, in Hadley in 1844.

After potatoes became plenty, the women of Hadley and other places made their starch of potatoes.

Turnips.—The early settlers of New England sowed turnips, and in succeeding generations, they became an important article of food. The price in Hampshire from 1700 to 1775 was commonly equal to 11 cents, or 8 pence lawful, per bushel. Previous to 1775, more turnips than potatoes were consumed in families in Hadley and other towns. They were raised on patches of new land, and in Hadley were often sowed on good land where barley had just been harvested, making two crops in one season.

Pumpkins.—Those ripened under the suns of New England were much more dry and sweet than those produced in England. They were in some respects a substitute for apples. Josselyn calls stewed pumpkin with a little butter, spice and vinegar, "the ancient New England standing dish." Johnson of Woburn says in 1651, "let no man make a jest of pumpkins, for with this

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throp and other early writers do not notice an Indian or English dish, composed of green corn and beans. The English did not probably cook succotash as early as 1750. Fifty years later, many preferred to have the corn and beans in separate dishes.—Sweet corn was hardly known here 60 years ago, and the boiled ears and the roasted ears were of the common corn.

Nookhick, or nokehick, the Indian name of the meal of parched corn, was pronounced nocake, by the English, who sometimes hired Indian women to prepare it for them. Winthrop says the parched corn was "turned almost inside outward, and was white and floury." It must have resembled our parched pop-corn. Eliot in his Indian Bible, translated flour and meal by the word nookhick.

*These Scotch-Irish were descendants of Scotch people who settled in the north of Ireland about 100 years before. They were truly Scotch. They settled in Pelham in 1740. They made finer linen and thread than our English women could make, and they brought in the foot wheel for spinning flax.

fruit the Lord was pleased to feed his people till corn and cattle were increased."* Pumpkins have been raised to feed animals, in the river towns, from early days.

Flax was cultivated by the early settlers of New England and by succeeding generations, until the establishment of cotton factories. Sixty and fifty years ago, flax was an important crop in old Hampshire, and was made into cloth in most families.† But so complete has been the change that few persons under thirty years of age, have ever seen a woman hatchel flax or card tow, or heard the buzzing of the foot wheel, or seen bunches of flaxen yarn hanging in the kitchen, or linen cloth whitening on the grass. The flax dresser, with the shives, fibres and dirt of flax covering his garments, and his face begrimmed with dust, has disappeared; the noise of his brake and swingling-knife has ended, and the boys no longer make bonfires of his swingling-tow. The sound of the spinning wheel, the song of the spinster and the snapping of the clock-reel have all ceased; the warping-bars and quill-wheel are gone, and the thwack of the loom is heard only in the factory. The spinning woman of king Lemuel cannot be found. This revolution, and a similar, later one in the household manufacture of wool, have made a great change in domestic life.

Hemp and Ropes.—Small pieces of hemp were sown in the river towns, and both hemp and flax were used for ropes and cords.‡ There were men in Hadley and other towns, who made

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*Pumpkin Pies were early made in New England, and are mentioned by Johnson and Vanderdonck. When Johnson wrote, the English made pies also of apples, pears and quinces. The delicious pumpkin pie at the annual Thanksgiving, may remind us of the straightened circumstances of our fathers.

Dried Pumpkins.—The English learned of the Indians to dry pumpkins. Fifty or sixty years ago most of the kitchens of Hampshire farmers, late in autumn, had poles suspended from the joists, loaded with pumpkins, cut into circular slices, running round the pumpkin, and pared. These were dried for pies and sauce. Those used for beer were not pared. A pumpkin-paring sometimes made a merry evening, as well as an apple paring.

†Flax was absolutely necessary to past generations. Almost all the linen and tow cloth used for garments, sheets and other bed furniture, table cloths, napkins, towels and bags, was made in families. The industrious females also made linsey-woolsey of flax and wool, and other cloth of flax and cotton. The price of flax in N. E. currency previous to 1775, was from 5 pence to 8 pence, commonly near 6 pence, and that of tow about half as much.

Tow cloth made of tow and flax, was an article of traffic more than half a century; it was sold to the traders, and it was sent to Hartford, Newport, &c. The wives and daughters of farmers exchanged tow cloth, checked linen and woolen, and other cloth with the traders, and obtained stuff for gowns, and various other articles.

‡After 1810, large pieces of hemp were raised in Hadley, several seasons, and good prices obtained.

The wild hemp, (Apocynum cannabinum,) from which the Indians made lines and nets, still grows among us.

cart-ropes, bed-cords, draw-ropes, leading-lines, teddering-lines, halters, ropes about nets, &c. Lieut. Noah Cook of Hadley made ropes 80 and 100 years ago; and William Cook and his son David W. Cook afterwards made ropes.

Broom Corn and Brooms.—Broom corn, the Sorghum saccharatum of the botanists, a native of India, has long been cultivated in the southern part of Europe, chiefly for the seed, but brooms and brushes were made of it in Italy more than a century since. In this country, Dr. Franklin is said to have raised broom corn from one or two seeds found on an imported brush. Mr. Jefferson in 1781 placed broom corn among the productions of Virginia. Rev. Enoch Hale of Westhampton, in his Diary, May 19, 1785, records that he "sowed broom-corn;" and a few hills may have been planted in several gardens before 1797. Levi Dickinson of Hadley is however entitled to the credit of conceiving the plan of raising broom corn abundantly, and of supplying the country with brooms. He introduced a lucrative and important branch of industry, and females have been furnished with better sweeping utensils than they ever had before.*

Levi Dickinson, a native of Wethersfield, Conn. obtained a little broom-seed, and planted some hills in his garden, on the upper part of the old back-street of Hadley, in 1797. From the seed of this he planted half an acre of broom corn in 1798,—the first half acre cultivated for brooms in America. In 1799 he planted an acre, and more in succeeding years. Strangers who were passing after the tall broom corn had put forth its panicles, wondered what it was, and many stopped to make inquiries. Mr. Dickinson made 20 or 30 brooms in 1797 and between 100 and 200 in 1798. Heber, a colored man, began to tie on brooms for him, but Mr. D. contrived a better way; he sat in his chair, with the string round a roll under his feet, and wound it round the brush in his lap. The seed at first was scraped from the brush by a knife; afterwards by the edge of a hoe with a short handle,

*The brooms of New England in early days resembled those of Old England. The best were made of hair or bristles and imported; most were made here of twigs of birch and hemlock, of rushes, husks, &c. In the last century, those called Indian brooms became the common brooms of the country. They were made of sticks of birch, ash, &c. long enough for the broom and handle; the broom being formed of two lengths of thin, tough splints or filaments, the upper doubling over the lower, and both at one end adhering to the handle. They were named splinter brooms. In 1762, a Northampton merchant had 761 brooms, valued at 6 pence each. Brooms were retailed at 8d. or 9d. People were supplied with Indian brooms till after 1800. Indians and squaws peddled brooms and baskets and begged for cider, in Hadley and other towns. In many families in the country, the fathers or boys made the brooms. The writer made a few Indian brooms when a boy. Oven-brooms were made of husks.

fastened to a bench. Upright teeth were used later. Mr. D. peddled brooms and reeds in a horse-cart, in Williamsburgh, Ashfield and Conway, in 1798, and some say in 1797. He remarked that the day when he first sold a few brooms was the happiest day of his life; he had ascertained that some women liked his brooms and would buy them. In 1799, he went to Pittsfield with brooms, and about 1800 to New London. From the beginning, most people in Hadley thought he was visionary and his projects fanciful, and sneers and sarcasms were frequent. His friends at Wethersfield said to him tauntingly, "the Indians hereabouts make brooms." These things were very unpleasant, and he found obstacles and up-hill work, but he was not diverted from his course at all. He was a man of energy and perseverance, though of small estate and infirm in health, and he boldly predicted to the scoffers as early as 1801, that the broom business would be the greatest in the county. Such men have a little of the seer. His neighbors at length began to think he was doing well, and William Shipman, Solomon Cook and Levi Gale began to raise broom corn and make brooms about 1801. Cato, a negro, first planted broom corn in the meadow, perhaps in 1800. Mr. Dickinson carried brooms to Boston and Albany, not far from 1805. He and others at first made their own handles, and the twine was spun from their own flax. After Hadley had commenced, some in Hatfield and Whately began to grow broom-corn and make brooms; Northampton followed some years later. The return of corn brooms made in Hampshire in 1810 was 70,000. Levi Dickinson died in 1843, aged 88. Long before his death, the broom business had been widely extended.

The following returns of brooms and broom-corn in Hadley are not free from errors. Some of the aggregates may be too high. Much of the seed is sometimes destroyed by early frosts, as in this season, 1859.

In 1850, the assistant marshal, Eleazar Porter, who took the census of Hadley, returned the Products of Industry for a year, which included 769,700 brooms, valued at $118,478, and 76,000 brushes, valued at $5970, all made at 41 places in Hadley. These were estimated to have taken 496 tons of broom brush, (not all raised in Hadley,) which cost $72,745, or about 7⅓ cents per pound. The handles, wire, twine, paint and varnish cost $15,274, or near two cents for each broom.

In 1855, the assessors of Hadley returned 906 acres of broom corn, producing 700 lbs. per acre, worth at 10 cents per pound, 63,420 dollars; and 60 bushels of seed per acre, worth at 40 cents per bushel, 21,744 dollars. They returned brooms made in Hadley, 641,120, valued at 118,550 dollars, and 35,000 brushes worth 2625 dollars.

Hay Grasses, native and foreign.—The New England planters selected for mowing grounds, the low lands of the brook and river valleys, swampy uplands and salt marshes. Most of the native grasses were marsh and sedge grasses, and others of low value.

English grasses* were not named among our plants for some years, and it is believed that red clover, herdsgrass, English spear or June grass, sweet vernal grass, redtop grass, fescue grass and others have been introduced since New England was planted. Whether white clover is a native or an exotic, is an unsettled question. Among the native grasses which were found on the intervals of Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield, were three species of andropogon,† which are named thatch-grass, and two of them are valued by farmers, and have ever formed an important portion of the hay cut on the permanent grass grounds, which are often overflowed. These lands have been mowed once or twice every year for about two hundred years.

Much of the higher parts of these intervals, that were not frequently flooded, were plowed from the beginning, and were sowed or planted almost every year, more than 100 years. Seldom was there a change from tillage to grass, or from grass to tillage.

It has been erroneously asserted that grass seed was not sowed in this country previous to 1790.‡ But the farmers of Rhode Island sowed hay-seed with chaff before 1647. Edward Stebbins of Hartford had 100 bushels of hay-seed in chaff for sale, in May, 1654, at two shillings a bushel. In 1650, William Pynchon of Springfield had "30 bushels of hay-seed," brought up the river. John Pynchon bought and sold hay-seed by the bushel several times, between 1655 and 1672; and he also sold "Flanders grass seed," at 4s. and 5s. per pound, which must have been clean clover seed. In 1658, he had a number of acres of "English grass." The General Court of Massachusetts in 1670 noticed three sorts of mowing, viz., Salt marsh, fresh meadow, and English grass. Before 1670, there were spacious meadows of English grass on Long Island. Clover and other hay-seeds were sowed about Philadelphia in 1685.§

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*When our fathers emigrated from England, about 1630, the English had some good grasses, but the clean seeds of clover and grasses were not sold so early in England. Chaff from haymows, and what Markham calls, "the sweepings of hay barns," were sowed before 1630.

†The three species are Andropogon furcatus, nutans and scoparius. They are all seen on sandy plains, and the latter, which is not of much worth, is scattered over some grave yards. These tall grasses were cut for thatched roofs, in early days—hence the Northampton name, thatch-grass. They do not grow in the intervals on land that is swampy or very wet.

‡By Livingston, in the American edition of Edinburgh Encyclopedia, Vol. I., p. 395.

§White Clover diffused itself widely in America, as previously in Europe. It appeared far distant from the places where it had been sowed, after the land was plowed or broken up. It was abundant in New Jersey in 1684, in New York in 1738 as reported by C. Colden,

Rev. Jared Eliot* of Killingworth, Conn. sowed the seed of red clover, fowl meadow,† English spear and herdsgrass in 1747. Clover seed was advertised in Boston and Philadelphia in 1730, and frequently in Boston from 25 to 45 years later. Fowl meadow and herdsgrass were advertised in 1756, and redtop in 1765. Women imported and sold seeds. In 1773, of ten persons that advertised grass and garden seeds in Boston, seven were females.‡

Clover and Grass Seed in Hadley, &c.—When hay-seed could be procured at Springfield and Hartford, it may be supposed that some was scattered on the homelots of Hadley, and that English grass grew there before 1700. During most of the last century, good hay from homelots, and some from other uplands in Hadley and elsewhere, was often denominated English hay.

In 1757, Israel Clark of South Hadley, Simeon Clark of East Hadley and Col. Seth Pomeroy of Northampton, sent to Boston for clover seed, by William Clark of Northampton. This is the first record found of clover seed being brought to these towns. In 1762, Eliakim Smith bought clover seed in Hadley at 1s. 4d. per pound; and in 1764 it was sold in Northampton, at 1s. 3d. In 1765, Oliver Smith of Hadley sold fowl meadow seed at 7d. per quart, and herdsgrass at 10d. per pound. Josiah Pierce of Hadley bought fowl meadow, herdsgrass and clover seed in 1765. Enos Smith bought clover seed in 1775 and 1779. Undoubtedly a few others in Hadley, Amherst, South Hadley and Granby sowed grass seed, clean or in chaff, before the peace of 1783, but the number was not large. The clover of the last century was long and trailing, and less valuable than that of the present day. Oliver Smith sold clover hay in 1783, '84 and '85. In those days, grass seeds and chaff were sowed principally in the upland towns,

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and was observed by farmers in the new towns of Hampshire, and of other parts of Massachusetts. Hutchinson remarked about 1760, that white clover seed was supposed to be in the earth in all parts of the country. White clover grew on lands in the western states after they were plowed, where it had not been sowed by men.

*Mr. Eliot began to publish his "Essays upon Field Husbandry" in 1748, the first agricultural publication in America. He was encouraged by Doct. Franklin.

†More than one species of grass has been named fowl meadow. In this vicinity, many believe that poa serotina is the true fowl meadow, though poa nervata is so named by some botanists. I have noticed more of the poa serotina in Fort meadow in Hadley, than elsewhere in that town.

‡Much mercantile business was done in Boston by women in the last century. They dealt in millinery and most kinds of dry goods, in grass, garden and flower seeds, in crockery, groceries, &c.

and on uplands in the river towns. The grasses found in late years on the lower intervals are added in a note.*

Apples and Cider.—The second Henry Wolcott of Windsor early set an orchard, and began to sell apples and cider in 1648. See page 66. He sold some quinces. For some years, he had no mill, and his apples were pounded by hand. He planted a nursery, and it may be inferred from his accounts, that he sold near 2000 trees from 1647 to 1654, from Springfield to Stratford. Among his trees were engrafted apple trees and many pear trees.

The settlers of Northampton and Hadley planted apple trees and a few other fruit trees, and apples, cider and boiled cider appear as early as 1677, and some quinces, pears and vinegar were sold in Northampton. At first they crushed their apples with pounders in troughs, as was often done in England; and cider mills† are not found in our records previous to 1700. For many years after 1700, beer was more generally drank than cider,‡ but the use of the latter was increasing. Orchards were numerous in Hampshire before the revolution, and they seem to have been much more extensive after 1783. The demand for cider to drink and to distill induced farmers to set out large orchards. There

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*The Grasses that grow in Aquavitae, a permanent river-meadow in Hadley, from examinations made in 1851 and 1852. They are numbered according to their product. The thatch grasses yield the most and are No. 1. The redtop is the next in quantity and is No. 2, and so on. The botanical names are added.

1. Thatch grass. [Andropogon furcatus, nutans and scoparious.
2. Redtop and a little whitetop. [Agrostis vulgaris and alba.
3. English spear grass. [Poa pratensis and trivialis.
4. Quack or Couch grass. [Triticum repens.
5. Clover, red and white. [Trifolium pratense and repens.

These form more than seven-eighths of the grasses in the first crop of hay. The rest are panicum virgatum and other panicums; four wet poas, viz., aquatica, serotina, nervata and canadensis; calamagrostis, aira, carex, or sedges of several species, and others. The field horse-tail is common, and there are herbs and flowers.

The rowen or second crop contains the same species of grass as the first crop, but the proportion is different.

The grasses numbered from 1 to 5 and the others named form almost all the crop in Indian Hollow in Hatfield, and Old Rainbow in Northampton, and other permanent river meadows in the three towns.

The grasses in old homelots that have been long in grass, not including wet places, are chiefly of seven sorts, viz., vernal, herd's, English spear, fescue and redtop grass, and red and white clover.

†In 1762 and after, Samuel Gaylord had a cider mill near where the Academy now stands, and made cider at 6 shillings a barrel, old tenor, near 10 pence. Sometimes it was made for 8 pence.—Cider mills so numerous in Hampshire, 50 years ago, are rarely seen now.

Children were always fond of sucking cider through straws from barrels at cider mills. In France, children are said to suck wine in the same manner.

‡It was estimated in Boston in 1728, that a family of 9 persons, "of middle figure," consumed in a year, 12 barrels of beer, 4 barrels of cider and 6 gallons of wine.

was a small distillery* in Northampton, 1762–1770, but none on the east side of the river. According to the returns of assessors in 1771, the cider made in Hadley, South Hadley, Amherst and Granby averaged 4⅓ barrels to a house. In later years, when a great quantity of cider was distilled, much more was brought up from the cellars of these towns yearly, by the mug-ful, than all that was made in 1771. Pelham made more cider in 1771 than either of the four towns.

Hadley has not been distinguished for its fruit trees and fruits. The late Col. Moses Porter told me that he thought there was not an engrafted apple tree in Hadley in 1791, nor for some years after. I find others who do not differ from him. Yet there was in 1791, and probably had been for a century, a moderate supply of pretty good natural fruit, for eating in summer and winter, for sauce, drying, &c. In Granby and other towns there were native trees that produced very good apples. In Hadley and the adjoining towns, most of the old apple trees are gone, and there are many trees that have been engrafted or budded within 25 years, and some families had such trees long before.

Fifty and sixty years ago, there were in Hadley but few peaches, plums and quinces, some pears, and many of the sourish cherries. There are now better cherries and more plums, quinces and pears. Most of the peach trees have perished in late years, though many small trees remain. More attention is given to fruit.

Apple Molasses.—In Hadley and other towns, 50 and 60 years ago, were many trees of luscious sweet apples, from which apple molasses was made, by boiling the apples or boiling the cider. This molasses was used on puddings, in pies, &c. There were apples named by some "skunk sweetings."—May have been of the same kind as those referred to by Dudley in the note.†

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*The old village of Hadley never had a distillery, but it has been cursed by intoxicating drinks, like other places. There was a distillery at Hockanum, after 1800, and much cider was carted from the old village to a distillery in Amherst. Every distillery made drunkards. —There were 65 distilleries of cider and grain in old Hampshire in 1810.

The price of cider in this neighborhood during most of the last century was from four to six shillings per barrel; sometimes only 3s. or 3s. 4d.

Some poetry in the Hampshire Gazette, in May, 1792, gives to lovers of cider, a rosy countenance, ruddy nose and running eyes.

†Paul Dudley of Roxbury, in communications to the Royal Society, in 1722 and 1724, represented that our apples and pears were as good as those of England, and our peaches better than the English, and that peach trees commonly bore in three years from the stone. Most of our cherries were the red, sourish ones. One town made near 10,000 barrels of cider in 1721. The people planted many "summer sweetings," and fattened swine with the apples, and made apple molasses from the cider.

Beer.—Household beer was made in most families in these river towns more than 150 years, and some strong beer was brewed. Malt was used more freely in early than in later times. When cider became plenty, beer was still drank. In Hadley, 60 years ago, beer was generally brewed once a week; malt, hops, dried pumpkin, dried apple parings, and sometimes rye bran, birch twigs and other things, were put into the brewing kettle, and the liquor was strained through a sieve. This beer was used at home and was carried into the meadows by the farmers.*

Gardens.—The inhabitants of this valley have always had gardens, and cultivated some common garden vegetables,† the women often aiding formerly. Our fore-mothers had, as in England, medicinal herbs‡ in the garden. Many females had a small plat of flowers.§

Many in Old and New England imported garden seeds, deeming foreign seeds the best. Our own seeds were advertised in Boston in 1773, as "suitable for the West Indies." "All sorts of Garden seeds from London" were advertised in Boston in 1719, and in most years down to 1800. Many of the sellers were women‖ before 1775. Farmers in the country generally sowed their own seeds.—Charles Phelps of Hadley had a fine fruit and flower garden 50 and 60 years ago, having a Scotch gardener.

The price of apples in these towns after 1700, was from 8d. to 1s. per bushel. Oliver Smith of Hadley sold many winter apples and apples for paring, after 1760, at 8 pence per bushel and some at a shilling.

There were apple-parings in the autumn, in almost all families, for apple sauce and dried apples.

New Englanders liked baked and roasted apples. There were tin apple-roasters 150 years ago, but in general, apples sputtered on the hearth while roasting.

Edward Yeomans had a nursery of choice fruit trees at Westfield in 1789, and one at Northampton a few years later. David Tracy of Norwich, Mass. succeeded him after 1800, and had nurseries in several towns.

*Yeast to make dough light, was taken from the settlings of the beer barrel, and called "emptyings." The old leaven, sour dough, was formerly used by some. Yeast from distilleries was first brought to houses in Northampton not far from 1830, and to Hadley about 10 or 12 years later.

Hops grew wild in the valley of the Connecticut but not in sufficient quantity; most farmers had a few hop vines and poles as long as family beer was brewed. The price of hops was commonly from 6 to 8 pence per pound from 1700 to 1800, in N. E. currency.

†A woman of Hadley informed me, that the new vegetables, rhubarb and tomatoes were used in one or two families in that town in 1821.

‡The medicinal herbs from England were rue, tansy, wormwood, sage, balm, hyssop, peppermint, catnip, coltsfoot, comfrey, elecampane, gill-go-over-the-ground and many others.

§All old ladies whom I have questioned, and some were born before 1760, told me that they and others had little flower beds when young. But there was nothing like the present fondness for flowers.

‖Women first advertised garden seeds in Northampton—Temperance Gibbs in 1790, and widow Esther Wright from 1791 to 1801.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Domestic Animals, &c.—Horses—Oxen—Fat Cattle—Butchers—Cows—Swine—Pork and Bacon—Puddings and Sausages—Sheep and Wool and Trade to Newport—Domestic Fowls—Geese—Bees and Honey—Tobacco—Butter and Cheese—Flax seed and Oil—Berries—Nuts—Maple Sugar—Soap—Lights—Time-pieces—Blue Dyeing—Cotton—Rags—Sleighs—Carriages—Wagon to and from Boston—Time of Planting, Harvesting, &c.—Statistics of four Towns, 1771.

Horses, Oxen and Cows were not plenty in these towns for some years after the settlement of Hadley. When they became numerous, prices were reduced.

Horses.—The horses which obtained most of their living upon the commons, were cheaply raised, and were often much neglected, yet there were always some good horses in Hampshire. In the last quarter of the 17th century, horses were valued at various prices, from 30 to 120 shillings each in provision pay. The money price was full one-third less. A few horses were worth from 15 to 25 dollars as money. In the next century, horses received more attention, and between 1750 and 1775, they were worth from 7 to 32 dollars each, and a few, 40 dollars or more. The most valuable horse noticed is that of Rev. Chester Williams of Hadley, apprized at 66⅔ dollars in 1754.*

Horses were chiefly used under the saddle. Down to 1750, there were very few sleighs and no wheel-vehicles for horses to draw. Horses were used in some farming operations before oxen, and a horse drew the corn plow and harrow, and the wheel of the cider mill. The harness was very simple.† In the next 50 years, horses did not take the place of oxen on the farm but a horse was often the leader of a team. Horses from Hampshire were shipped to the West Indies from Connecticut ports more than 150 years.‡ In a law of 1668, 14 hands were judged to be

*Col. Eleazar Porter's best horse was valued at only 20 dollars in 1758, and Capt. Moses Porter's at 31 dollars in 1756.

†The tackling consisted of a head-stall, collar, hames, rope-traces and lines, and for the sleigh, a holdback. The leather part of this gear was made by the shoemaker or tailor, and the rest by the carpenter and rope-maker. For a century, there was no such mechanic as a harness maker in the county. The stuffed part of the neck harness was the collar, and the two crooked pieces of wood, the hames, both so named in England. Dutch collars of leather were later.

‡Between 50 and 60 years ago, Chileab Smith & Co. and their successors in Hadley, occasionally gave notice that they wished to purchase 20 or 30 shipping horses, and had for sale, 15, 20 or more hhds. of rum.

The colors of horses were the same 200 years ago as since—black, brown, bay, sorrel, white, gray, roan, &c.

In Hadley, horses were often teddered, and could feed only to the extent of the rope, and many were restrained by fetters.

a good height for horses, and most of the horses advertised in the last century were reported to be "about 14 hands high;" a few were 15 hands. There were ambling or pacing horses, and some were described as "natural pacers," and others were said to trot, or to trot and pace. The hire of horses in Northampton and Hadley, from 1700 to 1775, was commonly equal to one and a half penny lawful, per mile, and from 1783 to 1800, two pence, and a little more when a horse carried double.

Oxen.—In Hampshire, oxen were the principal animals in the labors of husbandry, to the close of the last century, and some years later.* The oxen and cart conveyed loads on the highways, a few miles and many miles.† A few two horse wagons were employed on the roads, the latter part of the century.—The price of working oxen in Hampshire, from 1680 to 1715, reduced to our present currency, was from 17 to 28 dollars a yoke. From 1750 to 1775, the price was from 23 to 37 dollars a pair, and a few were worth 40 dollars. For a few years after 1783, good cattle for the stall were bought from 40 to 45 dollars a yoke.

Fat Cattle.—John Pynchon sent cattle in the fall, from Springfield to Boston, before 1655; and he sent winter-fattened cattle in the spring before 1670, and many years after. It is not known when the farmers of Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield began to stall-feed oxen for market. It is manifest from the records of Hatfield, that a number of cattle were fattened there in the winter of 1696-7, and that this was not a new business. In April, 1701, 23 fat oxen were purchased in Hampshire and Connecticut, for 15¼ dollars each on an average, in our present money, and they were sold at Boston for 17¼ dollars each.—William Clark of Northampton, drove fat cattle to Cambridge from 1753 to 1757, and his papers give the weight of 12 oxen, which was from 607 to 970 pounds, and averaged 767 pounds. They were sold from 16s. 8d. to 20s. per 100 pounds.‡ Few if any cattle were sold above 20 shillings, down to 1775.

There was some horse-stealing in New England, though less than in other colonies. Horse thieves were hanged in several colonies and in England, but not in New England.

*A Hadley man estimates that half the farm-teams in that town were oxen, or oxen and horses together, as late as 1825.

†The sick and wounded, and sometimes the slain, were moved by cattle and cart. Doctors Gardiner and Douglass of Boston extracted a stone from the bladder of Jonathan Atherton, at Hadley, June 9, 1743. Dr. Crouch took care of him in Hadley until Oct. 5, when, the account says, "he went home to East Hadley in Samuel Hawley's cart." There was no other way to remove the feeble sufferer. A cart was the only vehicle with wheels in Hadley, in 1743.

‡Two of these oxen belonged to John Cook of Hadley, and weighed 747 and 803 pounds. They were sold in 1755 at 1s. 5d. per lb. old tenor, equal to 18s. 10d. per 100 lbs. lawful,

Grass-fed Cattle.—Before and after 1700, the price of steers, cows and other beeves in Hampshire, in October, November and December, was from five to six farthings per pound, or from 10s. 6d. to 12s. 6d. per hundred in money. A few were sold at one penny per pound. The price of fall beef in Hadley, when Mr. Hopkins was settled in 1754, (see page 324,) was 13s. 6d. per hundred. In 1789, it was from 15s. to 16s. 8d. per hundred.*

Grass-fed cattle were driven to Boston from Hampshire in the 17th and 18th centuries,† and great numbers after the grazing towns were settled. Many were barreled for market, in Hadley and other parts of the county.

Cows.—Milk was formerly a much more important part of the food of families than now.‡ Children and many adults commonly had milk with bread or hasty pudding for breakfast and

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and came to $48,79. One yoke belonging to Lt. Montague of South Hadley, weighed 1622 pounds, and were sold in 1757 at 1s. 4d. per lb. old tenor, and came to $48,06.

The late Col. Moses Porter of Hadley went to Boston with fat cattle every year for 51 years, beginning in 1791. Joseph Hooker went with him some years. The price in 1791 was about four dollars per hundred, but the best brought a guinea. Many farmers in Hadley stall-fed a few cattle 50 and 60 years ago; more are fed now, probably about 300 yearly. Edmund and Chester Smith, in the eastern part of the town, fatten above 80.

*Butchers.—Oliver Thayer, who came from Braintree about 1783 and settled in Williamsburgh, was the first man in this vicinity that bought and slaughtered animals for the fresh meat market. He commenced about 1787, and for many years, brought his meat to Northampton in panniers or baskets, one on each side of his horse. He came once or twice a week, during about four months, beginning in June. For four or five years, he sold veal, lamb and mutton at two pence, and two pence half penny per pound, and rarely at three pence. He did not bring beef. He sold butter at six pence.

Before and after 1800, meat was occasionally brought to Hadley in panniers or baskets, from Pelham and other towns, and sold to innkeepers and a few others. Asahel Wright from Northampton sold meat in Hadley regularly about 1805, and he afterwards removed to Hadley and butchered there some years. The late Hiram Thayer, who carried on the business in Hadley about 15 years, was a grandson of Oliver Thayer, and Justin Thayer of Northampton, long engaged in the same and other employments, is another grandson.

The people were not destitute of fresh meat, before there were regular butchers. When a man killed an animal, he sold some, and he lent some to his neighbors, who made a return when they killed. In the winter, fresh meat could be kept a long time.

†The butchers about Boston bought cattle on credit the first half of the last century, and were often sued at the Hampshire courts.

‡In a discussion in the Boston newspapers in 1728, respecting the expense of housekeeping in Boston, "of families of a middling figure," including ministers, three writers gave all persons in these families only bread and milk for breakfast and supper. A minister in 1737, in calculating the expenses of his family, set down nothing but bread and milk for breakfast and supper. We may suppose however, that the adults in those families had some food besides bread and milk.

supper.* Care was not taken by some however to have a supply of milk one or two months in the winter.†

After cows became plenty, their value before and after 1700, reduced to dollars, was from 6½ to 9 dollars. Previous to 1775, the price was from 7 to 11 dollars, and for some years after 1788, from 8 to 13 dollars.

Eighty years ago, a large part of the milch cows and other neat cattle in Hadley obtained most of their food from the highways and woods, during several months until the meadows were opened. Towards night "the lowing herd wound slowly o'er the lea" and came home; some needed the aid of a driver. Many creatures wore bells, and their tinkling noise did not cease through the day. Sixty years ago, bells were heard in the roads and unfenced woods.‡ In old accounts and inventories are found cowbells, oxbells and sheepbells.

Swine.—These prolific animals, which arrive so early at maturity, were very useful to the early planters of Massachusetts and other colonies. They became plenty much sooner than neat cattle. Our fathers in this valley had the English swine, which originally came from the wild hog. They had arched and narrow backs, were excellent runners, and good to fight bears and wolves in the woods, and are supposed to have preyed upon rattle snakes. In the forest counties of England, hogs were fattened on acorns, beech-nuts, and other mast, ending with peas. In New England, after the mast, here called shack, Indian corn was given instead of peas.

John Pynchon purchased and barreled a great number of hogs between 1662 and 1683. The weight of 162 hogs amounted to 27,409 pounds, averaging about 170 pounds each. 16 weighed less than 120 pounds each and 25 weighed above 200 pounds. The two heaviest were 270 and 282 pounds. Pynchon's prices

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*Other milk dishes were pumpkin and milk, berries and milk, and roasted and baked apples and milk, often with bread.

†Those of us born in the last century, and some in the present, remember the short allowance of boiled skim-milk, a few weeks in the winter, and the cider used instead of milk. Many children were fond of bread and cider. The cider was not very sour and it was diluted with water, sweetened with molasses and warmed in a basin, and the bread was toasted. Some poetry in the Hampshire Gazette, May, 1792, says people often make use of cider with bread, "for want of porridge, milk and tea."

John Pynchon gave to his cows fanciful and flowery names, as Rose, Primrose, Strawberry, Red Cherry, Black Cherry, Gentle, Pretty, Bosse, Hopewell, &c. His cows and other horned cattle were black, red and brown;—black was the most common color. A number had a white streak along the back.

‡Hadley prohibited all cattle but cows from running at large on the commons in 1800, and cows were included in the prohibition in 1801.

were 2½d., 2¾d. and 3d. in his "town pay,"—averaging about two pence in pine tree money.*

The people of Hadley barreled pork in these years, and sold some to Pynchon and sent some to Hartford and Boston.†

A century later, 1766–1768, Timothy Dwight of Northampton, bought 50 hogs, which averaged 201 pounds. The price then and down to 1775, was from 2½d. to 3d. per lb.; many were sold at 4 coppers or 2⅔d. Deac. E. Hunt of Northampton killed a hog that weighed 335 lbs. in 1774—the first one over 300 lbs. recorded in this vicinity.

Salt Pork and Bacon.—The people of New England in the 17th century preserved meat for family use in a tub-shaped vessel, called a "powdering tub." To powder meat, was to salt or corn it. Some of the pork was kept in brine, but many sides were salted in large pieces, and then smoked in the great kitchen chimney. These smoked sides were the "flitches of bacon," of the old records. The people of Hadley, down to 1700, had powdering tubs with salt pork, and flitches of bacon; they had no pork hams prepared differently from the sides.‡

Puddings and Sausages.—Of old, the word puddings denoted the bowels of an animal. "Pudding Lane" in London received its name from the puddings of hogs slaughtered there. The intestines of animals, cleansed and filled with eatables, were called puddings. When Markham published his "English Housewife," before 1631, puddings of many kinds were put into intestines and boiled. Links or sausages were puddings, and are named "Hogs-puddings" in the Spectator, No. 269. The bowel skins were not much used in New England except for sausages.

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*The lightness of swine when butchered, in former days, was owing in part to the frame and form of the breed. There were no choice breeds. The only colors of swine noticed by John Pynchon are black and sandy.

†Barrels sent to market held 220 lbs. of pork, and sometimes 240 lbs. of beef. Massachusetts reduced the quantity in a barrel to 200 lbs. in 1782. Some pork was sent to market, even down to the revolution, that had four half heads and eight legs in a barrel of 220 pounds. Connecticut pork, including that of Hampshire, was highly valued in Boston.

Hogs, fat and lean, were driven from Connecticut River to Boston more than a century since.

The younger part of the community never saw a hog in the highways with a yoke on his neck and a ring in his snout. The old laws of Massachusetts directed that hogs that went at large should wear a yoke as long up and down, as two and a half times the depth of his neck, with a bottom piece three times as long as the thickness of the neck. Ringing and yoking hogs were formerly common in England.

‡The people of New England, in using powdering-tubs, and in smoking sides of pork, followed the practices of Old England. Sometime in the last century they had meat barrels and smoked only hams. Salt pork kept in brine has been the principal meat of New England farmers during most of the year, for several generations. In this, they have differed from the English.

Lard.—The swine of former days did not yield lard abundantly, but there was no lack of that article, for the people required much less than the same number now. The old name was suet. The price was nearly the same as that of butter and tallow.

Sheep and Wool.—John Pynchon and others bought sheep at Rhode Island in 1655, and at Sudbury in 1656. There were sheep in the towns above the falls soon after 1660, and they were gradually increased. Though so much care was requisite to preserve them from beasts of prey, their value during a century after 1690, was commonly only from 4 to 6 shillings each, in dollars at 6 shillings; some were worth 8 shillings. The price of live sheep in 1790 was one penny per pound. Merino sheep were first brought over in 1802.*

The cash price of wool on Connecticut River, before 1700, was from 8 pence to one shilling per pound. Previous to the revolution in 1775, it had advanced about 50 per cent. and was from one shilling to 1s. 6d. Wool was bought at Newport at one shilling in 1709, and at 1s. 4d. in 1775.

For three-fourths of a century, commencing about 1700, some families in these Norwottuck towns, occasionally sent to "the Island,"† as Newport, R. I. was called, for wool and other things. The diligent housewives made woolen cloth for garments and bed coverings, and they knit stockings. They "sought wool and flax," and cotton, "and worked willingly with their hands." They and their daughters were manufacturers, and a part of almost every house in our country towns was a factory, at times.‡

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*The Hadley sheep run in the streets until 1790, and a part of two or three later seasons. Their pasture and that of the geese were the same. In warm days, many collected under the old meeting house.

Between 600 and 1000 sheep are fattened in Hadley every winter.

†Newport was a place of much business before the revolution; one branch of its trade was the infamous slave trade. Northampton men began to traffic at the island not far from 1700. Men from Hadley and other towns traded at Newport, but few of their names can now be found. Jonathan Preston of South Hadley went to Newport in 1758, John Eastman of Hadley in 1762, Samuel Gaylord of Hadley in 1765, and Reuben Smith, supposed of South Hadley, in 1775.

Those who went to the island from these towns did business for all who wished, often for twenty or thirty. They carried for them much tow cloth, some whitened cloth, many bags and a little cash, and obtained wool, molasses, sugar, indigo, tea, &c. The heavy articles were sent home by water by way of Hartford, and when they arrived, the purchaser went from house to house, and distributed the wool, molasses, &c.

‡Carding machines, which were built in many towns in a few years after 1802, relieved women who carded wool. One was erected in Northern Amherst in 1803, one at the Lower Mills (Smith's) in Hadley in 1805, and one at North Hadley, a few years later. In those days, before there were one horse wagons, girls sometimes carried behind them on a horse, a bundle of wool almost as high as their heads.

Some of the best wool was combed and not carded, and worsted was spun from this.

The household manufacture of wool continued in Hadley and elsewhere many years in the present century. It ceased in many families before 1822, and continued longer in some. In general the rising generation know not how their grandmothers made cloth.—(See the end of this chapter.)

Domestic Fowls.—The dunghill cock and hen were brought to New England by the early settlers.* They were in Springfield before 1645; and it may be concluded that the crowing of cocks at day-break, and the cra-ing and cackling of hens, were heard in the towns above Springfield soon after they were settled. One hundred and fifty years ago, these fowls were sold from four pence to six pence each, and eggs at three pence per dozen; and their feathers were used for beds. Hens then caught grasshoppers and scratched in gardens. A century later or about 1800, the price was from eight pence to one shilling each, and that of eggs sixpence per dozen. For some generations, the chicken pie has been a Thanksgiving dish, and the young people have sometimes cracked the "wish-bone" at the Thanksgiving table.

Tame Turkeys were not common when wild ones were plenty, and have never been numerous in Hadley. 60 years ago, some were barbarously set up as marks and shot at, and some were cooked for the Thanksgiving dinner.

Geese.—Domestic Geese were rare in Massachusetts for a long time. Vast numbers of wild geese and other water fowl were shot on the seacoast, and great quantities of feathers were plucked from them and sold for beds. I have seen no evidence that there were geese in the Hampshire towns for more than sixty years after Hadley was settled. Many men who were fitting out a daughter, purchased in Boston, feathers for at least one bed. Geese began to appear in inventories of estates in Hampshire, about 1740. They were valued at 1s. and 1s. 4d. each. In 1776, Titus Pomeroy of South Hadley had 21 geese, valued at 1s. 8d. each. Some were 3s. each before 1800.—There were many geese in most towns, in the early part of this century.

Hadley was as remarkable for geese perhaps as any town in New England, the latter part of the last, and early part of the present century. Most families had a flock of geese, and they abounded in the broad street and in other streets; their clanking noise† was almost incessant by day, and was often heard at night. They fed on the grass in the public ways and frequented the puddles and ponds that were formerly in the streets, and fouled the streets exceedingly. Some carried yokes, made from a crotched branch with a bottom piece, or from a shingle with a hole

*According to Josselyn, New England wives were hostile to crowing hens and spurred hens. It was an old saying in England, that

Whistling girls and crowing hens,
Always come to some bad end.

†The loud noise of geese was called "squawking," in this part of the country. White of Selborne says:—"The voice of the goose is trumpet-like and clanking."

in it. In the winter, they were kept in barnyards, and goslings when young were in yards near the house. Much of the year, each flock rested at night in the street, not far from the homestead of their owner, and often near the front gate. Geese were of old reputed to be vigilant, and a Hadley woman, some years since, gave me the following account. One goose in each flock appeared to watch in the night, and if a dog, or other animal, or a young man on his return from courting, disturbed the sentinel, he gave an alarm, which was repeated by the flock in loud notes, and the clamor was continued from flock to flock through the street and into other streets, until the village seemed in an uproar.

The Hadley geese were commonly picked four times in a year, but some five times and a few only three times. About three-fourths of a pound of feathers were obtained at four pickings. The quills were pulled but once; many were shed in the streets. The women and girls of Hadley, of families that owned geese, knew how to pick them. This was cruel and most disagreeable work. They put on worn and faded garments, tied a handkerchief over the hair to keep it from the down, and drew a stocking over the head of each goose which they picked, to prevent its biting.

> "The noisy geese that gabbled o'er the pool,
> The playful children just let loose from school,"

were both in Hadley street, as they had been in Goldsmith's Deserted Village, and both were noisy.—When the congregation left the meeting-house, on the Sabbath and other days, they made their way among flocks of geese, and were greeted by their clamorous cries.*

The geese furnished feathers for families, and for daughters about to be married, and for sale.† They were a great nuisance and were so esteemed by a number of families who did not keep geese, and by some men that did, and they had many enemies. Boys now and then killed a goose, and after the Academy was established in 1817, the scholars from other places united with the town boys against the geese, and some were missing, at times.

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*Giles C. Kellogg, Esq. says the geese sometimes made so much noise in the time of public service, that he lost many fine sentences of Dr. Woodbridge's sermons. Mr. Kellogg thinks that Chickopee street in the town of Springfield, was nearly as full of geese as Hadley, fifty or sixty years since.

†The price of geese feathers in this part of Hampshire, in old tenor, was 18 shillings per pound. This sum was changed to 2s. 5d. lawful in 1750, and 2s. 5d. continued to be the price in Hadley and other towns more than 40 years. Feathers afterwards rose to 4s. and 4s. 6d. per pound.—The Suffield feather-peddlers are not yet forgotten.

The war became exterminating, about 1828. Flocks of geese were driven some distance in the night, killed, and left in a pile. Heaps of dead geese were found east, west and south of the village, and above 60 geese are said to have been collected in one heap. The Academy boys and others destroyed a large portion of the geese in the village, and those kept after 1828 required much care and attention. All have since disappeared.

Bees and Honey.—The early settlers of Connecticut transported bees from the towns about Boston, and they had many hives before 1648, especially at Windsor. There were hives or skeps of bees at Northampton and Hadley in early days. Many ministers formerly kept bees. Honey was sold in the last century, at about 8 pence per pound, beeswax at one shilling, and metheglin at 10 dollars per barrel. Many hives were made of straw. The bees were suffocated with fire and brimstone, as in England. Bees were never plenty in Hadley.

Swarms of bees sometimes flew to the woods, and the racket made by beating pans and kettles did not check them. Bees have inhabited hollow trees in the woods of Hadley and other forests from time immemorial,* and many persons have hunted for bee trees. Those found were marked, and afterwards cut down and the honey taken out. There is still some bee hunting.

Tobacco.—This nauseous and noxious plant, first used by the American Indians, was cultivated in Europe before 1570. It was smoked by men and women, and in after years was assailed in vain by European sovereigns, and the General Courts of New England. It was pretended in Europe and America, that tobacco had medicinal virtues. Smoking was so common in New England in 1676, that Mrs. Rowlandson says an invitation to smoke, "is a usual compliment nowadays among saints and sinners." She smoked before she was captured, and found the use of tobacco "bewitching." Soldiers in England and America loved liquor and tobacco, and in Philip's war, it was necessary many times to send tobacco to soldiers, who were to pay for it from their wages. Capt. Poole, who commanded at Hadley in the winter of 1675–76, sent to Hartford for 50 pounds of tobacco, for the soldiers in these towns.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, merchants sold pipes in abundance, many tobacco tongs to light pipes, tobacco boxes before chewing commenced, as well as after, and tobacco. The chewing

*Rev. J. Judd of Southampton says in his Diary, Oct. 20, 1746,—"went to hunt bees." Bees were doubtless hunted in this vicinity long before.

of tobacco is noticed in 1704; it is not known when it began. The Boston Courant complained in 1724, of the enormous use of tobacco, in smoking, chewing and snuff-taking. The accounts of some traders in Hampshire in the last century, show that they sold many pipes as well as spices, a few days before Thanksgiving; and that innkeepers sometimes bought a gross or more of pipes at once.* Many of the clergy were smokers. Connecticut paid for pipes and tobacco for the General Court. Yet many men did not use tobacco.

In Hadley, 60 and 70 years ago, many elderly men and women smoked, and some men chewed. These women seemed to have a pleasant time with their pipes when they came together. The plastering of some rooms is said to have been tarnished by tobacco smoke. The young did not smoke. Many men had little yards or patches of tobacco in Hadley, as in other towns and some was sold.† Tobacco for smoking was often cut on a block by a cutter or knife; and some had a little wooden box hanging against the wall, with pipes in the upper, open part, and tobacco in a draw at the bottom. A few of the old tobacco tongs remained. Some took snuff.‡ Cigars were little known.§

Butter and Cheese.—The dairies of New England were long quite ordinary, and much inferior to those of England and Ireland; a few in Rhode Island excelled others. Butter was imported from Ireland and cheese from England, to supply the commercial places, down to the latter part of the last century. The price of butter in Hampshire was 4 pence per pound as money, until after

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*Taverns, especially those frequented by soldiers in the French and Revolutionary wars, were as Macauley says of the old London Coffee Houses, full of the "eternal fog and stench of tobacco."

†The price of leaf tobacco during the last century, was from 2 to 6 pence per pound; commonly 3 or 4 pence. Twist and pigtail were higher.

‡Snuff was first advertised in Boston in 1712, and there were silver snuff-boxes. To take snuff was accounted genteel. Farmers' families seldom took snuff, and it was not kept for sale in Hampshire until near 1760; and purchasers were few 20 years later. It was at first sold here in bottles. In Hadley, the second Samuel Porter had a snuff-box in 1722, Doct. Squire in 1731, Rev. C. Williams in 1753, and John Dickinson's widow in 1762. These were of silver, except that of Mr. Williams.—After yellow snuff was brought here in bladders, about 1786, snuff taking was much extended. Maccoboy snuff was sold some years later. Snuff-takers are now less numerous than heretofore.

§Cigars (or Segars) were used after the peace of 1783. A South Hadley trader bought 200 in 1795. They were first advertised here in 1802, by a Northampton trader and a Hadley trader. Cigar-smoking has vastly increased, to the injury of many boys and young men and not a few older ones.

A few in Hadley cultivated fields of tobacco some years before 1800. Packers of tobacco were chosen 1787–1794.

The field culture of tobacco was commenced in Hadley again some years since, and has become extensive in that and some other towns.

1700; it rose to 5d. and 6d. before 1775; and was only 6d. and 7d. previous to 1790, and 8d. and 9d. some years after 1800.

The river towns, for a long time, made their own butter and cheese; that is, they made all they ate and no more. The present population of Hadley, above 2000, are as well supplied with butter from their own cows as less than 600 were a century ago, though butter is now much more freely used. They make more than they consume. The return of butter with the census of 1850, gives 24 pounds yearly to each inhabitant.

Cheese was 3½d. and 4d. per pound before 1700, and 4d. and 5d. in the next century. Many of the cheeses made in Massachusetts and Connecticut for near 100 years were surprisingly small, weighing from 3 to 5 pounds* and valued from 1s. to 1s. 8d. each. Some were heavier. Better cheeses were made in Rhode Island, and in the latter part of the last century, in many towns in New England.—Cheese is still made in Hadley by a few.

Flax seed and Oil.—A mill for linseed oil was built at New Haven in 1718, probably the first in New England. In 1735, John Fitch of Hatfield erected an oil mill in that town, perhaps the first in Massachusetts. There was not much demand for oil in those days.† The price of flax seed formerly was from three to four shillings a bushel.‡

David Stockbridge of Hadley and a Riley of Wethersfield, built an oil mill at North Hadley, about 1795, which was in operation 12 or 15 years.

Berries.—The open woods of New England were full of strawberries. In these Norwottuck towns, whortleberries (often spelled huckleberries) were formerly plenty, and were used in milk, pies and puddings. Small parties went to "huckleberrying," from Northampton and Hatfield, a century ago, and Hadley must have had such parties. Peter Domo sold huckleberries in 1739. They were sold in Northampton at 1½ penny a quart in 1764. They grew in Hadley on the mountains and plains, and in some highways. Sixty years ago, much of the Back street, (now Middle street,) was covered with these bushes and persons

*The mother of Major Hawley, a daughter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, made many cheeses every season, and those sold weighed from 2½ to 6 pounds. I cannot account for these small cheeses.

†A Chesterfield man, who passed through Hadley and Northampton when young in 1762, told me that most of the buildings were old and dark colored, and he believed that no dwelling-house was painted on the outside.

‡Exchanging salt for flax seed was an extensive business in many places in the last and early part of the present century.

now living have picked berries in that street. Many whortleberries are still gathered in Granby. For 20 or 30 years past, whortleberries have been sold in Hadley, as in Northampton,* by men from Pelham, Shutesbury and Leverett.—Many dewberries or running berries are gathered in Hadley. Large blackberries, raspberries and thimbleberries are not plenty. The large grapes are generally stolen. Children pick the scarlet checkerberries, and eat the spicy leaves when tender.—Garden strawberries are cultivated in Hadley by many. Almost all have currants.

Nuts and Nutting.—Chestnuts and shagbark walnuts were sold in Springfield in 1760, at two coppers a quart. Children gathered walnuts, chestnuts and some butternuts in Hadley 70 and 80 years ago. Walnuts and chestnuts were sold at 62 and 75 cents a bushel after 1800; they have been higher since. Walnuts have often been plundered, and the owners of the trees have sold many for timber. Chestnuts have always been free to all.

Maple Sugar was first made by the Indians. The manufacture was described by Paul Dudley, in the publications of the Royal Society in 1720. Rev. Samuel Hopkins of West Springfield published an account of the Indian way of making maple sugar in 1752. Previous to this, a little had been made in Northfield and Coleraine. Simeon Wait of Hatfield had a "Sugar Place" in what is now Williamsburgh, in 1754. The people of Chesterfield sold maple sugar in Northampton at 5d. and 6d. per pound for many years after 1763, and some molasses at 2s. 5d. per gallon. Sugar maples did not abound in Hadley. There was a sugar place many years, east of Plainville, near Amherst, and maple trees were tapped in a pleasant part of Fort River Valley. Amherst had many trees and made sugar and molasses.

Soap.—In Hampshire, families made soap from their own ashes and grease, in early and later days. Some had not a supply of grease, and John Pynchon bought in Connecticut† and sold, mostly to Springfield people, more than 100 firkins of soft soap

*It is supposed that more than 300 bushels of wild berries were sold in Northampton in 1859, from 6 to 12 cents a quart, averaging about 8 cents.—Parties sometimes go from the river towns to the whortleberry towns, and pick and bring home some bushels.

Cranberries were sold in Northampton and Hadley in 1765, at 2d. a quart and 5s. 4d. a bushel; and after 1800, at one dollar.

†Soft soap was made for sale, of whale oil from Long Island, at New Haven, Stratford, &c. Isaac Nichols of Stratford, (whose daughter Mary was the mother of Rev. Isaac Chauncey of Hadley,) was a soap-boiler and sold much soap in New York.

between 1658 and 1676. A family in the 17th century, did not use half as much soap as a similar family at the present day.

Soap was usually made in the spring. Madam Porter was well supplied. She records in 1752—"made soap three days, the first week in April," and in 1756—"made three great kettles of soap the first week in April," and another in May. Soap-making was tedious and sometimes vexatious, and a woman who had good luck was congratulated by her neighbors.* Most families in Hadley still make their soap; many use potash instead of wood ashes.—A soap factory has been commenced at North Hadley the present year, 1859.

Lights.—In these old towns, rooms were lighted in the evening more than 150 years by tallow-candles, candlewood (see page 294) and the blazing fire that warmed the room. Most housewives spun wicks of tow or cotton, fastened them to little rods, dipped them in melted tallow† and made candles, which were very savingly used. Some families run candles in tin or pewter molds. Candlesticks were of tin, iron, pewter and brass. Oil and lamps were seldom seen until some years after 1800. A South Hadley trader purchased in Hartford in 1795, a junk bottle of oil and a tin lamp.—For singing schools, spelling schools, &c., cheap candlesticks were made of a piece of board four inches square, with three or four nails fastened to it for a socket.

Time Pieces.—The early settlers of New England brought over hour-glasses and sun-dials, and a few clocks and watches. Clocks in those days had no pendulum, and watches no hair spring. They were more perfect the early part of the last century, and eight-day clocks and gold watches began to appear in Boston.

It is not known that there was a clock or watch in Hadley in the 17th century, but as many ministers had one of these, it may be supposed that Mr. Russell and Mr. Chauncey had something better than a dial. The first watch in Hadley on record, is a gold one of Doct. Wm. Squire in 1731, valued at £40 in bills, or about

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*So I am told by a woman who is a native of Hadley; and she says that making Thanksgiving cake was another operation that occasioned anxiety fifty years ago.

†Tallow bore the same price as butter. Candles were 1½ to 2 pence per pound higher than tallow.—Candles are still made in many families.

Where Bayberry bushes grew in New England, many candles were made of Bayberry tallow.—Many were made of spermaceti.

Snuffers.—Many of the middle class in England used their fingers for snuffers 250 years ago and after. William Perkins notes the manner in 1635. He says—"if a man be to snuff a candle, he will first spit on his fingers." In New England metal snuffers and fingers were used, in early times, and some used fingers and old shears 60 years ago.

50 dollars. The second is a silver watch of Col. Eleazar Porter, valued at 40 shillings in 1758. There were not many clocks or watches in Northampton before 1783 nor in Hadley before 1795. A sun-dial was set on a post on the south side of a few houses, in both towns, and was consulted by the family and others. It was useless in a cloudy day. An hour-glass was used in some families and schools in Hadley.*

Elijah Yeomans, a goldsmith and clock-maker, resided in Hadley from 1771 to 1783. He made gold beads, lockets, &c. An eight-day clock, which he made for Lt. Enos Smith, now keeps good time in the house of his son, Maj. Sylvester Smith. It has on the face, "Elijah Yeomans, Hadley, No. 40."† John Hodge did some business as a goldsmith.

Blue Dyeing.—Our fore-mothers began to dye blue with indigo before 1700, in order to make stripes and checks. Much more of this dyeing was done 25 years after 1700, and it was continued more than 80 years. The women made checks and stripes of wool, flax and cotton, for shirts, trowsers, aprons, gowns, bedticks, &c. Checked shirts were worn by men and boys on Connecticut River. When Benjamin Tappan first attended meeting in Northampton in 1768, he was surprised to find that all the men in the meeting-house, except five or six, wore checked shirts. Hadley shirts were equally checkered. The people of Worcester county wore white shirts, and they said they could tell a Connecticut River man by his checkered shirt.

To color blue there was a dye tub in most houses; it stood near the great kitchen fire-place, and made a seat for one child. When uncovered and stirred up, it sent forth a pungent, fetid odor. Daniel Webster, being annoyed by a dye-tub in an inn in 1802, called the innkeeper, "a knight of the blue dye pot."

Indigo was bought of the traders, and there were indigo peddlers for half a century, usually on horseback. Some came from Suffield.

Cotton.—Owing to the scarcity of wool and flax, Massachusetts and Connecticut obtained cotton from the West Indies before 1643, and the people began to manufacture cotton, some by itself, and more mingled with flax or wool. After flax and wool

*Most houses had a "noon mark" on the bottom casing of a south window, which showed when noon had come.

†Obadiah Frary of Southampton made some good brass clocks for families, and a few for meeting-houses, between 1745 and 1775.

Wooden clocks were made in Connecticut before 1800, and became plenty some years after.

were more plenty, some in these old towns in Hampshire purchased cotton of the merchants,* and it was spun on the large wheel. During 130 years, cotton yarn was spun at times in many families. The people of New England had a larger share of cotton in their garments, napery and bedding, than those of Old England. They had many printed calicoes and other cottons from India, the use of which was restricted in England, because it interfered with their linen manufacture. New England rags† had more cotton than those of Old England.

Plain, white cottons from England or India were hardly known in New England before the revolution. Some years after the peace of 1783, great quantities of white cottons were imported from India, and the Hampshire traders began to sell them in 1794. The sales were extensive many years after 1800. Those India cottons, which sold for 25 cents per yard, were not as good as cottons now sold for 8 or 10 cents.

Sleighs.—The Dutch at New York had sleighs before 1700. A few appear at Boston some years after 1700, but they were uncommon in 1720 and 1730. There were not many sleighs among the farmers in the vicinity of Boston in 1750.

The first horse-sleds or sleighs found in Hampshire were in Hadley. In the inventory of Timothy Eastman, Jr. in 1733, are two hand sleds, 3s., an ox sled, 10s. and a "horse sled and seats, 5s." Some early sleighs were like this horse sled, and had sled runners, a lumber box and seats. Doct. Crouch had a sleigh in 1737‡ and 1740, and visited some patients in it in East Hadley and South Hadley. In 1746, he hired James Kellogg's sleigh. Westwood Cook's sleigh was valued at a few shillings in 1748. Capt. Moses Porter's sleigh and tackling were apprized at 18s. 8d. in 1756. James Kellogg's sleigh and tackling were valued at 27s. in 1759. Eliakim Smith made sleigh boxes from 1758 to 1770, and Samuel Gaylord, Jr. from 1766 to 1788. Most of the boxes were of four boards fastened together, and set on runners like those of

*John Pynchon retailed much cotton from 1659 to 1678, from 1s. to 1s. 4d. per pound. In the last century, the retail price in Hampshire advanced to 1s. 6d., 2s. and even to 3s. per pound. It was brought from the West Indies until a few years before 1800.

†Rags.—The Boston papers advertised for rags many times, from 1724 to 1761, and offered about two thirds of a lawful penny per pound. They complained that people did not save their rags. The paper mill, when there was one, seemed to be at Milton.—The traders in this part of Hampshire bought rags in 1776 and 1777, at two pence per pound, for a new paper mill at East Hartford. The people appear to have had no market for rags before. The price was two pence per pound more than 20 years after 1783.

‡In 1737, loaded sleighs came from Sheffield to Westfield. This was published in the newspapers as something remarkable.

a sled but lighter, and the making of the boxes was from 2s. to 3s. 4d. Such were the greater part of the sleighs before the revolution. A few had a more expensive and handsome box, which cost 20 shillings, viz., Elisha Porter, in 1761, Stephen Goodman, 1762, Eleazar Porter, 1765, Jonathan Warner, 1767, Moses Kellogg, 1769, William Cook, 1770, Benjamin Colt, 1770, Enos Smith, 1772, Thomas Arnold, 1773, John C. Williams, 1774. Some of these had well-framed runners which cost 20 shillings, making the expense of a decent sleigh 40 shillings, and a few cost more. From 1775 to 1788, the prices of boxes and framed runners were nearly the same, but some sleighs cost 50 shillings or more. The expense of shoeing is not given. Two or three were painted. Similar sleighs, a little improved, continued down to 1800. Sleigh-bells were advertised in Boston in 1755 and in Northampton in 1791.

Sleigh rides.—Young people could not have had sleigh rides in comfortable sleighs until after 1762.* Small parties may have previously rid in the lumber boxes, which Gaylord names "loading boxes." Such boxes were much used long after 1800.

It is not known when sleighs first went from Connecticut River to Boston; perhaps soon after 1760. Elisha Porter went in his sleigh to New London in 1763. Sleighs with pork, &c. went from Southampton to Boston in 1771.

Pung was the name given to a small, cheap, one-horse sleigh with thills. The harness was equally cheap. The cheap collars noticed page 367, were many of them made of braided husks without any leather.—Good one horse sleighs with a neap were few before 1800.

Carriages.—A coach is named in Boston several times before 1700, and a calash soon after. Riding chairs which had a sort of chaise body without a top, appear in 1713, a stage-coach to run between Boston and Newport in 1716, and chaises in 1724. There was a carriage tax in Massachusetts every year from 1753 to 1757, and there were in the province in 1753, 6 coaches that were taxed 10s. each, 18 chariots 5s. each, 339 chaises 3s. and

*In Northampton, there were 6 or 8 large sleighs in 1772. When the young people had a sleigh ride, they filled as many of these sleighs as they could get. If a dance was connected with the ride, they took in Moidore, the negro of the first Caleb Strong, for a fiddler.

There were pleasant sleigh rides 50 years ago, in cold nights, when the moon shone brightly, and the snow was of dazzling whiteness, and the bells jingled and the runners creaked and hissed. The girls were not incommoded with hoops, and their faces were protected by bonnets, and their feet rested on warm stoves. There were no buffalo robes, but plenty of warm blankets. Now and then a load of young people were overturned into the snow, but this usually occasioned more mirth than injury.

992 chairs 2s. each. The only carriages in Hampshire, which then included Berkshire, were two chairs, one owned by Moses Porter of Hadley and one by Israel Williams of Hatfield, and these do not appear after 1753.

Elisha Porter had a chair in 1763, and Doct. Kellogg in 1768, and before 1785, Elisha Porter, Eleazar Porter, Charles Phelps, Madam Crouch, Jonathan Warner, Oliver Warner and Rev. S. Hopkins had each a chaise. In 1791, the following Hadley carriages were taxed, viz., 3 fall-back chaises belonging to Eleazar Porter, Elisha Porter and Azariah Dickinson 10s. each; 2 stand-top chaises belonging to Charles Phelps and Enos Smith 6s. each, and William Shipman had a riding chair and paid 4s. Simeon Strong of Amherst had a fall-back chaise, the only carriage in that town taxed in 1791.

Two-Horse Wagons.—There were a few of these in Massachusetts in the French war, 1755–1763. The Dutch of New York had used them for a century. There were only two in Hadley before the revolution, owned by Elisha Cook and Samuel Sheldon. When the Hadley troops marched to Cambridge after the battle of Lexington in 1775, Cook's wagon was hired to carry their baggage, provisions, &c. In 1800 there were about half a dozen wagons owned in Hadley, perhaps half of them at Hockanum.

One-Horse Wagons.—Mason Abbe of Amherst is said to have first made one-horse wagons in this vicinity, except some lumber wagons. The first owned in Hadley was purchased of Abbe by Joseph Smith in 1808. In 1809, Joseph Marsh of Hadley, Calvin Marsh of North Hadley, and Cotton White of Hatfield began to make wagons, and Mason Abbe removed to Belchertown. A few years later, Ebenezer Harrington and Henry Seymour made wagons at Hadley, and David Jones at North Hadley. For some years, they were sold slowly, and they were not numerous until about 1820. The price was from 35 to 50 dollars. There have been many changes in them since 1820.

The use of carriages with four wheels drawn by one horse, and the disuse of saddles and pillions, made a great change in traveling, and in the conveyance of various articles and small loads.* Previously, men and women had ridden on horseback, short and long distances, ever since the country was settled, except in later

*Those of us born in the last century have often rid several miles to mill on the top of four bushels of grain, fastened to the saddle by the stirrup leathers.

years, a few rode in chaises, stages, &c. Fifty years ago men and women were seen riding on horses almost every hour of the day.*

Wagon to and from Boston.—There is no record of goods being brought from Boston to Connecticut River by land, except small quantities on horseback, before 1767. In that year and in succeeding years, until the war began in 1775, Simeon Smith of Amherst went to Boston with a team, probably horses and wagon, and carried down produce and brought up goods for traders and others, in the towns on both sides of the river. His load was sometimes 2000 or 2100 pounds. He charged for most freight between Northampton and Boston 4s. per 100 pounds, for some, 4s. 8d.; and at times he carried down at less than 4s. He went sometimes in the winter. He conveyed to Boston much potash and pork. He brought up great quantities of N. E. rum at 12s. to 13s. 4d. per barrel.—He died in 1777. He was a son of Moses Smith, who lived on the Bay road in Amherst.

Time of Planting, Harvesting, &c. in Hadley and Northampton, from 1762 to 1785, derived from the records of Josiah Pierce, Esq. of Hadley, and Deac. Ebenezer Hunt of Northampton, and other sources.

Plowing began in these towns from April 10 to April 25. Barley, flax, peas, peas and oats mixed, oats, rye and oats mixed, were sowed in April and the first week in May. Corn was planted from May 5 to May 23; hoed the first time from June 1 to June 15, the second time from June 15 to July 5, the third time from July 6 to July 25. Stalks were cut from Sept. 5 to Sept. 14, and corn was picked from Sept. 24 to Oct. 14. Homelots were mowed the first time from June 14 to July 5, and the second time from July 15 to Aug. 10. Mowing began in the meadows from July 1 to July 10. Rye, meslin and wheat were reaped from July 19 to Aug. 5. Barley was mowed the last week in July. Peas hooked from Aug. 23 to Sept. 5. Peas and oats mowed from Aug. 4 to 15. Oats and rye and oats cradled from Aug. 1 to 15. Flax pulled from Aug. 1 to 10, spread and turned in September, and taken up the last of October. Fall ploughing was done, and winter rye, meslin and wheat sowed in September. Potatoes were dug, beans gathered, turnips pulled, and pumpkins carted, in October. They had frosts that damaged their crops in those days. Pierce records some small crops—6 bushels of peas on an acre, 8 bushels peas and oats, 7 bushels rye, 7 bushels meslin.—The seasons seem to have been as forward 80 or 90 years ago as in late years.

*Females easily mounted and dismounted without aid, and had not the helpless appearance of those of the present day who wear fashionable riding dresses.

Some Statistics of Hadley, South Hadley, Amherst, and Granby, according to the returns of the Assessors to the General Court, in 1771. Taken from the original papers in the State House.

	Hadley.	South Hadley.	Amherst.	Granby.
Ratable Polls,	147	131	196	95
Unratable Polls,	10	13	9	12
Dwelling Houses,	88	79	120	61
Barns,	82		89	47
Shops,	13	8	14	2
Gristmills,	2	2	2	1
Sawmills,	2	4	3	
Potash Works,		2	2	1
Money at Interest,	£1310	252	1312	246
Stock in Trade,	£1252	304	73	85
Horses, 3 years and more,	122	85	153	66
Oxen, 4 " "	124	126	187	102
Cows, 3 " "	222	189	319	184
Sheep, 1 " "	603	556	697	532
Swine, 1 " "	179	91	214	117
Barrels of cider made,	367	369	524	269
Acres of Tillage land,	1421	1034	1292	751
Bushels of Grain raised,	11517	5865	6596	4744
Acres of English and upland mowing,	232	195	827	98
Tons of Hay from it,	249	208	720	111
Acres of fresh meadow,	687	473	389	504
Tons of Hay mowed,	590	413	337	428
Acres of Pasturage,	376	265	419	123
From other sources.				
Families, 1765,	99	142 with G.	104	See S. H.
White People, 1765,	553	817 with G.	639	See S. H.
White People in 1776,	681	584	915	491
Polls in 1784,	203	184	276	135

Additions and Explanations.

Negroes.—According to returns, there were in Hadley in 1755, 18 negro slaves above 16 years of age, and in 1765, 20 negroes in Hadley and 6 in Amherst. In 1771, Hadley had 4 slaves for life between 14 and 45, viz., Doct. Kellogg had 1, Charles Phelps, 1, Jonathan Warner, 1, and Oliver Warner, 1. There were others under 14 and above 45. In Amherst, 2 slaves between 14 and 45, belonged to Josiah Chauncey, 1 and John Adams, 1; and Ephraim Kellogg had a slave.

The Unratable Polls were those of old men and infirm men.

The return of barns in South Hadley seems to be 47, but there must have been more.

Hadley returned 39 Corn-houses; the other places returned none.

Traders.—The shops were those of traders and mechanics. In Hadley in 1771 were three traders—Eleazar Porter, Jonathan Warner and John Chester Williams, and each had a shop and a warehouse. In South Hadley, Doct. Ruggles Woodbridge and John Marshall each had a shop, and may have sold goods. In Granby, Deac. William Eastman had a trading shop. In Amherst, the traders are not ascertained.

Mills.—In Hadley in 1771, were the school gristmill and a sawmill at North Hadley, the latter owned in 7ths; and a gristmill owned in 13ths, and a sawmill in 10ths, on Fort River, where the lower mills are. In South Hadley were three sawmills connected with the Falls, the upper one reported as belonging to Noah Goodman, the middle to William Taylor, and the lower to Titus Pomeroy, and Doct. Ruggles Woodbridge had a sawmill elsewhere. Samuel Preston had a gristmill on Stony brook, and Josiah Moody one on Bachelor's brook. In Granby, no sawmill was reported, and the gristmill returned as belonging to John Moody may be an error. In Amherst, John Adams had a mill, and Simeon Clark three fourths of a mill, and another was held in 14ths. The Kelloggs owned a part of the other two, perhaps the whole of one.

Fulling Mills.—The only one returned was that of Caleb Ely in South Hadley. Deac. Daniel Moody had long before been a clothier, in South Hadley.—A fulling mill was built in Hadley in 1775.

Potash Works.—After various unsuccessful attempts, good potash was made in Massachusetts a few years before 1760. In 1761, there was a potash in Cold Spring, on Mascarene's farm, not far from the line of South Hadley. In Hadley, Eleazar Porter and Eliakim Smith put up a building for a potash on Porter's north homelot, in 1766; little or no potash was ever made in it. Hadley ashes were carried to Amherst. In South Hadley, Doct. Ruggles Woodbridge and John Marshall had each a potash in 1771. It is not known where they stood. Many years later, Joseph White made potash in a building west of his inn. In Granby, Israel Clark had a potash, which is not recollected. In 1770, Israel Clark sold a ton, and Deac. Daniel Moody three tons, of potash to Northampton men. Potash was then worth 34 shillings per cwt. in Boston.—In Amherst, in 1771, Martin Kellogg owned a potash, and Elisha Ingram, Moses Warner and John Billings had another.

Money at Interest.—Those who had 100 pounds or more at Interest were in Hadley, Eleazar Porter, £800, Oliver Warner, 300, Elisha Porter, 100; in South Hadley, Deac. Daniel Moody, 120; in Amherst, Solomon Boltwood, 300, Nehemiah Strong, 200, Simeon Strong, 100, Nathaniel Smith, 100, and Nathaniel Dickinson, 100.

Domestic Animals.—In the four towns and districts, a few men had 3 or 4 horses, most had 2 or 1, and some had none.—Four men owned 6 oxen each, 28 had 4, 10 had 3, the rest 2 or none.—John Cook of Hadley had 9 cows, Solomon Boltwood and Daniel Kellogg of Amherst, and Josiah White of South Hadley, had 8 each, 7 men had 7, 5 had 6, 14 had 5, the rest 4, 3, 2, 1 or none. Wm. Eastman of Granby had 40 sheep, Solomon Boltwood of A., 35, Josiah White of S. H., 33, others not so many; few had above 20.

Much of the green feed of these animals must have been derived from the highways and woods. The fenced pastures, and the after-feed of the mowings, fell far short of a supply.

Cider.—The returns of cider in 1771 are noticed on page 365. Elderly men now residing in these towns, say that 12 or 15 barrels of cider were brought out of many cellars in mugs in 12 months, 50 and 60 years ago.

The canker-worm has never appeared on apple trees in this part of the country. The palmer worm was here in 1791, and again in 1853.

Grain produced.—The assessors of the 4 towns, in their reports, gave an average of 5 1-10th to 8 1-10th bushels of grain to an acre of tillage land. The lands yielded much more. The crops of mixed grain, flax, turnips, potatoes and some others were not returned, and there may have been other reasons for the seemingly small harvests reported.

Those who raised the most grain in Hadley, were the Hadley School, 540 bushels, Noah Cook, 482, John Montague, 391, Charles Phelps, 369, Jonathan Warner, 350, Elisha Cook, 280, Oliver Smith, 270, Eleazar Porter, 268, Jonathan Smith, 255, Elisha Porter, 248, Jonathan Cook, 247.—In South Hadley, Josiah White, 210, Jonathan White and Nathaniel Ingram, 200 each, Luke Montague, 178, Moses Montague and Josiah Smith, 150 each, John Gaylord, 130, John Marshall, 128.—In Granby, William Eastman, 182, Jacob Taylor and Israel Clark, 175 each, Nathan Smith, 150, Asahel Smith, 144, John Ayres, 133, John Moody, 128.—The report of grain produced by Amherst men was not found.

Hay.—Those who mowed the most hay were among those who raised the most grain with one or two exceptions. The Hadley School had 37 tons, Charles Phelps, 36, Benjamin Colt, 32. No others cut 30 tons.

Hadley and Amherst.—The inhabitants of Amherst began to exceed those of Hadley about 1753. Hadley possessed the most property many years after.

Sellers of Tea, Coffee and China Ware.—These articles were considered luxuries and an excise, or duty on the retail, was laid on them. In Hadley, Jonathan Warner and Eleazar Porter were licensed to sell them most of the years from 1758 to 1765. In South Hadley, William Eastman was licensed in 1758, 1759 and 1760, Elijah Alvord in 1761, and John Marshall in 1764 and 1765. In Amherst, Josiah Chauncey and Elisha Ingram were licensed in some of the years, from 1759 to 1764. They all sold tea chiefly.

Weaving.—Our remarks regarding female household manufactures may need a little explanation. Women did not weave all that they spun. Before and after New England was settled, men performed much weaving. In the old towns in Hampshire, some men learned the trade of weaving and followed it a part of the year, in shops built for that purpose. The 2d Samuel Gaylord, of Hadley, who did much farming, was a weaver and had a shop. Jonathan Smith, a man of large estate, but of infirm health, was a weaver and had a shop. Women had long been gaining ground in this employment, and it is believed that men seldom, if ever, learned the trade after the revolution. The Pelham women were excellent weavers.

The present inhabitants of Hadley may like to know some of the kinds of homespun cloth made in that town 100 years ago. The following articles and the price of weaving, are taken from Samuel Gaylord's account book, from 1745 to 1772. The prices may be considered barter prices.

Tow Cloth and Tow and Linen Cloth, woven at 5 and 6 pence a yard, fine Linen, 9d. Cotton and Linen, 8d. and 10d. Sacking, 3d. and 4d. Linsey-Woolsey, 8d., plain Woolen Cloth, 6 2-5d. and fine, 8d. Checked Linen and Checked Woolen, 8d., fine Check, 10d. Checked Cotton, 9d. Bedtick, 9d. and 10d., fine Cotton Bedtick, 1s. 1d. Diaper, 10d. and 11d. Diamond Table Linen, 8d. and 9d. Birdseye, 8d., fine Wale, 7d. Striped or Streaked Cloth, 8d. (the stripes were made in the filling, and if there were three colors, three shuttles were used.) Crape, 8d., Blanketing, 8d., fine Crash, 9d., Coverlids, 6s. 8d. each.

CHAPTER XXXIV

South Hadley*—First Settlement—First Meeting House and Minister—Mr. Rawson forcibly ejected from the pulpit—Mr. Woodbridge settled—Contest about the second meeting house; one end cut down—the Parish divided—the first Parish—the Common—Schools—the Poor—Innkeepers and Retailers—the Revolutionary War—the Canal and Visitors—the second Parish and Granby—Various matters.

THERE may have been a few settlers in South Hadley as early as 1725.† Their first petition to the General Court was in November, 1727. Twenty-one men represented that they were "residents on a designed precinct in Hadley, south of Mount Holyoke," that they were about 8 miles from the place of public worship in Hadley, and the way mountainous and bad. They desired to be a precinct, and to have added, a tract of province land on the eastern border, 4 miles long and 2 miles wide. (Afterwards named the Crank.) The General Court granted their requests,

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*There is much relating to South Hadley in the preceding pages, and the first part of this chapter should have been given before.

†The Indian war would have prevented the removal of families to the south side of Holyoke sooner than 1725. A number of persons were slain in Hampshire in 1723 and 1724, and several within a few miles of Hadley.—Falls Woods Field was to be fenced by May 31, 1721, and the town chose fence viewers for this field in 1722, 1723 and 1725, but not in reference to settlers.

The proprietors laid out a burial place March 26, 1728, upon the Sandy Hill, on the west side of the country road, 28 rods long on the road and 12 rods wide, leaving the road 10 rods wide. John Preston, the first person buried here, died March 4, 1728.

Nov. 28, provided they had 40 families in two years, and should settle a learned, orthodox minister in three years.

A second petition of 26 persons, was presented July, 1728, requesting to be a precinct, from Mount Holyoke to Springfield bounds, and from Connecticut river W. to the equivalent lands, E. The petition was granted Aug. 1, provided they built a meeting house and settled a minister in three years. Daniel Nash was empowered to notify the first meeting.

In June, 1732, they sent a third petition, requesting that their precinct might be established, though they had not been able to settle a minister in the time limited. The Court July 4, gave them two years from Aug. 1, 1732, to settle a minister.

The first meeting of the South Precinct of Hadley, in the records preserved, was held March 12, 1733. There must have been previous meetings, the record of which is lost. They chose Ebenezer Moody, Moderator; Daniel Nash, 2d, Clerk; John Taylor, John Alvord, Samuel Smith, Assessors and Committee; John Smith, son of Ebenezer, Collector; Ephraim Nash, one of the committee to finish the meeting house. They had previously erected and covered the frame of their meeting house, and now voted to build a pulpit, and to ceil and plaster the house up to the plates. They had before invited Mr. Grindall Rawson to become their minister and now granted him some land, provided he settled in the ministry there. The settlement and salary which they offered him, and which he accepted, are not in the record that remains. He was to be provided with wood. The precinct were building Mr. Rawson's house in 1733 and 1734.

It was agreed Aug. 10, 1733, that Mr. Rawson should be ordained, on the 3d of October, and a committee was appointed to send for ministers and messengers. Nothing more is known respecting the ordination. It took place October 3, 1733.*

Sept. 13, 1733, they voted to finish the body of the meeting house, (meaning the lower floor,) with seats and nine pews; and voted a broad alley from the east door to the deacons' seat.—In March, 1734, they again voted pews in the lower part, and to ceil and plaster up to the plates, and to provide window frames and glass for the galleries.—March 10, 1735, they voted a floor and front seats in the gallery, and to plaster the walls and overhead; these things were not all done until 1736 and 1737, and the gallery was not finished until 1744. There were pews in the gallery.

*The church may have been formed previously, or on the same day. The records do not allude to the organization of the church.

Oct. 28, 1734, a committee was first chosen to seat the meeting house. Men were to be seated according to ratable estate, regard being had to age and ability. The dignity or rank of the pews and seats seems to have been estimated, but cannot now be understood.* Some of the front gallery was seated, 1746.

Trouble with Mr. Rawson.—It appears from the "Life of President Edwards," pages 376 and 380, that a mutual council met in some place, May 3, 1737, of which Mr. E. was the scribe, and the question was, "whether Mr. Rawson was qualified for the work of the ministry as to his learning, his orthodoxy and his morals." Their decision is not given. The precinct records do not allude to the council nor to any difficulties with Mr. Rawson so early.

The first vote of the precinct, expressing dissatisfaction with Mr. Rawson, is the following explicit one, Feb. 25, 1740—"Voted that it is the desire of this precinct, that Rev. Mr. Rawson be dismissed from, and lay down the work of the ministry among us," and a committee was appointed to inform him of the vote, and to take measures to effect the matter. March 23, 1741, the precinct voted, that as Mr. Rawson had in a public manner withdrawn from 33 brethren of his church, and thereby gone contrary to the minds of the greater part of the church, and virtually withdrawn from the major part of the precinct, it was the mind of the precinct that he was no longer their minister. And they chose a committee "to acquaint him that we have no further service for him in the office of a gospel minister, and that we expect he will refrain from any public acts in that office among us."† On the 30th of March, they chose a committee "to take all regular methods to prevent Mr. Rawson's officiating for the future."

In April, 1741, the parties agreed to call a council, which met in May, and advised a separation. The precinct, June 1, con-

*The pews were next to the walls. The great pew, in which 10 were to be seated, was No. 1, and a pew at the east door was No. 2. A flank pew held 7, those on the east side 5 each, and the seats 5 each. Samuel Taylor was to sweep the meeting house in 1734. He died in 1735, and his widow was paid 30 shillings.—Seaters were to make room for Madam Rawson, Jan. 1739. Madam Woodbridge was seated in the pew next to the pulpit, March, 1743.

In 1750, John Lane was paid for "blowing the cunk," (conch) on the Sabbath as a "sign for meeting."

†Fifteen men dissented from this vote, viz., Ebenezer Moody, Nathaniel White, Joseph Kellogg, John Moody, Richard Church, Jonathan Selden, Noah Ferry, Nehemiah Dickinson, Luke Montague, Timothy Nash, Deac. Joseph White, Wm. Montague, John Hillyer, Samuel Moody, Nathaniel Ingram. Some may have dissented because they thought the proceedings irregular, and others because they were friendly to Mr. Rawson. There were dissenters from other votes.

curred with the advice; and informed Mr. Rawson that they expected he would refrain from ministerial work among them. They desired to know how much they owed him. They chose a committee to get some person to preach, and "to take all suitable measures to prevent Mr. Rawson from officiating in public." Yet Mr. Rawson sometimes contrived to get possession of the pulpit and to officiate as a minister, until the irritated parish, on the 30th of October, 1741, chose a committee of fifteen,* and gave to them the following plain directions:—

"As Mr. Rawson has lately in an abrupt manner entered the meeting house and performed divine service, contrary to the mind of this precinct, the committee are directed and empowered to prevent Mr. Rawson from entering the meeting house on the Sabbath, by such means as they shall think best, except he shall promise not to officiate or perform service as a minister, and if Mr. Rawson shall offer to perform service as a minister, the committee shall put him forth out of the meeting house."

In a few weeks, Mr. Rawson with foolish boldness again entered the pulpit and commenced a prayer. He was immediately seized by some of the committee, or by some young men employed by them, dragged from the pulpit, and led or carried out of the house, without bodily injury.† He did not again intrude. On the 11th of January, 1742, the precinct voted 10 pounds "to defend those men that acted in behalf of the precinct, in keeping Mr. Rawson from officiating in public." They were not prosecuted and the money was not needed for their defense.

The precinct paid to Mr. Rawson all that was due to him, for salary and wood, which seems to have been £220 in bills, or above 180 dollars. South Hadley was his usual residence until 1744.‡

*These 15 were Hezekiah Smith, Stephen Warner, William Gaylord, Ephraim Nash, William Smith, Samuel Preston, Sergt. John Smith, Chileab Smith, John Alvord, Peter Montague, Corp. John Smith, Moses Taylor, Samuel Smith, Jonathan Smith, and John Preston.

†The story that he continued his prayer after he was forcibly taken, and that his mouth was stopped with a handkerchief, may be false.

‡There is a tradition, that the council of May, 1741, advised that Mr. Rawson should be dismissed, and that the parish should pay what they owed him; and that, from the language used, Mr. Rawson claimed to be the minister till he was paid. The parish judged differently. They intended to pay him, but could not raise the money in a short time.

For some reason, Mr. Rawson never attended a meeting of the Hampshire Association, after April 8, 1735. He was eccentric, free-spoken and rash, as was his relative at Ware. He graduated at Harvard College in 1728. He married Dorothy, daughter of Rev. Isaac Chauncey of Hadley, May 19, 1738. He was settled in the parish of Hadlyme, in Connecticut, in 1745, where he is said to have been a useful minister. He died in 1777.

Mr. Rawson's homelot in South Hadley was that on which Col. Woodbridge erected his large house, and his shop; and Mr. Rawson's house was a few rods north of the groundplot of Col. W's. The first Moses White bought the place of Mr. Rawson, and it was after-

Dec. 29, 1741. A committee was appointed to seek after a minister. 10 men dissented. Jan. 11, 1742, the precinct chose Rev. John Woodbridge of Suffield to be their minister, the church having previously invited him. At that and subsequent meetings, the precinct voted a settlement of £300 in land and buildings, £150 salary and after 4 years £160, in bills equal to old tenor. The salary was to rise and fall as bills of the old tenor, then 28 shillings for an ounce of silver, rose and fell. He was to have 50 loads of wood. He was installed at South Hadley, April 21, 1742.

South Hadley was made a district in April, 1753, Hadley giving full consent. A district had the powers of a town, except that of sending a representative to the General Court. The first meeting of the district was warned by Daniel Nash, April 21, and was held in the meeting house, April 30, 1753. The following officers were chosen:—

Deac. John Smith, Moderator; Samuel Smith, Thomas Goodman, Deac. John Smith, Deac. John Smith, Jr., Luke Montague, Selectmen; Daniel Nash, Clerk; Samuel Smith, Deac. John Smith, Jr., Luke Montague, Assessors; Moses Montague, Asahel Judd, Constables; Deac. John Smith, Sr., Treasurer; Josiah Moody, Experience Smith, Joseph Cook, Hogreeves; Reuben Smith, Clerk of the Market, Sealer, Packer and Gauger; Thomas Goodman, Job Alvord, Fence Viewers; Stephen Warner, Jr., Josiah White, Surveyors of Highways. The next year, two Tithingmen and two Haywards were added. In a few years two Wardens and two Deer-reeves were chosen.—South Hadley united with Hadley and Amherst in the choice of representatives until 1775.

Controversy about the Meeting House.*—The inhabitants of the precinct, becoming too numerous for their meeting house of 40 feet by 30, voted March 2, 1751, to build a new house, to be set near the old one, and in April they voted to set it in the center of travel. Jan. 13, 1755, the district voted to build a meeting house, if they could agree on a place to set it. Jan. 16, 1758,

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wards purchased by Major John Woodbridge, son of Rev. John W. who lived there until his death in 1782. Col. W. built his expensive and respectable dwelling about 1788. After the raising, there was a great wrestling match.

*In this contest, those who may be reckoned as inhabitants of the western part of the district were a majority, but several of them sometimes voted with the eastern men, and gave to them a majority. Thus they did and undid in the district meetings, expressing their will by votes, and soon after annulling those votes. The eastern people were determined that the meeting house should be set as far east as Cold hill, or in some place not far distant from this hill. The western people, with some exceptions, were as fully determined that the new meeting house should stand not far from the old one. Most of the committees from abroad seem to have been in favor of Cold hill or some place in the vicinity.

they voted to build a meeting house 60 feet long and 45 wide, and to set it where it would best suit the inhabitants; and they chose a committee from other towns to say where it should be set. In March and October, 1759, the district voted to set it in the street, between Nehemiah Dickinson's house and Waitstill Dickinson's barn, (on or near Cold Hill.) Dec. 5, they chose a committee from other places to select a place; they had agreed to abide their judgment; Dec. 17, they voted not to abide their judgment. At meetings Dec. 24 and 26, 1759, and Jan. 14, 1760, a majority voted to set the meeting house in five places;—1st, north of Benjamin Church's house; 2d, where the committee had fixed the spot; 3d, south of Reuben Smith's house; 4th, near Nehemiah Dickinson's barn; 5th, near the present house. Thus they voted and unvoted.

In March, 1760, 47 persons of the eastern party petitioned the General Court to send a committee to fix and enjoin the place. The district voted to come into a lot where to set the meeting house. When the Court's committee came, they fixed upon a place near the old meeting house, and did it by lot. The western inhabitants desired to abide by the lot, but the eastern, in January, 1761, requested the General Court to separate them from South Hadley, if the house must be erected in the place fixed upon. They said,—"owing to the soil, the eastern parts of the district are likely to be much sooner filled with inhabitants than the western part; we think a large portion of the land in the western part is so poor, it never will be inhabited." In March, 1761, Phinehas Smith and Eleazar Nash, in behalf of the eastern people, prayed that the second committee appointed by the Court, might be sent on soon. They came to South Hadley, in April, and decided that the meeting house should be erected "at the head of the lane, on Cold hill." The two houses disagreed, and the report was not accepted. In June, 1761, Wm. Eastman and Phinehas Smith, for the east inhabitants, prayed the General Court to accept the report, or separate them from South Hadley.

The western inhabitants, having a majority, had voted in April, 1761, not to abide the judgment of this committee, and not to pay them, but to go on with building the meeting house near the old one. August 31, they chose men to go to Boston and hinder the division of the district. While they were framing the meeting house, a few eastern men secretly drew away three posts and hid them in Pichawamiche swamp.* After the frame

*The story, that some women of Granby sat on these posts and sang songs of triumph, is entirely untrue. Possibly they sang such songs at home.—The first parish estimated these posts at £4. The order of the Court did not include them.

was raised, a large number of the eastern inhabitants came, apparently in October, and cut off the plates near the end and the girding timbers below, and pushed or pulled over the whole of the south end of the frame. Oct. 29, 1761, the district by a majority of nine voted "to prosecute the men that cut down part of our meeting house, and drew away three posts."*

Dec. 21, 1761, the district voted to call five ministers to judge whether the lot be binding; if they should esteem it so, the district would go on in building the meeting house where it is now raised. Four ministers came in March, 1762, and agreed that the lot was of a sacred nature, and did not see how it could be departed from, according to the Old and New Testament.†

Feb. 18, 1762, the General Court set off the eastern part of South Hadley, as the second parish in the district:‡ and the first parish was ordered to pay to the second, all the monies raised in the second and expended on the meeting house, deducting so much as the frame was damaged by cutting down part thereof by inhabitants of the second parish. In July, three Hampshire men were appointed to determine this damage, and they estimated it at £26, 10s. (about 88 dollars.) The two parishes could not agree respecting the sum to be paid by the first, and the second sued the first for £163, 10s., after taking out £26, 10s., claiming half of all that had been expended in controversy. The parties at length agreed to refer the matter to Wm. Pitkin, Jr. of Hartford, Ebenezer Hunt of Northampton and William Wolcott of Windsor. The arbitrators decided about December, 1762, that the first parish should pay to the second £70.14.7. This ended the matter.

The first parish again erected the south end, spliced the plates, and made all strong with iron. July 22, 1762, they voted to cover, glaze and color the meeting house and lay the floor. In 1763 and 1764, they finished the lower part and the front and fore seats of the gallery. The meeting house was first seated in 1764. The galleries were finished in 1771. The building, 60 by 45 feet, was larger than they needed.

The first meeting-house stood north and west of the second. It was so far west that the front and principal entrance were on

*Twenty-five eastern and three western men were bound before magistrates, to appear at the November court in Northampton. They appeared and were all discharged, perhaps with the consent of the prosecutors.

†The eastern people did not regard the lot, nor did the second Court's committee. This is not the only instance in which the lot was disregarded by those to whose wishes it was adverse.

‡The district was divided and Granby incorporated in 1768.

the east side, and the pulpit was on the west side. It stood perhaps 6 or 8 rods southerly of its present site. It was sold, removed a few rods and converted into a dwelling-house.*

Mr. Woodbridge continued to preach without aid until 1776; in that and subsequent years, he had assistance.† He died Sept. 10, 1783, in his 81st year. He was a son of Rev. John Woodbridge of West Springfield, a graduate of Yale College in 1726, and was first settled as a minister at Poquonnoc in Windsor.

His salary of £160, in bills that required 28 shillings to equal an ounce of silver, did not exceed £40, or 133 dollars. It was raised from time to time, until it amounted to £66.13.4 ($222,22 cents,) in 1761, and during most of the remainder of his life. One third was sometimes paid in wheat at 4s., rye at 3s. and corn at 2s.—the prices of grain before the revolution. His wood was increased to 65 or 70 loads.

Mr. Joel Hayes, a graduate of Yale College in 1773, was invited to settle as colleague pastor in 1781. They voted to give him a settlement of £275 in hard money, a salary of £90, (300 dollars,) in hard money, and his firewood. He was ordained Oct. 23, 1782, and having preached more than 40 years, was dismissed in 1823. He died July 29, 1827, aged 74.

In May, 1791, Col. Ruggles Woodbridge having offered the town a bell, they voted to build a steeple and belfry. The bell was broken three times. The town voted to purchase a clock for the meeting house, Nov. 1802.

Early Deacons.—John Smith, who lived on the Springfield road, was called deacon in 1736, and Joseph White in 1738. John Smith, who lived on or near Cold Hill, was Deacon John Smith, 2d, in 1743. Daniel Moody and David Nash were deacons before 1763.

The Common about the Meeting House.—This was formerly larger than now, extending north and west nearly or quite to the dingle named Lubber's Hole. The western road from Hadley to Springfield, was west of the buildings now on the west side of the common. Previous to the revolution, there were only three dwelling houses near the borders of the common. These were the house of Daniel Nash, a little south of that of the late Doct. E. Dwight, the house of Rev. J. Woodbridge, where John W.

*The first purchaser is not known. It was long in possession of the Goodmans. It has been owned and occupied many years by Alfred Judd and the widow of Salathiel Judd. It is 40 by 30 feet, of good height, and is a comely dwelling. The frame is 127 years old, and may yet last a century.

†Timothy Dwight preached some months in 1779.

Dunlap now resides, and the house which had been the first meeting house. A few rods east of the latter was the school house.*

On the west side, the town built a house for the Rev. Joel Hayes, in 1783. Joseph White built the house which he occupied as an inn, and he had a trading shop north of it. A part of that house is now in the public house of George L. Smith. About 1785, a small house was removed from the place where Jonathan Burnet lives, and set on the corner where the road turns westerly. These three houses were the first on the west side of the common.

Schools.—The means of education were quite limited in the South Precinct for many years. Probably there were some private schools, and most children were taught to read at home. They voted in 1738 to build a school house 23 by 18 feet and 7 feet between joints, and they voted to finish it in 1747 and again in 1754. The first vote to provide a school master was in 1747: In 1755, a school was to be kept by one teacher in three places, two months in each place, viz., at the school house, near Cold Hill, and in Falls Woods. After 1762, there were two schools some months in the year, in the first parish, viz., at the school house near the meeting house, and in Falls Woods. A school house was to be built in the latter place in 1769. A third or south district was ordered in 1793, at the Falls.

The yearly appropriation for schools, from 1754 to 1761, was from 8 to 20 pounds; from 1764 to 1777, in most years, 30 pounds; in January, 1780, £700, when bills were 24 for 1; 1782 to 1793, from 30 to 40£ yearly; in 1800, 300 dollars; in 1814, 450 dollars; in 1815, 700 dollars. The town clerk informs me that they have 9 districts, and raise in 1859, 2450 dollars for schools.†

The Poor.—The expense of the South Precinct for the poor, was trifling for many years. The first pauper whom they supported was Mr. Samuel Mighill, a native of Scituate, and a graduate of Harvard College in 1704. He taught the Hopkins School in Hadley in 1705, and after living in Hartford and elsewhere, he returned to this vicinity in 1728. In 1759, styling himself, "Master of Arts," he petitioned the county court for aid, stating that

*The late Gardner Preston born in 1749, told me that he could remember when there were only two dwelling houses, the old meeting house being used for public worship.

Thirty years ago, some old men remembered when the common was mostly covered with whortleberry bushes.

†Miss Abby Wright taught a private school for young ladies in South Hadley, a number of years, commencing about 1802; it was in good repute.

he was infirm and poor, and that he was an inhabitant of South Hadley. The district denied that he belonged to them, but the court decided against them, and they were obliged to maintain him until his death, April 11, 1769, at the age of 84. His name is often Miles or Mials in their records.

Comfort Domo, a daughter of Peter Domo, (page 289,) was warned out of town by South Hadley in 1790, and that town and Granby were contending in law about her support in 1797. She died in Granby, March 17, 1798.

A man bearing the singular name of Peter Pendergrass, appeared in South Hadley in 1765. He is supposed to have been a British soldier in the French war. He became a pauper, and the record informs us that in November, 1800, "Peter Pendergrass was set up at vendue and struck off to Deac. Enoch White at 50 cents a week." In later years, a few poor persons were set up at vendue and struck off to the lowest bidder. In almost all towns, some were disposed of in this improper manner. The annual expense of the poor in South Hadley, for some years after 1802, was from 150 to 300 dollars. It is now about 450 dollars.

French Neutrals.—South Hadley paid its proportion for the support of the family of French Neutrals at Hadley. (Page 343.) Their part in 1762 was £13.4.7, in old tenor at 7½ for 1.

Innkeepers and Retailers.—Samuel Smith, who lived on the Springfield road, not a great distance north of Jonathan Burnet's, was the first innkeeper in South Hadley in 1729, '30 and '31. Samuel Kellogg, who lived on the same road, was the second, from 1733 to 1740. Wm. Eastman is said to have been an innkeeper and trader in the same neighborhood, some years after 1750, before he lived in Granby, and John Smith kept an inn from 1759 to 1771. John Marshall was a retailer of liquors from 1765 to 1772. Ruggles Woodbridge began to retail spirit in 1773.*

The revolutionary war increased the number of innkeepers and retailers of spirits in most places. South Hadley had from 4 to 8 innkeepers and retailers, 1778 to 1783, and from 8 to 11, about half of each, 1785 to 1800. After the canal was commenced in 1793, there were usually four innkeepers, near the canal.

Timothy Nash was the first innkeeper in the eastern part of

*The early innkeepers and retailers in Falls Woods and at the Falls are on pages 298 and 299.

South Hadley, 1741 to 1749. Granby, having no river business, commonly had only one innkeeper and one or two retailers.*

The Revolution.—South Hadley bore its full share of the burdens of the revolutionary war. The people were united, active and unwavering in the cause of their country. The calls for men, clothing and provisions were answered. A pamphlet relative to the rights and grievances of the people, sent by the Boston Committee of Correspondence, was read in a town meeting, and a patriotic reply was reported by a committee, and unanimously adopted, in January, 1773.

A Committee of Correspondence was chosen June 14, 1774; a Committee of Inspection relative to the drinking of East India tea, Nov. 7, 1774; a Committee of Inspection respecting the consumption of British goods, Jan. 2, 1775;—more were added to the Committee of Inspection, Nov. 28, 1775; a Committee of Correspondence, Safety and Inspection, March 14, 1776, another March 17, 1777, and a third March 2, 1778. The men on these committees were the following, the figures denoting the number of committees to which each man belonged:—

Ens. Daniel Nash, 2, Lt. Luke Montague, 1, Deac. David Nash, 2, Major Josiah White, 3, John Gaylord, 3, Philip Smith, 1, Ens. Noah Goodman, 2, Capt. Moses Montague, 5, Joseph Cook, 1, Jonathan White, 1, Jonathan Preston, 2, Reuben Judd, 2, Nathan Alvord, 1, Joseph Moody, 2, Silas Smith, 2, Nathaniel White, 2, Joseph Kellogg, 1, John Chandler, 1, Enoch White, 1, David Mitchell, 1, Josiah Moody, 1, Charles Chapin, 1, Deac. Daniel Moody, 1, Ezra Day, 1.

Jan. 2, 1775, men were chosen to collect donations for the poor sufferers in Boston. March 2, 1775, a committee was chosen to promote peace and good order, and to prevent tumults and riots. June 20, 1776, the town voted that it was their mind that Independence should be declared. South Hadley united with others in their efforts to regulate the prices of labor, produce and merchandise, while the value of bills was constantly falling. This was a vain attempt. The town in its pecuniary affairs, estimated continental bills 3 for 1 in hard money, Dec. 1777; at 6 for 1, Dec. 1778; at 24 for 1, Jan. 1780; at 72 for 1, or a dollar for a penny, Jan. 1781. They soon fell lower, and ceased to circulate. In the latter part of the war, when men were required, a town meeting was held, and hard money was voted or grain at old prices, to pay them. The revolutionary taxes were heavy. In

*Granby sometimes had town meetings at the tavern, especially in cold weather. There were a few such in South Hadley.

1780, South Hadley paid two state taxes of 27,000 dollars each, in bills, after deducting large sums paid to soldiers for bounties. Paper money was plenty, and these taxes were paid more easily than small taxes in silver.

Joseph Moody, Josiah White and Noah Goodman were chosen to attend a county convention, which met at Northampton, Sept. 22, 1774. Ens. Noah Goodman was elected to attend the Provincial Congresses at Concord, Cambridge and Watertown, in 1774 and 1775, and he was a representative to the General Court, whenever one was sent, from 1776 to 1785.—He was a Justice of the Peace in 1775, and was the first South Hadley man that held that office. He was often employed in military affairs.*

The Canal.—Preparations for the construction of a canal around the Falls at South Hadley were made in 1792, and about 250 men were employed in 1793, and a larger number in 1794.† Benjamin Prescott was superintendent. In December, 1794, the canal, inclined plane and dam were so nearly completed that people had a day of rejoicing, and a large number of men and women were let down and drawn up the inclined plane, in a boat, on the grand carriage. In April, 1795, they began to let down and draw up loaded boats.‡ This inclined plane and the machinery connected with it were used several years instead of locks. In the fall of 1801, the Company were obliged to take away a part of the dam, because it raised the water so much as to occasion diseases in Northampton and elsewhere. The works had then cost 81,375 dollars, exclusive of the tolls received. About half the shares were owned by Hollanders. In about three years, the canal was deepened, and locks substituted for the inclined plane. Ariel Cooley was engineer.

The canal was an object of curiosity and attracted many visitors from the beginning. In 1795 and a few years after, great numbers of married men and women, and of young men and maidens, came to this place to see the works, and to have a ride down and up the inclined plane on the great car. Many parties came so far that they remained at the public house of John

*Aged men in South Hadley, who remember Major Goodman, say that his education was quite limited. Col. R. Woodbridge seems not to have been inclined to civil office in those days. He commanded a regiment in the revolutionary war.

South Hadley was called a town instead of a district in 1775. South Hadley and Granby tried to unite and become one town several times, without success.

†The men employed were chiefly Americans, and most of them belonged to the old county.

‡For more than thirty years previous to 1795, many South Hadley farmers had transported lumber and goods by the falls.

Bennet, or some other, through the night. Almost all rode on horses. No other place in the old county of Hampshire drew so many people by novel and interesting sights. In shad-time, in May, there was a great accession.

The second Parish and Granby.—The second or eastern parish of South Hadley was formed Feb. 18, 1762. A meeting house was erected on land given by Samuel Moody, a church organized, and Rev. Simon Backus settled as pastor, the same year. James Smith gave an acre of land for a burial place in 1769. The salary of Mr. Backus in 1772 was £72, 10s. and in 1779, they voted to give him £75, equal to silver at 6s. 8d. per ounce—a higher salary than many towns gave. He had 60 loads of wood in 1773, which cost the town 2s. 8d. per load. Deacon John Smith, 2d. resided in the second parish, and may have been one of the first deacons. John Moody was a deacon before 1767.

Granby was incorporated June 11, 1768, and called a "town," but it had not the privilege of sending a representative until the revolution. Granby was a part of South Hadley until 1768.* The division line was long a source of much trouble. The people of Granby, excepting a small number of tories, were patriotic and decided in the revolution, and furnished the men, money, clothing and provisions required of them.† The town voted Feb. 1775 to call Capt. Eastman, Lieut. Eleazar Nash and Ens. Experience Smith to account, for holding commissions received under Gov. Hutchinson and Gen. Gage. They refused to resign their commissions, but declared that they would not act under them, and would observe the resolves of Congress. The town were not satisfied. They voted June 20, 1776, to support Independence with their lives and fortunes. Their Committees of Correspondence, Inspection, &c. were vigilant. They sent Jonathan Selden to Northampton jail for breaches of the peace, Oct. 1775. In January, 1776, they published in a newspaper at Watertown, that "William Eastman of Granby, is an enemy to his country." During the war, there were 30 or 40 requisitions upon the Hampshire towns for soldiers. The number required of South Hadley was from 4 to 23 men, and of Granby from 3 to 17. Some calls may have been for more than 23 and 17 men. Granby and other towns paid in the eight years of war 16 or 17 state taxes.

Granby chose Phinehas Smith, Nathan Smith and —— Rowe to attend the revolutionary county convention at Northampton,

*I have found no record of the doings of the parish or town previous to 1769.

†In all towns, some men when drafted paid the fine.

Sept. 22, 1774. Captain Phinehas Smith attended two of the provincial congresses in 1774 and 1775, and was a representative to the General Court with Nathan Smith in 1777, and alone in 1779, 1780 and 1781. John Ayres was representative in 1778 and 1783, and Benjamin Eastman in 1784 and 1785.

Granby voted for schools £20 yearly before the revolution. In 1788, £25, and the districts might hire "dames" instead of masters; in 1800, 280 dollars for schools and 20 dollars for singing; in 1810, $330 for schools and $90 for singing; in 1854, $850 for schools.

Rev. Simon Backus was dismissed March 3, 1784, by a council that met at Granby, March 1st. Rev. Benjamin Chapman was settled in February, 1790, dismissed in January, 1797, and Rev. Elijah Gridley succeeded him in May, 1798. Mr. Gridley's salary was 300 dollars.

Baptists.—Ninety and a hundred years ago, there was a small society of Baptists, who had been "Separatists," in Granby and the vicinity. James Smith of Granby was their minister. Chileab Smith of South Hadley, was a brother of James. Chileab and his sons were among the first settlers of Ashfield, and were Baptists.*

Draining Pichawamiche meadow.—Ten proprietors, in May, 1744, represented to the General Court that this land was unprofitable by reason of wetness and sourness, and prayed for a commission of sewers to drain said meadow. The meadow was partially drained before 1748. In May, 1766, there was a similar petition from 12 proprietors; the meadow was still wet and sour. Hezekiah Smith, Daniel Moody and Aaron Nash were appointed commissioners of sewers. This meadow is in Granby.

The Crack Road.—The way from Amherst to South Hadley and Springfield was over a low place in Holyoke, called the crack or notch. The first county road from the Bay road in Amherst, through the crack, to South Hadley meeting house, was laid in 1762. A way from the crack, by the meeting house of the second parish, to the Springfield road near Moses Taylor's, was laid in 1766.

Making Whisky.—There was one whisky distillery in Granby in 1810, and four more in a few years, whisky being very high, owing to the war, &c. The price fell, and many farmers concerned in the business lost money, and some were ruined.—There were two whisky distilleries in South Hadley.

*James and Chileab were great grandsons of Rev. Henry Smith of Wethersfield. Miss Mary Lyon is said to have been a descendant of this Chileab.

Lining out the psalm.—South Hadley voted, March, 1776, that singing should be carried on in the afternoon of the Sabbath, without reading; that is, without reading the psalm line by line. The old way was not then changed in the forenoon, and it was continued when the sacrament was administered long after 1776. In many places, the practice of doling out the psalm a line or two at a time, was not given up, without much heat and contention.*

The town gave to promote singing $13.33 in 1792; $20 in 1796; $50 in 1799 and $80 in 1807. The singers had a bass-viol in 1798.

Small pox.—This dreadful disease was in two families in Falls Woods, in South Hadley, in 1757. Gideon Alvord, son of John A., had the small pox in the army, and came home with stockings not cleansed. His mother washed them and took the disease. When the small pox first appeared, many of her children, grandchildren and others who had been exposed, were inoculated, and John Alvord's house became a pest-house. Doctors Crouch and Kellogg of Hadley had the care of the patients from Oct. 28 to Dec. 28. John Alvord's wife is said to have died of small pox, and he died of that or some other disease, Nov. 21, 1757.—In December, the family of Ephraim Smith, 7 or 8 persons, having been exposed, were inoculated.† They all recovered.—The red flag waved at these houses several weeks, to warn travelers of their danger.‡

Old Accidents.—Ebenezer Smith was killed at the raising of Ebenezer Moody's house, and one Montague was much hurt, in June, 1729. Smith left a family. He was a brother of Chileab and James. This same house of Ebenezer Moody was burnt, Feb. 23, 1744, and a man named Green and a mulatto child 6 years old were burnt to death. Hugh Queen was killed by lightning about 1759. He left seven children. He lived near Elmer's brook. Nov. 15, 1768, Samuel Ayres of Granby was drowned

*John Stickney, born in Abingdon, in 1742 or 1743, came to this county about 1765, as a teacher of music. He taught singing schools in several towns in this vicinity and in Connecticut, and did much to introduce a better style of church music and a greater variety of tunes. He settled in South Hadley, and continued to instruct in music in the winter until he was above 60 years old.

Mr. Ayres, of Granby, son of the Samuel A. who was drowned, taught singing schools, in other towns in 1771, 1772, &c.

†A woman of Pelham or Greenwich, who had had the disease, is said to have been impressed by authority to take care of John Alvord's family, and Ephraim Smith was concerned in the pressing. Such things were done in those days. The husband of the woman was indignant, and the tradition is, that he purposely left a small-pox garment at the house of Smith.

‡A province law required a red flag to be hung out from every house wherein was the small pox.

in Connecticut River, and his body was found below the falls almost entire in April, 1771, 2 years and 5 months after.

Riding on a Rail.—In 1789, sixteen men of South Hadley were indicted for riding John Queen, (son of Hugh Queen, deceased,) on a rail from South Hadley to Granby. 8 were fined 20 shillings each, and two 10s. each, and costs £8.12.0. The offensive conduct of Queen is not recorded.*

Slaves.—There was one slave in South Hadley, and probably more. March 6, 1778, David Mitchell of that town, gave to his negro man, Caesar Cambridge, his freedom, in consideration of 85 pounds paid in cash, and of an order for his wages in a cruise in the brig Defence, supposed to be 40 pounds. The 125 pounds may have been equal to 100 silver dollars, which the negro had earned, partly, if not wholly, in the service of his country. The emancipating paper was recorded.

Settlers and Heads of Families in South Hadley and Granby previous to 1763. Married men are accounted heads of families, and a few when unmarried. The 21 men named under 1727, (17 in S. H. and 4 in G.) are those who sent the first petition to the General Court in 1727. Of the 37 "South Inhabitants" in 1731, (see page 284,) 19 were there in 1727, the place of John Preston who died in 1728, being supplied by his heirs, and 18 were new planters. Two of the 21 were missing, viz., Ebenezer Smith, accidently killed in 1729, and one of the John Smiths, who soon returned.

South Hadley.

In 1727.
Daniel Nash, 2d
Richard Church
Samuel Taylor
Samuel Smith
Samuel Kellogg
John Smith
John Preston
Nathaniel White
Thomas Goodman, Jr.
John Taylor
Joshua Taylor
Joseph Kellogg
William Smith
Jonathan Smith
Luke Montague
Joseph White
Ebenezer Smith

Additions 1727 to 1731.
William Gaylord
Nathaniel Ingram, Jr.
Samuel Rugg
Samuel Taylor, Jr.
Moses Taylor
Joseph Taylor
Daniel Nash, 1st
William Montague
Ebenezer Moody
Ebenezer Moody, Jr.
Peter Montague
Chileab Smith, 2d
Heirs of John Preston
Timothy Hillyer

Additions 1731 to 1740.
John Smith, F. Woods
Rev. Grindall Rawson
Benjamin Church, Jr.
Moses White
John Alvord
John Alvord, Jr.
Joseph Moody
Josiah Snow
Eleazar Goodman
Jabez Bellows
James Ball

Additions 1740 to 1750.
Jonathan White
John Gaylord
Gad Alvord
Daniel Crowfoot
Josiah Moody
Joseph White, Jr.
Ebenezer Kellogg
Jesse Bellows
Reuben Smith
Moses Montague
John Stanley
Hugh Queen
Jonathan Preston
Josiah White
Joseph Cook
Daniel Moody
Thomas Judd
Rev. John Woodbridge
Silas Smith
Philip Smith
John Smith, 4th
Thomas White
Nathaniel White, Jr.
Ephraim Smith
Aaron Taylor
Samuel Preston
Elijah Alvord
John Hillyer
Timothy Hillyer, Jr.

*The same year a man was carried on a rail in Northampton, for abusing his wife. The rioters settled with the man and paid cost £5.11.2.—"To ride the stang," was the name of this unlawful punishment in England.

Additions 1750 to 1763.
Phinehas Smith, 2d
David Nash
Noah Goodman
Joseph Kellogg, Jr.
Titus Pomeroy
Josiah Smith
John Rugg
Asahel Judd
Reuben Judd
Martin Wait
Josiah Snow, Jr.

In 1727.
Ebenezer Taylor
John Smith
Ephraim Nash
John Lane

Additions 1727 to 1731.
Timothy Nash
Joseph Nash
William Dickinson, Jr.
Nehemiah Dickinson
Thomas Taylor

Additions 1731 to 1740.
Stephen Warner, Sr.
James Smith
Noah Ferry
Samuel Moody
John Moody
Hezekiah Smith

Additions 1740 to 1750.
William Eastman
Aaron Nash
Phinehas Smith, 1st
Seth Clark
Noah Clark
Gideon Alvord
John Woodbridge, Jr.
William Wait
Jabez Kellogg
David Eaton
Israel Smith
John Chandler
Moses Alvord
Ebenezer Snow
Joseph Nash
John French
Benoni Preston

GRANBY.

John Preston
Experience Smith
Eleazar Nash
Martin Nash
Hezekiah Smith, Jr.
Jonathan Selden
Samuel Dickinson

Additions 1750 to 1763.
Eleazar Warner, Jr.
Benjamin Eastman
John Rowe
John Lane, Jr.
Stephen Warner, Jr.
Samuel Ayres
Eliphalet Green
Timothy Burr
Josiah Montague
Joseph Montague
Nathan Smith
Israel Clark
Jacob Taylor
Ithamar Amidown
Elisha Nash
Seth Smith
James Smith
Waitstill Dickinson
Ezekiel Barton
James Henry
Nathan Alvord
John Marshall
Elisha Church
Nathaniel Bartlett
Benjamin Pierce
Josiah Smith, 2d
William Taylor
Elisha Taylor
Job Alvord
William Brace
Reuben Taylor

Rev. Simon Backus
Asaph Stebbins
Ebenezer Taylor, Jr.
William Dickinson
Timothy Smith
Peter Domo
Samuel Elmer
Asahel Smith
Thomas H. Moody
Charles Ferry
David Barton
Experience Smith
Ebenezer Bartlett
Samuel Vinton
John Giddings
William Negus
Elisha Barton
James Giddings
Stephen Chapin
Samuel Moody, Jr.
Benjamin Smith
James Patrick
Jeremiah Chapin
John Moody, Jr.
Elisha Moody
Reuben Moody
Joseph Hillyer
Moses Smith
John Camp

These lists are not perfect, especially the latter part of the time; and there may be some errors in the residence, the two places being one parish before 1762, and one district until 1768.

Of the early settlers of South Hadley, John Alvord, the three Judds, Titus Pomeroy and Nathaniel Bartlett were from Northampton. Of those of Granby, Noah, Seth and Israel Clark and Ebenezer Bartlett were from Northampton. Noah and Seth Clark were Baptists.

Largest estates.—The men who had the largest valuations in South Hadley in 1771, were Josiah White, Lt. Luke Montague, Josiah Smith, (son of Samuel,) Jonathan White, Nathaniel White, Deac. Daniel Moody, Samuel Preston, Josiah Moody. In Granby, Deac. William Eastman, Jacob Taylor, John Moody, (son of Deac. John, dec'd,) Deac. Nathan Smith, Benjamin Eastman, Moses Moody, Phinehas Smith, Ebenezer Bartlett.

It is ascertained that John Chandler lived in the dwelling house, made from the old meeting house in 1770. He appears to have been the first purchaser, about 1764.

Phinehas Smith of Granby belongs with those on 386th page, who had 100 pounds at interest.

It is mentioned on page 299, that females formerly rowed themselves in a skiff across the Connecticut, between Northampton and South Hadley. I find that some young females, on each side of the river, readily do the same in 1859.

Physicians in the last century.—Doctors Crouch and Kellogg of Hadley, were the physicians of South Hadley until after 1760.* Doct. Samuel Vinton was in the east parish or Granby in 1762, and was of South Hadley in 1784, and died in 1801. Ruggles Woodbridge was in practice in 1765; he seems not to have continued many years. Doct. Ezekiel White died in 1789, a young man. Elihu Bissell was a physician in S. H. in 1784 and some years after. Elihu Dwight succeeded and was in practice thirty or forty years. He died in 1854.† Three doctors appear in Granby between 1774 and 1800, viz., Perez Chapin, Daniel Coit and Chester Cowles.

CHAPTER XXXV

The Third Precinct, or East Hadley‡—First Meeting House and Minister—Church Members—Minister's Wood—Deacons—Second Minister—East Parish—District of Amherst—Representatives and Justices—Plan to divide Amherst—The Revolution—Tories—Taxes—Minute men—Delegates and Representatives—Schools—The Poor—Innkeepers, &c.—Highways—Flat Hills—Physicians—Planters and householders—Insurrection—School dames.

It is not known when men began to plant themselves at East Hadley. Circumstances render it probable that the first permanent settlement was in 1727, or 1728. It was certainly later than that of South Hadley.§ The east inhabitants are not noticed in the town records until Jan. 5, 1730, when a committee was appointed to lay out for them about an acre of land convenient for a burying place.‖ No town officer was chosen from the east inhabitants before 1730. In January, 1732, those of them that were at the charge of hiring a minister, were to be abated one-fifth of their tax for Mr. Chauncey's salary. Aug. 27, 1733, the town

*They charged for a visit south of the mountain 8 times as much as for one in the old village, or 5s. 4d. for the former when the latter was 8 pence, each mile being reckoned as much as a visit near home. They gave medicines excessively and blistered and bled extravagantly, and these things generally cost more than their visits, even in South Hadley.

†E. Dwight began to study with Doct. Ebenezer Hunt of Northampton, Dec. 11, 1790. He was to pay 50 dollars a year, and not stay less than two years. Doct. Hunt's students took care of the shop.

‡The laying out of these lands may be found on pages from 273 to 277.

§South Hadley or the second precinct was in advance of East Hadley, and had twice as many settlers in 1731. After some years, the difference was much less.

‖The committee laid out the burying place, before March, 1730, in the west highway, in length 15 rods adjoining Nathaniel Church's lot on the west, and in width 12 rods east in the highway, making one acre and twenty rods.

voted that if the east inhabitants hired a minister six months, they should be abated half their rate to Mr. Chauncey.

John Ingram and others of the east inhabitants,* believing they could support a minister, petitioned the General Court, June, 1734, to be a separate precinct. The first precinct thought their petition unreasonable, and Capt. Luke Smith was sent to Boston to oppose it. In December, 1734, the eastern people again petitioned to be a precinct, and to include a tract 7 miles long and $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles wide,† having Hadley commons W., Boston road S., Equivalent land E. and Sunderland N.

The petition was granted Dec. 31, and the precinct was bounded as they desired. They were to build a meeting house and settle a learned orthodox minister in three years; and they might tax non-resident lands, not belonging to the old precinct, two pence an acre for six years, to support the ministry.

The first meeting of the "third or east precinct" of Hadley, having been warned by Ebenezer Kellogg, was held at the house of Zechariah Field, Oct. 8, 1735. They chose Samuel Hawley, Moderator; John Nash, Clerk; John Ingram, Sr., Samuel Boltwood and Samuel Hawley, committee to call meetings; Ebenezer Dickinson, Aaron Smith and John Nash, Assessors; Ebenezer Kellogg, Collector. The precinct voted to hire a minister half a year; and to build a meeting house 45 by 35 feet, "to be covered with quarter-boards of spruce,"‡ and to cover the roof with spruce shingles, 21 inches long and without sap; and to set the house up the hill, east of John Nash's house.

Nov. 25, 1735, they voted to set the meeting house near the Hartling§ Stake, so called. In December, they altered the place again. Nov. 14, 1738, they voted to set the meeting house in the place first designated, viz., on the hill east of the house of John Nash. Dec. 15, 1738, they voted to Thomas Temple £19

*The petitions and names were not found in the State House. It appeared that John Ingram was at the head of the first petition, and Zechariah Field, of the second.

†The $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles in width must be intended for the average width. The north line was less, and the south line more than $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles.

‡By "quarter boards of spruce," they intended clapboards of white pine, probably split and shaved. Their spruce shingles were of white pine.

§The Hartling Stake was noted in East Hadley, and is several times mentioned. The records state in 1795 that it stood about one rod east of the N. E. corner of Lt. Gideon Parsons's house. That house was where Howe's public house now stands, near the N. W. corner of the common. There was formerly a school house not far from the Hartling Stake, and a pound.

for framing the meeting house, and to Ebenezer Kellogg 77 shillings for rum and sugar. The house must have been raised between Nov. 14 and Dec. 15, 1738. It was built upon the hill where the College Cabinet and Observatory stand. The work proceeded slowly, and the house was not finished until 1753. Meetings were held in it before 1742, and a person was chosen to sweep the meeting house, and to give a signal* when to go to meeting, in 1743. The house was first seated in 1749, and the seaters were directed to place "the males together and the females together," except in the two pews nearest to the east end of the pulpit. The seaters were to have the care of "deeming the seats," (estimating their dignity,) and in seating, were to regard age, estate and qualifications. The few pews then built, and those added for some years, were round the sides, next to the walls. There were galleries.

The people of East Hadley had preaching a part of the year after 1732. David Parsons, Jr.,† a Harvard graduate of 1729, began to preach there in November, 1735. April 13, 1737, the third precinct voted to give him a call to settle, and offered to him two lots of land given by Hadley, and a salary of £100, and to set up for him the frame of a house, of two stories, 21 by 40 feet, and cover it and build a chimney and cellar. He did not accept then, nor in September when a salary of £120 was voted. He preached at Southampton some months in 1737 and 1738.‡ In July and September, 1739, the precinct again gave Mr. David Parsons, Jr. a call, and offered the two lots of land in the second and third divisions, £175 towards building his house, his firewood, and a salary of £100, as polls and estates were January, 1739,§ to be increased to £160, as polls and estates increased—to be paid in province bills of the old tenor, or one-third as much in the new tenor, till 1741. The salary was to be paid after 1741, in

*A man was chosen "to blow the kunk," (conch,) as a signal, for many years. The conch was blown and the meeting house swept some years, for less than three dollars a year.

†His father, Rev. David Parsons, was a son of Joseph Parsons, Esq. of Northampton. He was first settled at Malden and afterwards at Leicester. He was a man of strong passions, and the people of Leicester were unyielding, and after years of strife, he died and was buried by his special direction on his own land, being unwilling to be buried with his people. He did not die in 1737, as stated in Washburn's History of Leicester, for his son added "Jun'r" to his name in 1739.

‡East Hadley and Southampton gave to young preachers in those years, their board and 40 shillings a Sabbath, in the first old tenor, which was not far from one third of that sum in lawful money, or 13s. 4d. In 1741, this old tenor was 4 for 1.

§The number of polls was then 35 and of families 29. The names of the heads of families will be given on another page.

bills of the old tenor at the rate of 26 shillings for an ounce of silver. He accepted in the following brief manner—"Sept. 28. Comply'd with the request of the inhabitants of the third precinct in Hadley. Per me, David Parsons, Jun'r." The Boston News-Letter states that he was "ordained pastor of the church newly gathered at East Hadley," on Wednesday, Nov. 7, 1739.* The ordination cost the precinct £11.

The salary of Mr. Parsons for some years seems to have been a little above 40 pounds lawful. In 1754, £92, 10s. of the last old tenor, 7½ for 1, equal to 41 dollars, were added to the salary, and additions were made until it amounted to £60 or 200 dollars in 1757, and to £66.13.4 in 1759. It was raised to £80 in 1762, and was the highest salary in this vicinity, except Mr. Hooker's at Northampton. It was fixed at £80 in 1764, in lawful money, but if money became very scarce, he would receive wheat at 3s. 7d. and rye at 2s. 5d. per bushel. He offered to provide his own firewood yearly for £13.6.8, and the district accepted the offer. Though he was inclined to toryism, the people paid his salary as long as he lived, but not without some delay. He died Jan. 1, 1781, in his 69th year.

Mr. Parsons's wood.—I never found in any records, a minister who consumed as much wood as Mr. Parsons. The precinct voted 60 loads in 1742, 80 loads in 1744, 90 loads in 1749, and

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*I am indebted to Mr. L. M. Boltwood of Amherst, for the names of the members of the church. I have added to the females, the names of their husbands, and may have made one or two errors. Mr. Boltwood says the church was formed Nov. 7, 1739, of the following 16 males:—

David Parsons, Pastor,
Nathaniel Kellogg,
John Ingram,
Samuel Hawley,
Eleazar Mattoon,
John Nash.
Pelatiah Smith,
Ebenezer Dickinson,
John Cowls,
Aaron Smith,
Ebenezer Kellogg,
Jonathan Smith,
Nathaniel Smith,
Joseph Clary,
Jonathan Cowls,
Richard Chauncey,

One male and 27 females were added, Jan. 1, 1740:—

David Smith, (son of Luke,
Mehetabel Hawley, (wife of Samuel,
Wid. Abigail Smith, (mother of Jona.,
Hannah Smith, (wife of Jona. or David,
Mary Cowls, (wife of John,
Elizabeth Mattoon, (wife of Eleazar,
Sarah Cowls, (wife of Jonathan,
Wid. Hannah Boltwood, (wid. of Sam'l,
Sarah Hawley, (wife of Samuel, Jr.
Martha Boltwood, (daughter of Sam'l,
Wid. Lydia Ingram, (wid. of John, Jr.,
Elizabeth Kellogg, (wife of Ebenezer,
Mehetabel Ingram, (wife of John, Sr.
Sarah Clary, (wife of Joseph,
Wid. Sarah Field, (widow of Zechariah,
Abigail Field, (wife of John,
Rebecca Hawley, (wife of Joseph,
Mehetabel Smith, (wife of Aaron,
Hannah Nash, (wife of John,
Sarah Kellogg, (wife of Nathaniel,
Abigail Smith, (wife of Pelatiah,
Elizabeth Smith, (daughter of Pel.?
Sarah Dickinson, (wife of Ebenezer,
Elizabeth Chauncey, (wife of Richard,
Ruth Boltwood, (daughter of Solomon,
Mary Boltwood, (wife of Solomon,
Hannah Murray, (wife of William,
Abigail Moody, (wife of Nathan.

100 "good" loads in 1751; they commonly voted 100 loads of wood, or £15 for wood at 3 shillings for a good load, till 1760, but some years 93 loads, or £14 for wood at 3s. per load. In 1763, more than 120 "ordinary" loads were provided, at 2s. 5d. a load.*

Deacons.—In the records of East Hadley, Eleazar Mattoon has the title of deacon in June, 1739, and after 1740. He may have been a deacon at Northfield. Ebenezer Dickinson is called deacon in 1740, John Nash in 1742, Jonathan Edwards in 1766, Simeon Clark in 1770, Eleazar Smith in 1782.

Second Minister.—Mr. Parsons was succeeded by his son David Parsons, D.D. who was ordained Oct. 2, 1782. The town voted to give him a settlement of 300 pounds and a salary of 100 pounds, to be equivalent to Spanish milled dollars at 6 shillings; and 25 cords of wood, to be increased to 40 cords, annually. He graduated at Harvard in 1771, was dismissed at his own request Sept. 1, 1819, and died at Wethersfield, Conn., May 18, 1823, aged 74.

The East Parish.—Capt. Ebenezer Mattoon and other members of the first church were strongly opposed to the settlement of Mr. Parsons, and they obtained an advisory council from five churches west of the river, and this council met at Amherst, Oct. 1, 2 and 3, 1782, before and after Mr. Parsons was ordained, and gave their advice to the aggrieved members, who, on the 15th of October, 22 in number, agreed to organize a new church. Another council of ministers and delegates from five churches, viz., Southampton, Montague, Whately, Hatfield and Westhampton, (called by some Capt. Mattoon's council,) met at Amherst Oct. 28 and 29, and again Nov. 11 and 12, and on the last day, judged that the offer of the other party, (Mr. Parsons and the church,) "was unequal and unjust;" and advised the aggrieved, if the others would not unite in a mutual council in four weeks, to proceed to organize, and to settle a minister. Warm contentions and unfriendly dispositions, which were lasting, grew out of this division.† Rev. Ichabod Draper, the first pastor of the second church, was from Dedham and was a graduate of

*For a long time, the value of wood was only the expense of cutting it for the sled or cart and drawing it. For some years, a sled load of hard wood was only 2 shillings lawful; it gradually advanced to 2s. 6d. and 3s. The loads were examined by a committee. In Amherst and South Hadley, the price did not exceed 3s. down to the revolution. These old sled loads may have contained from two-thirds to three-fourths of a cord. Cart loads were less.

†My grandfather presided in this council and my father was a delegate, and I heard much about this strife when a boy.

Harvard in 1783. He was ordained Jan. 25, 1786, dismissed Oct. 12, 1809, and died Dec. 17, 1827, aged 72.

District of Amherst.—This was incorporated, Feb. 13, 1759,* six years after South Hadley was made a district. During these years, East Hadley was the second precinct of Hadley. The first meeting of the district was held at the meeting house, March 19, 1759, and the following officers were chosen:—

Deac. Ebenezer Dickinson, Moderator; Josiah Chauncey, Clerk; Joseph Eastman, Treasurer; Deac. Ebenezer Dickinson, Jonathan Dickinson, Doct. Nathaniel Smith, Ens. John Dickinson, Moses Dickinson, Selectmen; Deac. Ebenezer Dickinson, Jonathan Dickinson, Moses Dickinson, Assessors; Pelatiah Smith, Isaac Goodale, Constables; Joseph Eastman, Jonathan Edwards, Tithingmen; Simeon Clark, Nathaniel Coleman, Fence Viewers; Joseph Church, John Petty, Reuben Ingram, Hogreeves; Gideon Dickinson, Daniel Dickinson, Ebenezer Mattoon, Nathaniel Dickinson, Jacob Warner, Surveyors; Alexander Smith, Clerk of the Market. In 1760, Elijah Baker and Moses Dickinson were Deer-reeves. In 1761, three Wardens were chosen. In 1762, Isaac Goodale was Sealer of Leather, and there was a Surveyor of Timber. In 1763, three Surveyors of Wheat.—The officers of a district and of a town were the same.

As long as South Hadley and East Hadley were only precincts or parishes, the men came to the old village to do town business, and many town officers were elected from these precincts.† After they became districts, they and Hadley met once a year for the choice of a representative to the General Court until the revolution, and Granby, though called a town after 1768, met with them. These towns and districts commonly chose only one representative, and he was generally from the old town, but Daniel Nash of South Hadley was the representative in 1764 and 1765, and Josiah Chauncey of Amherst in 1760 and 1762, and Simeon Strong of Amherst in 1767 and 1769.‡

*By the same act, five men of the first precinct of Hadley and their estates were annexed to Amherst. Hadley consented that East Hadley should be a district, but opposed the annexation of the five families, who seem to have resided on the road leading from Amherst to Sunderland.

†South and East Hadley could have outvoted the old or first precinct many years, and have controlled the town, but the records show that a majority of the selectmen were always chosen from the old village, excepting 1751 and 1757.

‡The four places united in the choice of a representative for the last time in May, 1774. Each of the four chose a delegate to the provincial congress in October, 1774.

Justices.—Josiah Chauncey was the first Justice of the Peace in Amherst in 1758, and Simeon Strong the second, in 1768. They lost their offices because they were opposed to the revolution, and whigs were appointed, viz., Moses Dickinson in 1775, Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr. 1781, and Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr. 1783.

Plan to divide Amherst.—When it was thought necessary to build a new meeting house, the inhabitants in the northern and southern parts, by uniting, formed a majority, and voted to divide the district into two parishes, Jan. 13, 1772; and they voted to build two meeting houses, April 14, 1773. Those residing in the central parts of the old parish were about to be placed on the outside of two new parishes, and to be taxed for building two meeting houses, and 70 men petitioned the General Court for relief, in May, 1773, and requested to be a parish in the middle of Amherst, if there must be a division. The majority voted in January, 1774, to divide the district by an east and west line from the center of the meeting house, and to send a reply to the notice from the Court. Both parties sent petitions, and the General Court appointed a committee, who visited Amherst in March, 1774. The revolution seems to have stopped the proceedings of those in favor of a division.

The Revolution.—A number of persons in Amherst, including several influential men, were unfriendly to the revolution,* and others were neutral. A majority however were ardent and active in the cause of their country, and they chose a Committee of Correspondence Jan. 26, 1774, to communicate with the Boston Committee of Correspondence. The reply of the Amherst Committee to the Boston Committee was accepted by the district, March 14, 1774, and recorded. It is in strong and patriotic language, approving the proceedings of Boston and justifying the destruction of the tea; and the Boston Committee are assured that they will be "supported by a large majority in this district." A standing Committee of Correspondence was chosen Sept. 20, 1774; a Committee of Inspection to carry out the resolves of the Continental Congress and Provincial Congress, Feb. 23, 1775; a Committee of Correspondence, Jan. 24, 1776, and another

*Rev. David Parsons, Josiah Chauncey, Esq. and his son Isaac, Simeon Strong, Esq., Lieut. John Field, Ens. John Nash, Solomon, William and Ebenezer Boltwood, Deac. Simeon Clark, Isaac Goodale, Moses Cook, Charles Chauncey and others were among these opposers. In 1776, the Amherst Committee sent two of the men named to Northampton jail, one because he was "notoriously inimical to American liberty" and the other because he was "an enemy to and acted in opposition to the just rights and privileges of America."

March 25, 1776; and a Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety, in 1777, 1778 and 1779. The names of the men of these eight committees follow, the figures signifying the number of committees of which each was a member:—

Capt. Reuben Dickinson 5, Joseph Williams 4, Moses Dickinson, Esq. 4, Jacob McDaniel 2, Nathaniel Dickinson 1, Joseph Eastman 2, Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr. 4, John Dickinson 1, Noah Dickinson 1, Nathan Dickinson 1, Hezekiah Belding 1, Isaac Hubbard 1, Ebenezer Dickinson 2, Gideon Dickinson 1, John Billings 4, Lt. Simeon Smith 3, Thomas Hastings 1, Elijah Baker 4, Simon Fobes 1, Ebenezer Mattoon 1, Martin Kellogg 1, James Merrick 2, Joseph Dickinson 2, Lt. Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr. 2, Josiah Warner 1, Major Nathaniel Peck 1, Timothy Green 1, Henry J. Franklin 1, Gideon Henderson 1.

Feb. 23, 1775, the Committee of Inspection were to get subscriptions for the relief of the poor of Boston and Charlestown. May 4, 1775, a committee was chosen to provide stores for the army at Cambridge. The district voted that they were not satisfied with the answers of Josiah Chauncey and John Nash to the charge against them; they must destroy their commissions from the king's governor.* March 25, 1776, Samuel Henry might take earth from under the meeting house to make salt-peter. June 13, 1776, if congress declare the United Colonies independent, "we, the inhabitants of the town of Amherst, solemnly engage to support them in the measure." Jan. 20, 1777, "voted that the conduct of the Rev. David Parsons is not friendly with regard to the common cause." Jan. 8, 1778 and Dec. 28, 1778, voted to pay Mr. Parsons's salary. March 11, 1778, "voted that persons not owning independence on the crown of Great Britain, agreeable to the declaration of congress, shall not vote." Amherst, as well as many other towns, made useless endeavors to regulate prices, with a disordered currency. July 12, 1779, Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr. was sent to the Congress at Concord, that attempted to fix prices. In January, 1780, it was voted that Rev. Abraham Hill of Shutesbury be prohibited from preaching in this town. He was a violent tory. Oct. 16, 1780, the town voted £10,000 to buy the beef first sent for. Beef was then worth above 4 dollars per pound in bills. Dec. 28, 1780, rye was estimated at 50 dollars a bushel in bills.—Amherst had a greater population than Hadley, South Hadley or Granby, and was required to furnish more men,

*The militia officers of Amherst, appointed by Gov. Hutchinson in 1773, were Captain Josiah Chauncey, Lieutenant John Field and Ensign John Nash. At a meeting of officers in Northampton, Nov. 10 and 11, 1774, these three and thirty others renounced in writing all authority they might have by a commission from Gov. Hutchinson. The three also disclaimed their commissions in Amherst, but Chauncey and Nash did not satisfy the whigs, who required that Chauncey "should burn all the commissions he had ever received from the king," and that Nash should destroy his. According to tradition, the whigs of Amherst burnt Capt. Chauncey's commissions under a tree, with some display.

money, clothing and beef. The number of men called for in 1777, to serve three years, was from Amherst 35, Hadley 30, South Hadley 23, Granby 17, and this was the proportion for some years. The numbers were commonly less, sometimes 10, 8, 6, 5. In 1780, two state taxes were laid upon Amherst, £16.283 and £16.613, both amounting to 109,653 dollars, payable in continental bills. The polls were taxed 20 pounds, in each of the two taxes. In the same year, a state tax was levied in Amherst, of 768 dollars, in hard money.*

Amherst chose three men to attend the county convention at Northampton, Sept. 22, 1774, viz., Moses Dickinson, Jacob McDaniel, John Dickinson. After this convention, companies of minute men were formed and trained in the Hampshire towns, and many marched for Cambridge in two or three days after the battle of Lexington, in April, 1775. Capt. Reuben Dickinson commanded the Amherst company, and the men on his "alarm roll" were paid £89.1.5. Capt. James Hendrick of Amherst received £15.10.0, in connection with this alarm. Many Amherst men enlisted for 8 months at Cambridge, and these and some from other towns formed a company under Capt. Reuben Dickinson. The pay of his company to Aug. 1, 1775, was £289.12.10.†

Amherst chose Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr.‡ as delegate to the first Provincial Congress, which met at Concord, Oct. 11, 1774; to the second which met at Cambridge, Feb. 1, 1775; and to the third which met at Watertown, May 31, 1775.—In July, 1775, Moses Dickinson was elected representative; in May, 1776, John Billings; in May, 1777, Moses Dickinson, Esq. and John Billings; in 1779, John Billings and Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr.;‡ in May, 1780, Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr.; in Oct. 1780, under the new Constitution,

*The state and town taxes, levied to carry on the war, were heavy and oppressive, in all towns. Massachusetts assessed upon the people in two years, 1779 and 1780, five taxes, payable in bills, amounting nominally to 17¾ millions of pounds. Of this sum, 11 1-5 millions of pounds, or 37 millions of dollars, were assessed in two taxes in 1780, to call in continental bills. When these bills were paid in, 100 dollars may have averaged in value about 1 dollar in silver. In April, 1781, 1 dollar in silver was equal to 200 dollars in bills. It was in these days that the old soldiers, as they used to relate, sometimes paid 50 dollars for a meal of victuals, or a mug of flip. They had received the bills as of little value.

†The late John Dickinson of Amherst, informed me in 1847, that he belonged to this company, and that a part of it was in the battle of Bunker Hill, but not in the hot fight. Capt. Dickinson was then at Amherst. The Lieutenant was Zaccheus Crocker of Shutesbury, and the Ensign, Daniel Shays. R. Woodbridge of South Hadley was Colonel of the Regiment.

‡Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr. and Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr. were men of collegiate education. The former was only 24 years of age, when first elected a delegate, and the latter was of the same age, when first chosen a representative. They drew up revolutionary papers, when needed.

and in May, 1781 and 1783, Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr. Esq.; in 1784 and 1785, Capt. Eli Parker; in 1787 and 1788, Daniel Cooley.

Schools.—The first vote of East Hadley relating to schools was March 13, 1749. A committee was to hire three school dames for 3 or 4 months, in the summer season, to teach children to read. Undoubtedly there were private schools before 1749, and some boys were sent to the Hopkins school. Samuel Mighill, an old schoolmaster, resided in East Hadley in 1739. In 1753 there were to be three schools in the precinct—in the north, middle and south parts. The schools were long kept in private rooms. The first vote to build school houses was in 1761, and they could not agree where to set them. In 1764, the precinct voted to build four school houses, named north, south, west-middle, east-middle. One was built near the Hartling Stake.* In 1780, there were to be six schools, and each was to be kept 3 months. There were six districts in 1809.

Amherst voted £8, lawful, for schooling in 1752, and the sum was increased in succeeding years, to £10.13.4, £13.6.8, £20, £27, and in 1771 to £30, or 100 dollars. In 1783, '84 and '85 it was £30; in 1787, £50; in 1790, £60; in 1793, £72; in 1796, 333 dollars; in 1803, 400 dollars; in 1811, 550 dollars. In 1853, there were 8 districts and $2500 were raised for schools.

The Poor.—The expense of Amherst in the last century, for the poor, was small, very few persons needing aid.† Jonathan Atherton, troubled with a stone in the bladder, which weighed three ounces when extracted by surgeons in 1743, (see page 368,) was aided by the precinct and individuals. He died in 1744, after great suffering.‡

Daniel Smith, a brother of Capt. Jonathan Smith, was long

*Oct. 27, 1766, Josiah Pierce, the Hadley schoolmaster, began to teach school in Amherst, and he taught 6 months or more in a year for three years, half the time in each of the middle school houses, which were then new. His pay was 32 shillings, or $5,33 a month, and his board. In winter evenings, he kept ciphering schools a few weeks, at one shilling an evening. In the cold months, from 30 to 42 scholars attended his day school in Amherst, and in warmer months, from 15 to 30. His family resided in Hadley. He sometimes preached in vacant pulpits gratis, or at 18 or 20 shillings a Sabbath.—March 29, 1769, he dismissed the school for want of wood. Such things happened in other towns. In 1769, he lent 3 volumes of Dryden, to Ebenezer Williams, a farmer in A.—He probably taught Latin, if any desired, and in 1722, Wm. G. Ballantine taught Latin and English, and read theology with Mr. Parsons.

†Amherst paid its share for the support of the family of French Neutrals at Hadley, and appropriated 50 shillings in 1767 to send them to Canada.

‡Contributions were made for him and his family in other places, and Springfield sent up £10, equal to 8 dollars or more. The people readily assisted those in distress.

insane, and was partly supported by the town of Hadley some years, and by the district of Amherst a year or two. He died Nov. 16, 1760.

In 1779 and after, Moses Hawley and wife, and in 1789, widow Mehetabel Smith, received some help from the town. In 1807, Aaron Kellogg, a deranged man, and Caesar Prutt, a negro aged 80 years, were set up at vendue to the lowest bidder, and the former was bid off for a year at 50 dollars, and the latter at 65 dollars. £6 were voted for the poor in 1789, £20 in 1793, 75 dollars in 1801, and 150 dollars in 1809.

Innkeepers, Retailers and Traders, before the Revolution.—Ebenezer Kellogg was the first innholder in East Hadley, from 1734 to 1737; and he again kept an inn from 1752 to 1757. Ephraim Kellogg was an innkeeper from 1744 to 1756, and Martin Kellogg from 1771 to 1773. The Kelloggs were traders at times. Ephraim had mills on Mill river. Moses Smith kept a tavern on the Boston Road, from 1758 to 1766, Alexander Smith on the west street, south of the meeting house, from 1758 to 1783, and Moses Warner, north of the meeting house, from 1757 to 1771. Josiah Chauncey was a retailer of spirit many years from 1759, and Elisha Ingram from 1766, and others one or two years. Chauncey and Ingram sold other goods. The second Solomon Boltwood and his son Ebenezer, and Jacob McDaniel traded.

From 1780 to 1793, 3, 4 or 5 tavern keepers were yearly licensed in Amherst, and 4, 5 or 6 retailers of liquors. In 1783, there were 5 taverners and 8 rum-sellers.*

Highways.—The broad highways of East Hadley, originally 40 rods wide, occasioned much trouble and contention. The lines were not straight, many of the monuments were gone, and some men encroached on the highways ignorantly, and others perhaps designedly. The town of Hadley began a controversy with John Morton, for obstructing the highway, in 1746, and afterwards with Nathan Dickinson, and it was carried on at times before county courts, referees and the general court until 1762. The district of Amherst aided the town. Morton and Dickinson seem to have been defeated.† The committee of the district stated in

*The rum-taxes of many in most towns were heavier than their revolutionary taxes. Town meetings in Amherst were commonly held in the meeting house, or in the school house near the Hartling stake, but sometimes in a tavern, in cold weather.

†John Morton and Nathan Dickinson were from Hatfield. They were resolute men, and tenacious of what they considered their rights. Their lots were in the eastern division, north of the Pelham road. Morton was the first settler on that division. Many others trespassed but not so largely, nor were they so firm and unyielding as M. and D.

1759, that Morton claimed almost all the broad highway at the west end of his lot. Dickinson's demand was less, but took in much of the highway. In 1754, Hadley reduced the west highway to 20 rods in width, and the east to 12 rods, and narrowed the cross ways,* and gave to the east precinct the land taken from the highways. Encroachments did not cease. Amherst sold many pieces of highway land and gave away some. In 1788, a committee of the town reduced the ways to 6 rods in breadth, and some to 4 rods, but left the whole width in certain places for public uses. They apprized the rest of the highway land against each man's lot, that the town might sell it. They valued it at £533.9.11, or 1778 dollars.

Repairs of Highways.—Amherst voted for repairs, (in labor,) £30 in 1765, £40 in 1777, £60 in 1783, £70 in 1784, £100 in 1791, 400 dollars in 1801.—The price of labor on the roads before 1775 was usually 2s. a day in May and the summer; in some years a few pence higher. In the fall, it was from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d. After 1783, labor for some years was 3s. before September, 2s. in September and 1s. 6d. after October 1. In 1796, it was 67 cents before Sept. 1, and 34 cents after. The same in 1809.

Flat Hills, &c.—The land north of the second and third divisions was laid out in 1740, to those who had lost land in the third division by the town line against Pelham, &c. except 220 acres to the south precinct. The east line of this land was about 560 rods in length, and chiefly against Shutesbury. This laying out did not include the land north of Mill river, nor do the records disclose how that was disposed of.

Physicians in the last century.—Nathaniel Smith, one of the first settlers of East Hadley, was a physician, but Doct. Crouch of Hadley was often employed in that parish, and later, Doct. Kellogg.† Seth Coleman commenced practice in Amherst in 1767 and died in 1816. William Kittridge, who was a physician there in 1784, remained but a few years. Robert Cutler, who

*In measuring these roads, most of the trees marked are recorded as white, black or red oak. There are a few pine, maple, walnut and chestnut trees. Amherst had a greater proportion of hard wood trees than Hadley and South Hadley, and less sandy land covered with pines.

†Doctors Crouch and Kellogg, in East Hadley as elsewhere, dealt profusely in medicines including mercurials, and in bleedings, blisters, issues, &c. In those days, physicians derived their profits mainly from medicines and external applications— a pernicious custom. According to Doct. Douglass, "the patient frequently suffered more from the physician than from the distemper." The charge for visits within a mile was trifling; only 6 pence lawful in Hadley village in 1730, and it had advanced only to 8 pence in Northampton and Hadley in 1775. Visits in East Hadley by Crouch and Kellogg, were 5 times as much as in Hadley street, but were much exceeded in amount by the medicines.

began to practice in Pelham in 1770, established himself in Amherst before 1787, and died in 1835. Doct. Samuel Gamwell exercised his profession in A. as early as 1793, and died in 1814.

Names.--East Hadley was sometimes named "New Swamp" in deeds and other writings. The New Swamp of the Hadley records was almost all west of East Hadley. Some denominated the 3d precinct "Hadley Farms," or "East Farms." A tract sold in the first division in 1735, is said to be "at our East Farms or New Swamp as it is called."

Planters and Householders of Amherst, before 1763, with a few who had not the care of a family. The names of 18 men who had established themselves at East Hadley previous to 1731, are on page 284. Of these, John Wells removed, Ebenezer Scovil died in 1731 and Ebenezer Ingram in 1735, leaving 15 whose names are in a list taken in 1738, and 14[1] had been added to them, making 29 in that year. Three of them died before January, 1739, viz., John Ingram, Jr., Zechariah Field and Samuel Boltwood, but their families remained, and the names of the three were retained among the 29 settlers in 1739. The names of the 29 follow:—

Joseph Clary	Samuel Hawley, Jr.—Ht.	Stephen Smith—Ht.
John Ingram, Sr.	Ebenezer Dickinson	William Murray
John Ingram, Jr.	Joseph Wells—Ht.	Nathan Moody
Ebenezer Kellogg	Jonathan Atherton	Pelatiah Smith
John Cowls—Ht.	Solomon Boltwood	John Perry
Jonathan Cowls—Ht.	John Nash	Nathaniel Church
Zechariah Field—Ht.	Aaron Smith—Ht.	Ebenezer Williams
Samuel Boltwood	Nathaniel Smith	John Morton—Ht.
Samuel Hawley, Sr.—Ht.	Richard Chauncey	Moses Smith
Joseph Hawley.—Ht.	Charles Chauncey	

Those from Hatfield are marked Ht. Samuel Hawley, Sr. who had 3 sons, was originally from Northampton. Ebenezer Williams was from Deerfield.

[1] In 1738, these 29 inhabitants had 35 taxable polls, 49 horses, 39 oxen, 52 cows, some hogs, and 350 acres of improved land, and 6 non-residents had 43 acres of improved land. Such was Amherst 121 years ago, having only 393 acres of cleared land. Ebenezer Kellogg had 48 acres, or more than twice as much as any other person. Mr. Parsons's salary of 100 pounds was at first to be raised in this manner:—

35 polls, as in 1738, to pay 25s. 6d. each, £44.12.6
Ratable estate, £1101.11.6, to pay 1s. per pound, 55.1.7

Jonathan Atherton died in 1744, and Joseph Wells, Aaron Smith, Nathaniel Church and John Perry removed.

34 added 1739 to 1745.—N. H. stand for Northampton.

Samuel Ingram	Moses Dickinson	Rev. David Parsons
John Field—Ht.	Nathan Dickinson—Ht.	Peter Smith
David Nash	Jonathan Dickinson—Ht.	Nathaniel Kellogg
Moses Hawley—Ht.	Jonathan Smith—Ht.	Ephraim Kellogg
Moses Warner	Nehemiah Strong—N. H.	Alexander Porter
Aaron Warner	Noah Baker—N. H.	Elisha Ingram
Jonathan Nash	Charles Wright—N. H.	Phinehas Smith
Nathaniel Coleman—Ht.	Preserved Clapp—N. H.	David Smith
Jonathan Moody	Westwood Cook, Jr.	Joseph Morton—Ht.
Samuel Church	Joseph Eastman, Jr.	Daniel Smith—Ht.
Daniel Dickinson	Deac. Eleazar Mattoon	Seth Kibbe
John Dickinson		

David Nash removed to South Hadley, Phinehas Smith to Granby, and David Smith returned to Hadley. Noah Baker removed to Sunderland; he was a Baptist preacher. Joseph Morton and Seth Kibbe died. Daniel Smith was crazy.

Added to East Hadley and Amherst, 1745 to 1763.

Daniel Kellogg	Ens. Josiah Chauncey	Solomon Boltwood, Jr.
Abraham Kellogg	Isaac Goodale	William Boltwood
Ebenezer Kellogg, Jr.	Elijah Baker—N. H.	Ebenezer Mattoon
Joseph Church	Simeon Pomeroy	Simeon Clark—N. H.
Isaac Hubbard	John Keet—N. H.	John Nash, Jr.
Moses Cook	Jonathan Edwards—N. H.	Noadiah Lewis
Jacob Warner	Alexander Smith	John Ingram, 3d
Gideon Dickinson	Edward Smith	Philip Ingram
Reuben Dickinson	Pelatiah Smith, Jr.	Reuben Ingram
Joseph Dickinson	Simeon Smith	Hezekiah Belding—Ht.
Ebenezer Dickinson, Jr.	Jonathan Smith, Jr.	William Murray, Jr.
Nathan Dickinson, Jr.	David Smith	John Field, Jr.
Ebenezer Dickinson, 3d	Noah Smith	John Allis—Ht.
Simeon Dickinson	Martin Smith	John Billing—Ht.
Noah Dickinson	Eleazar Smith	Preserved Clapp, Jr.
Jonathan Dickinson, Jr.	John Petty or Pettis	David Blodget
Jonathan Dickinson	John Cowls, Jr.	Jonathan Moody, Jr.
Azariah Dickinson	Oliver Cowls	Asahel Moody
Nathaniel Dickinson	Thomas Morton	Benjamin Rhodes
Nehemiah Dickinson	Benjamin Harwood	Justus Williams
David Dickinson	Samuel Elmer	Thomas Bascom
Thomas Hastings—Ht.	Eli Colton	Gideon Henderson
Simeon Strong	James Merrick	Abner Adams

The preceding roll is not quite complete.—Simeon Pomeroy was from Southampton. Gideon Henderson had lived in Northampton and Sunderland.

The Dickinsons.—These were more numerous in Amherst than in Hadley. Six are named on the preceding page. Of the 14 on this page, Gideon, Reuben, Joseph and Ebenezer, Jr. were sons of Deac. Ebenezer D. Nathan, Jr. and Ebenezer, 3d, were sons of Nathan D. Simeon, Noah and Jonathan, Jr. were sons of Jonathan D. Jonathan, Azariah, Nathaniel and Nehemiah were sons of Deac. Samuel D. who removed from Hadley to Shutesbury. These sons left Shutesbury, and settled in Amherst; Nehemiah died in the N. E. part of Hadley. David was the son of Israel D. of Hadley. John and Moses Dickinson had sons, but they were not old enough for householders in 1763. Daniel Dickinson had no children.

Largest estates.—Amherst valuations in 1770, were sent to Boston, and the highest in pounds, omitting shillings and pence, were the following:—Solomon Boltwood £228, Moses Warner 146, Simeon Clark 145, John Billings 131, John Field 128, John Dickinson 123, Daniel Kellogg 119, Nathan Dickinson 118, Aaron Warner 112, Nathaniel Coleman 111, Moses Dickinson 108, Simeon Strong 108, Alexander Smith 104, Jonathan Cowls 102.

The Insurrection.—Many persons in Amherst were inclined to favor the Insurrection, and a few bore arms under Shays. The rising in arms is not to be justified, but there were ample causes for agitation and noise, for meetings and conventions. The attempts to force people to pay taxes and debts, who could get no money, were oppressive; suits were multiplied, and lands,

stock and other property were sacrificed on sale, and there was much distress. For several years after the close of the war, the times were gloomy and calamitous. A few lawyers and moneyed men may have prospered.

In this vicinity, most of those who opposed the revolution, and of those who encouraged the insurrection, became good citizens.

U. S. Constitution.—Amherst sent Daniel Cooley, an educated man, to the convention that met at Boston, Jan. 9, 1788, to consider the proposed U. S. Constitution, and he voted against it, as directed by the town. Benj. Eastman from Granby also voted against it, as did a majority of the delegates from Hampshire. Elisha Porter of Hadley and Noah Goodman of South Hadley voted for it.

Annexation.—Amherst sought in 1778 to have annexed to them a part of Hadley commons, adjoining Amherst on the west, and continued their efforts many years. In 1789, Silas Wright and three Dickinsons, living in Hadley on the road from Amherst to Sunderland, were joined to Amherst. In 1812, the mountain division south of Amherst was annexed. In 1814, a tract in the north-eastern part of Hadley, containing perhaps 700 or 800 acres, was annexed to Amherst.—In 1795, Amherst refused to have any part of Belchertown annexed, and recently have refused to receive a part of Pelham.

Wolves.—"Wolf-pit brook" is named in Amherst records in 1767, showing that wolves were formerly caught in pits there as in other places. In 1787, Amherst paid Isaac Hubbard 6 pounds for killing a wolf. Amherst had not been troubled with wolves for many years.

School dames.—Females taught private schools, but were not often employed and paid by towns, previous to the revolution. They were commonly married women or elderly maids, and rarely young women, and they taught in their own rooms. Amherst hired school dames to teach children to read, and perhaps girls to sew, in 1749 and 1752. The late John Dickinson, born in 1757, said that females seldom taught a public school in Amherst when he was a young man. Their wages must have been small. Farmers often taught English schools in the winter in Northampton, a century ago, at from 4 to 5 dollars a month, and boarded themselves at home. Farmers' board, when paid for, was about 3s. 4d. a week.

Militia company.—This was organized after 1740 and the first officers were Jonathan Smith, Lieutenant, and Ebenezer Kellogg, Ensign. Jonathan Smith was the first Captain at East Hadley about 1749, and Ebenezer Kellogg then became Lieutenant.

Slaves.—Three owners of slaves in Amherst in 1771 are named on page 385. There were other slaveholders, some years before. Zechariah Field had a slave, who was valued at 130 pounds, (about 140 dollars) in 1738. Ebenezer Kellogg had slaves. Richard Chauncey, John Ingram, Sr. and Daniel Kellogg had each a negro, probably a slave.

Amherst was a district in August, 1775, and a town in January, 1776. The date of its incorporation as a town is not known.

The population of Amherst exceeded that of Hadley in 1756 or 1758, but not so early, I think, as 1753, as stated on 385th page.

Correction of a remark on 415th page, under "Flat Hills."—The land records show the lands north of Mill river were distributed in the 3d Division of the Inner Commons of Hadley.

The Famous Old Town Street

CHAPTER XXXVI

Hadley Broad Street—Wearing of the banks by the river—New North Lane—Injury to Hadley by the river—Floods—Middle Street—Side Walks—Shade Trees—Inhabitants in 1770—North Hadley—Trees of Hadley—Mount Holyoke—Logs and Boards—Fences—Clearing Land.

THE spacious street of Hadley is one of the most pleasant and handsome country streets in New England.* Most of the natural irregularities of the surface have been removed, and no permanent obstructions or deformities have been added. The width, at first 20 rods, has been diminished a little, and in 1791, was 16 rods wanting 3 links at the north end, and 17 rods and 11 links at the south end; and the course of the sides was from one to two degrees east of north or west of south. The street, now so level, had in the last century many knolls, ridges and hollows, and some ponds and puddles where the geese sported. The first meeting house which stood opposite the original homelot of John Dickinson, was on an elevation,† which some judged to be 8 feet high; the ascent was steep from the north but very gradual from the south: North of this ridge was a goose-pond in which water stood almost all the year, and which was sometimes offensive in hot weather. The hill was removed into the hollow and elsewhere, mostly since 1800. There was another similar pond near the west side of the street, against a part of the old houselots of John Webster and William Goodwin, which was sometimes crossed by a foot bridge. In the lower and eastern part of the street was

*John Adams was in Wethersfield in 1771, and a gentleman told him, "there was not another such street as this at Wethersfield in America, excepting one at Hadley." Diary of John Adams.

The greatest number of people that were ever in Hadley street, assembled in it Sept. 28, 1808, Major General Mattoon having ordered all the militia of Old Hampshire to parade there, viz., 10 regiments of infantry, 2 battallions of cavalry and two battallions of artillery. Many people thought it was wrong to subject the soldiers of distant towns to so much fatigue and expense.

†In the early part of the revolution, a liberty pole was erected on this hill. The bottom was dug up many years after, and was of yellow pine.

There were ridges and other rises in the homelots, and some of the early houses were built on these, from 8 to 12 rods from the street, the front being too wet. When the late Col. Moses Porter, born in 1768, was young, the house of Lt. Philip Smith, in which he was supposed to be bewitched by Mary Webster in 1685, was standing on a ridge, some distance from the street. Some ridges extended obliquely from the lots into the street; and this in Philip Smith's lot crossed a part of the Montague lot and was connected with the meeting house hill. Boys slid down hill on it in the street, and loads were sometimes set in ascending it in the road.

a long and deep gulley, in which water flowed in rains and thaws, and into which the water of the river set back in freshets. The town long maintained a cart bridge over this ravine; one was built in 1747, and another "18 feet in breadth" in 1770. It is now nearly filled with earth.

Wearing of the street, &c. by the river.—The west side of the street, from the river on the south to the river on the north, was at first about a mile or 320 rods. The east side, from the south highway into the woods to the river on the north, was not far from 340 rods. The west side may have lost in 200 years 30 rods in length at the north end, and has gained 50 rods in the meadow at the south end. The east line may have lost at the north end between 40 and 45 rods in length.* At the south end of the east side, the river carried away the west part of the south highway, and of the houselot south of it, a part of the west end of the house-lot north of it, and the highway leading from the lower end of the street to Fort meadow. Since the river has been receding, in about 60 years, a meadow 50 rods in width or more has been formed at the lower end of the street.

The wearing of the bank commenced at the south end, and is first noticed in the records, June, 1689, when the water had worn away the west end of the south road, and a part of Nehemiah Dickinson's homelot north of it. Dickinson agreed to let the public cross his lot for a time, if the town would help him move his barn. The greatest flood in the river previous to the Jefferson flood of 1801, began Feb. 24, 1692, and did great damage. The county and town appointed men to secure a highway, and a road was laid on the lower side of Thomas Hovey's lot as far east as the palisade, and it then turned south and crossed Nehemiah Dickinson's lot to the old road, taking 49 rods of land from Hovey and 50 from Dickinson. This zigzag road was a part of the road to Boston until some time in the present century, when the road was turned to the south side of the buildings. The first direct notice of the wearing of the bank at the north end was in May, 1730, when the town voted "to do something to preserve the bank from wearing," and chose a committee to call out every

*On the west side at the north end, near half of the front of the homelot of Chileab Smith remains. (See page 24.) On the east side, a narrow strip is gone from the north side of the western part of Thomas Coleman's lot; and all the western part of William Partrigg's lot, but not the eastern end. Adam Nichols's three cornered lot came to a point westerly, and added very little to the length of the west side of the street. The shape of this lot is not correct on page 24. In 1738, there were 13 acres of land between Partrigg's lot and the river.

man to work one day at the bank, and be paid for it. In 1734, the selectmen were to do what was needful to prevent the wearing of the bank.

New North Lane.—The river having worn off the whole of the north highway in some places, and Hadley having applied to the county court, Benjamin Sheldon, Deputy Sheriff, was sent with a jury to lay a new North Lane, in May, 1737. They began about 25 rods south of the bank of the river, at the front of the lot formerly Thomas Coleman's, and laid a road two rods wide near the middle of the lot to the Back street, and laid the latter 20 rods wide northerly to the old country road. This lane remains; the western part is only 3 or 4 rods from the top of the bank of the river.

The town passed many votes in the last and present century, "to prevent the river from wearing the bank" at the north end of the village: they built wharves of stone and timber, and retarded the progress of the wearing off, but did not stop it. In 1801, they began to defend the bank against Fort meadow. In 1846, 2750 dollars granted by the legislature, and as much more raised by the town and individuals, were expended in defending the north bank, and the wearing was arrested.

The river has made extensive inroads above Northampton bridge, upon the western and northern sides of the Great meadow; also upon the uplands above and below Hadley village, opposite Hatfield and Northampton meadows, and at Fort meadow. The roads have been removed eastward several times. At Hockanum meadow, the river wore through the neck of the peninsula, Feb. 25, 1840, and the island that was cut off has been annexed to Northampton. Hadley has lost much land by the river, and has gained some south of Aquavitæ meadow, of the west homelots and of the street, and elsewhere.

Floods.—There have been many heavy floods in the river besides the great ones of 1692 and 1801. The lower half of the west street has been mostly covered with water several times in the present century. The flood of April 30 and May 1, 1854, was judged to be a few inches higher in Northampton and Hadley than the Jefferson flood of 1801.* The water at the north end of

*In this flood of 1801, March 20 or 21, a large company from Northampton, in a river boat and a fishing boat, rowed from Pleasant street across the meadows and river into Hadley street. One boat stopped at Warner's tavern, and the other was rowed up the street almost half a mile, to the bar-room door of Cook's tavern, the second house below Russell street, and the rope was at first fastened to his bar-room table. After having a merry time, one boat was drawn by oxen to the river at the north end, where the men embarked for Northampton; those in the other boat returned as they went over.

Hadley street and farther east, was in some places about as high as the bank, and a dike was raised to prevent its overflowing.

Middle Street.—This, formerly named Back Street, is a fine, commodious street. It was at first 20 rods wide, but was narrowed in 1773, the town selling at £4 per acre, the west side of the street to the owners of the adjoining houselots, most of which extended from the west street to the west side of this street, on the top of the bank. There was then no house on the west side below the north lane.

Side Walks.—Conveniences for foot passengers were not provided in our country villages until the present century. Those who walked went where they could find a place, often in the same paths with the horses and cattle. In the broad and narrow streets of Hadley, no place was appropriated for foot paths. Those on foot sometimes found in their way when it was not winter, a steep bank, a gutter, a puddle, a muddy or splashy place, or a pound. The middle street was covered with bushes, and descents in highways were gullies. The geese were however the greatest annoyance in the street.*

Shade Trees.—A few elms were set out in these villages 130 years ago or more, but people in general neglected ornamental trees until the present century. There were some large elms and yellow willows and a few smaller butternuts and button woods, in the west street of Hadley, 60 or 70 years ago. After 1800, Lombardy poplars were brought in, but were disliked in a few years and cut down. The beauty of the sugar maple was disregarded in all our villages until after 1800; there were but few in 1810. Now they are in all streets, and some red maples are seen. The present shade trees of Hadley are principally elms and maples; there are some ash trees, buttonwoods, evergreens, &c.

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*In Northampton, there were no side walks in the last century, and the streets were more obstructed than those of Hadley with piles of wood, boards and rubbish. Some of their stables were next to the street, and in the winter, manure was thrown from them into piles where the side walks now are, and remained until spring. The travelled way down their hills was a gully, as in other towns.—A man in Hadley says huge piles of manure were thrown from the stables of Oliver Smith, and lay in the street of Hatfield, opposite the meeting house.

INHABITANTS OF HADLEY IN 1770,

and the parts of the village and town in which they resided; and their polls and valuations. From a valuation made in 1770, and sent to Boston.

West side of Main Street, beginning at the South end.

	Polls.	Estate.
John Kellogg,	1	£174. 4s.
Timothy Stockwell,	2	19. 0
Oliver Smith,	2	177. 7
Wid. Sarah Eastman,		45.10
Mr. John Chester Williams,	1	64. 0
Benjamin Eddy,	1	
Hezekiah Gaylord,	1	21.10
Timothy Eastman,	1	82. 0
Josiah Dickinson,	2	110. 5
John Dickinson,	1	42. 0
Joshua Ballard,	1	
Daniel Noble's wife,		10. 0
Joseph Smith,	2	69. 0
John Smith, 1st,	1	29.11
Ebenezer Marsh, Jr.	2	116. 7
And for his aged father, &c,		34. 0
Mr. Jonathan Smith,	3	151.13
Oliver Warner,	3	140.16
Orange Warner,	1	124. 6
Nathan Goodman,	1	92.10
Aaron Cook, 3d,	1	27. 0
John Cook,	2	134. 6

Above the Middle Highway.

Enos Nash,	2	118. 5
Jonathan Ingram,	1	82.16
Noah Smith,	1	118. 1
Azariah Dickinson,	1	115. 6
Aaron Cook, 2d,	2	61. 3
William Cook,	1	35. 8
Samuel Cook,	1	54.16
Noah Cook,	1	168. 3
Windsor Smith,	2	100.12
Joseph Wright,	2	8.10

East side of Main Street, beginning at the north end.

Francis Newton,	1	29. 8
Warham Smith,	1	120.14
Hezekiah Hubbard,	3	91. 0
James Meacham,	1	38. 4
Nathaniel Montague,	1	75.18
John Montague,	2	119. 0
Eliakim Smith,	3	94.18
Eleazar Porter,	1	266. 5
Elisha Porter,	1	168. 4
Joshua Boston,	1	
Edmund Hubbard,	1	138. 1s.
Wid. Ruth Hubbard,		38.16
Rev. Samuel Hopkins.		
Samuel Gaylord, Jr.	2	45.10
Samuel Gaylord,	1	99. 4

Below the Middle Highway.

	Polls.	Estate.
Ens. Elisha Cook,	3	£127. 6
Capt. Moses Marsh,	2	135.16
Wid. Phebe Marsh,		25.18
Samuel Marsh,	1	
Daniel Marsh,	1	69. 9
Ebenezer White,	1	60. 3
John Eastman,	1	125. 0
Benjamin Colt,	4	197.10
Jonathan Hall,	1	12. 0
Phinehas Lyman,	3	77. 4
Lt. Jonathan Cook,	2	169. 6
Deac. David Smith,	1	106. 8
Jonathan Warner,	3	239.16

Back Street, beginning at the North end.

Francis Trainer,	1	10.10
John Clark, Jr.	1	3.18
Tom Appe,	1	0. 8

On the east side.

Thomas Smith,	1	35. 8
Nehemiah Gaylord,	2	49. 3
Nehemiah Gaylord, Jr.	1	49.11
Gardner Kellogg,	1	105. 0
Moses Kellogg,	1	99.14
William White,	2	78. 0
Daniel White,	1	44. 5
Doct. Giles C. Kellogg,	2	191.10
Samuel Sheldon,	1	2. 0

Below the middle Highway.

Mr. Josiah Pierce,	2	51.11
Josiah Pierce, Jr.	1	
Simeon Rood,	1	20.10
Asa Wood,	1	14.18
Thomas Selden,	1	9. 8
Jabez Selden,	1	1.10
Ralph Way,	1	48.14
Ralph Way, Jr.	1	
Hammon Way,	1	
Oliver White,	1	42.12

Residence uncertain.

Oliver Bartlett,	1	
Gideon Warner,	1	2.18
Colman Cook,	1	2. 0

On or near the Boston Road.

Dan West,	1	28. 0
Enos Smith,	1	52. 0
Gideon Smith,	1	21. 5

	Polls.	Estate.
Elisha Smith, 1st,	1	30. 6
Stephen Goodman,	1	95. 7
Nathaniel White,	1	41. 7
At Hockanum.		
Capt. John Lyman,	1	55. 6
Caleb Lyman,	1	76.13
Gideon Lyman, of N. H.	1	103. 6
Israel Lyman,	1	33.19
Azariah Lyman,	1	18. 0
Luke Lyman's Guardian,		3. 0
John Wright's wife,		9. 0
Ebenezer Pomeroy, Jr.	2	115. 7
Wid. of Stephen Pomeroy,		41.11
Stephen Coats,	1	
Charles Coats,	1	
Joseph Coats,	1	

At 40 Acres, Upper Mills and School Meadows.

	Polls.	Estate.
Charles Phelps,	1	250. 0
John Acres,	1	43. 2
Timothy Hammond,	1	1.10
Daniel Leonard,	1	
Daniel Worthington,	1	2. 0
Joseph Alexander,	2	8. 4
Benjamin Smith,	3	101.10
Faxon Dean,	2	18. 0
Caleb Bartlett,	2	52. 3
Elisha Smith, 2d,	1	1.10
Elisha Smith, 3d,	1	7.13
John Smith, 2d,	1	3.13
Wid. and Aaron Goodrich,	1	18.10
In N. E. part of Hadley now Amherst.		
Samuel Wright,	1	70. 0

The following names appear with one poll and no estate; they did not become permanent inhabitants; Beriah Smith, John Hulet, Isaac Clark, Thomas Elwell, Edward Rice, John Harkness, Jonathan Dickinson, Isaac Blanchard, Joseph Hubbard.

The names of a number of non-resident proprietors are in the valuation, most of whom lived in Amherst.

The largest estates in 1770 were those of Eleazar Porter, Charles Phelps, Jonathan Warner, Benjamin Colt, Doct. Kellogg, Oliver Smith, John Kellogg, Jonathan Cook, Elisha Porter, Noah Cook, Jonathan Smith.

Hadley in 1770.—The progress of the town was slow. There may have been in 1770 about 108 or 110 families and 600 inhabitants. Only a small portion of the 13,000 acres of inner commons, distributed long before, had been cleared, and not more than 6 or 8 houses had been built on the commons. Some of these were at North Hadley. A few men began to build on the Boston road about this time.* There were no inhabitants at Plainville, nor further south in the eastern part of Hadley, nor on the Sunderland road north of Caleb Bartlett, nor between Charles Phelps and the Back Street. Samuel Wright† from Northampton had settled in the northeastern part of Hadley, where his son Silas, and his grandson Silas, the late senator and governor of New York, were born.‡

*Lt. Enos Smith erected the house, in which his son Deac. Sylvester S. now lives, and finished one room in 1770. Most of the region around was covered with small pitch pines, as were many other tracts, and people told him that he could not get a living there. There was no house between his and Back street. Gideon Smith had a house northeast of him, Stephen Goodman had built a house a little beyond the mill, and Nathaniel White farther east, where he long kept a tavern. There was a house near the mill for the miller.

†Samuel Wright is said to have been a Baptist exhorter. Many of these early Baptists were in the habit of exhorting, and did not lack words. I once asked a Northampton nephew of Noah Baker, a Baptist, if he ever heard his uncle preach. "Preach!" said he: "you could not hear him talk five minutes without hearing him preach."

‡The first Silas was annexed to Amherst in 1789, before his son Silas was born.

North Hadley.—This thriving village is mainly the growth of the present century. In the latter part of the 17th century, on the lower part of Mill river, were a grist-mill belonging to the school, and a saw-mill, and at no great distance were the School meadows adjoining the Connecticut, and smaller intervals above and below. Men took care of the mills and cultivated the lands, and it is remarkable that the Indians never harmed them after burning the grist-mill in 1677. Sergt. Joseph Smith, the cooper, miller, sealer, &c. began to have the care of the grist-mill in 1687, (see page 40,) and he hired a part of the school land many years. He or his sons tended the mill most of the time during the Indian wars, and until his death. It does not appear that his family resided at Mill river, or that he, or his sons, or other tenants of the school farm, usually spent the night there, previous to the peace with the Indians in 1726. The house over the mill had a room with a chimney, and this was apparently the only house for a long period. There was a barn in 1716. Two tenants who had taken the school farm for 21 years appear to have built each a small house and barn after 1726, the school committee engaging to pay the value of the buildings when the lease expired. Joseph Smith and his son Benjamin built a house also, and three families resided at Mill river in 1731. Joseph Smith died in 1733, and his son Benjamin, who had a good estate, died in 1780. The latter, having no children, adopted Benjamin Smith, a grandson of his brother John. This Benjamin had three sons, Caleb, Erastus and Benjamin.

The names of those who lived near Mill river in 1770 are on page 424. The residence of Charles Phelps was some distance south, and he did not belong to the hamlet. Two or three of those named may have been his hired men or tenants. Caleb Bartlett came from Amherst in 1755, and had the care of the farm of the widow of Capt. Moses Porter a few years. He afterwards built the house which is still standing, a little north of that of Deac. Jason Stockbridge. Faxon Dean came in 1765, and tended the mill many years. Joseph Alexander seems to have lived south of Mill river. David Stockbridge, an enterprising man, came in 1779, and lived in the house of his father-in-law, Caleb Bartlett. George Hibbard and sons came from Windham, about 1780. Before 1790, John Russell, Daniel Russel and William Montague had settled on the Sunderland road. In 1790, 20 men were taxed who lived north of Charles Phelps, and in 1800, about the same number. Oliver Dickinson lived in Hadley, on the road from Amherst to Sunderland, and kept a tavern there in 1783 and

many years after. Josiah Nash and Nehemiah Gaylord, Jr. were at Partrigg's swamp, now Plainville, in 1790.

Deac. Jason Stockbridge, born in 1780, in the house built by Caleb Bartlett, informed me that when he was young, some land on the pine plains in that vicinity was sold at one, two and three dollars an acre, and some for half the first crop. There were but few large trees, and on the ground was much fat candlewood,—the heart, knots and roots of old trees. They made log fences of pine trees, and when the logs rotted, there was a new crop of candlewood. Some pines had marks of the old boxes cut in them.

The School meadows contained 90 acres of tillage land and 32 acres of mowing in 1770, according to the return of the assessors. This land was leased from 1778 to 1784, at 34 pounds a year, payable in wheat at 4s. rye 3s. corn 2s. oats 1s. 4d. &c. This was about 5s. 6d. per acre.

Trees of Hadley.—There is no reason to suppose that there is any tree growing in Hadley that is 200 years old. I have visited several peaks and elevations of Holyoke, where no tree had ever been felled by the axe, but the trees were not apparently very old. The largest trees cut in Hadley within 50 years were chestnuts and white pines. The tallest were white pines. Very few if any exceeded four feet in diameter, and not many were more than three feet. The sorts of trees that grew in Hadley two centuries ago cannot be certainly known, but it may be concluded that the same species of trees may still be found there, though in different proportions. Evergreens must always have been predominant in a large portion of Hadley, exclusive of mountains and intervals.

Trees of Hadley north of Holyoke.—Fifteen and ten years ago,* the trees that were the most numerous and covered the most land, were white and other oaks, yellow or pitch pine, white pine and maples, chiefly red. Trees less plenty were chestnut, shagbark and other walnut, birch of four species, hemlock, butternut, bass, ash, elm, buttonwood, poplar, ironwood, wildcherry, willow, hornbeam, pepperidge, beech, sassafras, nettle tree, hackmatack, spruce, red cedar, dogwood, alder, shad bush or tree, viburnum, sumach, thorn bush or tree, witch hazel, &c.

The oaks were extensively distributed in Hadley, and many were stately trees. Besides two species of shrub oak, there are seven species of oak in Hadley, named white, red, black or yellow, scarlet, swamp white, rock chestnut and pin. I have seen the pin oak, (quercus palustris,) only on the banks of Fort river, and the rock oak only on a ridge of Holyoke.

*My remarks about trees in Hadley refer to examinations made from 1845 to 1850. I spent many days in those years in rambling over mountains and low-lands, in Hadley and elsewhere, partly to improve health. Forests were then fast falling before the axe, and the work of destruction has since gone on rapidly.

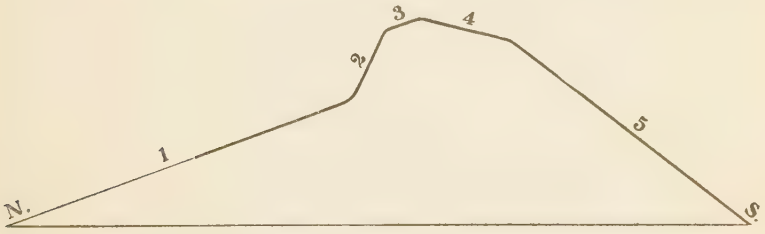
Botanists make but one species of the tall yellow pine and the shorter pitch pine. The pitch pine commonly grows on more dry and sandy land than the white pine, but the two species are mingled in many places.—The red maple grows on low, moist ground, and it occurs on the rocky summits of Holyoke. It crimsons many spots in Hadley in April. Ink was formerly made of the bark, and I have used such ink when a school boy. The white maple grows only near streams.—The chestnut grows on but a small part of Hadley, besides the mountains Holyoke and Warner, where it is with the oak.

Beech trees are not common in Hadley. In 1846, there were in Fort River Valley, above Spruce Hill, two wide spreading beeches, the handsomest that I ever saw. Some of the Amherst students had cut their initials in the smooth bark. Perhaps they were reminded of the "patulæ fagi," in the first line of Virgil's Eclogues. On this tract of land were fine sugar maples, and iron-wood trees from 12 to 15 inches in diameter. It was a pleasant valley in 1846.

I have seen the nettle tree, (celtis occidentalis,) on the bank of the Connecticut, below the mouth of Mill river. There was a small tree on the summit of Holyoke, a few rods N. E. of the house.—I never saw the tulip tree in Hadley.—The poison sumach is rare in Hadley. It is sometimes named dogwood. The common dogwoods of the cornus tribe are not poisonous.—The shad bush continues to blossom about the time shad come up the river.

The large river poplar of the intervals, (populus lævigata,) is different from the large poplar on the mountain, (populus grandidentata.) In 1783, a Hadley shoemaker bought of Oliver Smith a log of the latter for 5 shillings, to make heels for women's shoes.

A PERPENDICULAR SECTION OF MOUNT HOLYOKE, FROM NORTH TO SOUTH.



This figure is intended to represent the shape of the mountain from side to side, in a cross direction, with its slopes both gentle and steep, between the deep valleys called cracks. The slopes are numbered, and the species of trees, that are the most numerous on each, are given. Other trees are intermingled. The mountain has many irregularities and the form varies, but in general there is some resemblance to these outlines. The higher part of the mountain is greenstone, resting on sandstone.

No. 1. This long and gradual slope on the north side is the chestnut region with many oaks. There are other trees, but most are chestnuts and oaks. Few chestnuts are found above this ascent; they are rarely seen on greenstone rocks. There are many clearings on this slope. The soil in many places seems not very fertile. There are very few rocks. Hollows extend across the chestnut region, and small streams run in some of them.

No. 2. This steep part is irregularly and variously inclined, and in some places presents a mural or perpendicular face or front, and the angular fragments of greenstone which

have fallen from above, slope up against it, and form high heaps. Above the chestnuts, among the fragments, are birches and oaks, and they grow on the higher parts of the steep and on the brow.

No. 3, is the brow of the mountain, and is usually covered mostly with evergreens, viz., hemlocks and white pines, which extend down upon slope No. 2. Birches and oaks are mingled with these evergreens, on both slopes.

No. 4, is the top rock of the mountain, and walnuts, oaks and red cedars grow on it, many of them stunted. The trees on the rocky summits are neither large nor tall.

No. 5. The trees on this rocky descent are chiefly walnuts and oaks. There are other kinds of trees, which increase on the lower part.

The cross valleys of the mountain between the top peaks or ridges, when not deep, have their precipices, piles of greenstone fragments, and evergreen brows. There are two deep valleys across the mountain, formerly called cracks and notches, one about half a mile northeast of the mountain house, and the other near three miles east of this, where is the road between Amherst and South Hadley and Granby. Between these cracks, more than half way from the western one, is the "Low Place" of the old records, where men and animals, hunters and their game, used to cross the mountain, as well as through the cracks. This low summit is of some extent and there is a good team-road to it on the Hadley side, partly on a chestnut hill near the mountain. There are two such hills. There are nine distinct peaks or elevations between the western crack and the low place. The highest part of the mountain was the boundary between towns.

Trees on Mount Holyoke.*—Those most plenty are the oak, walnut, chestnut, birch and hemlock. The walnut is more abundant than any other tree on much of the rocky top and southern descent. The hemlock and white pine are in the steep places, and are scattered elsewhere, and there is some yellow pine. The Norway pine grows on Mount Tom, but not on Holyoke. In the winter, one might imagine that a large part of the forest on Holyoke was composed of evergreens. Other trees are sugar and red maple, ash, bass, butternut, iron-wood, poplar, red cedar, wild cherry, beech, sassafras, flowering dogwood and other species, striped or moose maple, spiked maple, witch hazel, sumach, shad-bush, &c. A few of the mountain ash grow in crevices of the rocks.

Many shrubs, herbs and flowers are on the mountain, for whose names I have not room. Some of these flourish on the high, greenstone summits, where flowers "waste their fragrance in the desert air." Usually all is silent in these elevated solitudes; rarely

*"Thanks be to God for mountains! There is a powerful charm connected with mountains." "What can be more beautiful than trees?"—Howitt.

a chicadee, or squirrel, or distant crow is heard. Sometimes a butterfly shows its gay or dusky wings. Birds sing on the lower part of the mountain, and there katadids repeat the notes of their taborets, in the daytime. In my rambles on the mountain, I never saw a rattlesnake. On many tops, "the aged oak, ne'er echoed with the woodman's stroke," and no mark of the axe is seen; on others and on lower heights, the axe has been freely used, and the wood and timber have been cast or thrust down, the precipice, No. 2, to places where teams could come. Teams have conveyed much wood from the "Low place." Sprouts spring up abundantly from the stumps of deciduous trees on the rocky parts of the mountain, not from those of evergreens. There are pleasant paths in the woods in the chestnut region.

It is interesting in the spring to notice at some distance, the frequent changes of color, in the woods of Holyoke. After the buds begin to swell, before green leaves appear, the trees exhibit hues of brown, grey, silvery, leaden, purplish, reddish-brown, &c. The hues are much affected by the position of the sun. They continue after some leaves are visible. To an observer who is north or northwest of the mountain, the birches first show green leaves, between April 28 and May 12; and their green, very different from the darker color of the evergreens, rises in two or three days from the broken greenstone, to the rocky steep above and to the brow. The hard maple, in lower places, is in leaf soon after the birch, and in a few days, some species of oak, and the chestnut. The white oak is a little later. The north side of the mountain becomes mostly green, before the walnuts and oaks on the south side put forth leaves.

Autumnal colors.—These gorgeous colors on the mountain do not differ much from those on the lowland. Trees and shrubs exhibit crimson, scarlet, purple, russet, yellow, orange, buff, brown, &c. mingled with green, in September and October. Perhaps the brighter colors are as fully displayed between Sept. 25 and Oct. 10, as at any time. Many oaks are later. The colors do not depend on frost, though affected by it. When leaves have become yellow, red or brown, they begin to fall. The sumach is one of the first to turn red. The butternut is almost the first to shed its leaves, and the oak is nearly the last. The autumnal foliage of the elm has no beauty.

Ascending Mount Holyoke.—That part of the mountain, which has been commonly ascended to view the prospect, from time immemorial, extends southwesterly from the western crack, and not in the direction of the range east of that opening. The summit for

sight-seeing has not been far from the present mountain-house. The crack is the northern part of a valley, which continues down on the back side of this ridge, and which may be entered by teams from the north and south. The ascent to the frequented eminence is gradual from the back side, but very steep in front, towards Northampton, and previous to about 1822, almost all who visited the mountain, went up from the crack-valley.

I have seen no description of the prospect from this summit, that was printed in the last century.* Doct. Douglass of Boston ascended the mountain about 1743, and noticed the fact in his History, but said not a word about any thing that he saw. Paul Coffin, a graduate of Harvard in 1759, visited the mountain with others, July 29, 1760. He said in his Journal,—"we rode half way up, and then walked to the summit." He noticed some mountains, and the villages of Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield. He was delighted, especially with the crops on the intervals, which "looked like a beautiful garden."† Timothy Dwight, afterwards President D. was a lover of nature and ascended the mountain many times. It was not a place of much resort in the last century, nor in the early part of the present. The first building was erected June 17, 1821, by men from Northampton and Hadley. They had a jovial day, and E. H. Mills, Esq. gave an address. The first way up the steep front, on the northwest side, was made a year or two after, partly in the form of steps. After this passage was made, the number that climbed the mountain was greatly increased, though a less number went up on the back side. A better path was made farther south in 1845. In 1854, stairs were made up the steep ascent, and on each side planks were fastened on which the wheels of a car could run, and a car has since been drawn up and let down on this railway, by horse or steam power. A convenient house was built in 1851, and John W. French, the proprietor, has passed some winters on this summit.

Logs and Boards.—Most of the logs sawed in Hadley since the first saw-mill was built, have been pine and oak, and the pine have vastly exceeded the oak.‡ From 70 to 100 years ago, yellow

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*President Dwight's description of the landscape was published in his Travels in 1821. President Hitchcock's first description was published in his small Geology, in 1823.

†Rev. Paul Coffin's short account was printed in the Historical and Genealogical Register in 1855. He found on the mountain in 1760, strawberries in plenty, and the feathers of wild turkeys. He says the prospect was surprisingly beautiful, when one stooped down and looked backwards. A singular posture.

‡In the first grant of timber to saw at a saw-mill in Hadley, in 1662, pine and oak are named, and there is no allusion to any other.

and pitch pine logs were much more plenty than white pine, and other species of oak more common than white oak. Some trees of other kinds were sawed. The price of sawing boards was from 12s. to 13s. 4d. per thousand feet; more was charged for sawing old plank and slitwork. Ordinary pine boards were sold from 26s. 8d. to 32s. per thousand.* The best clear boards from the river, or from logs that came down the river, were worth about double those prices. Some Hadley pine logs were sold at the rate of 1s. to 1s. 6d. per hundred, for the boards they made. Slabs were from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per load. Not many chestnuts and hemlocks were sawed in Hadley in the last century. From 45 to 50 years ago, common pine boards were worth from 7 to 10 dollars per thousand, and clear boards from river pine, 15 or 16 dollars.

For 30 or 40 years after 1800, yellow and pitch pine logs were the most abundant, though there was an increase of white pine, white oak, chestnut and hemlock.† A great number of logs of river pine were sawed at two Hadley mills. Sometimes a whole raft was purchased for the North Hadley mill. A few logs of birch, maple, butternut, buttonwood, bass, ash, poplar and walnut were sawed, and plank have been sawed from the toughest of all trees, the pepperidge. The prices of sawing for many years was $2.50 per thousand, and more recently 3 dollars. The circular saw, which has been used in sawmills a few years, saws small trees, and greater havoc is made in the forests than before.

Fences.‡—The people of Hadley fenced the common fields, school meadow and homelots, and for a century not many other lots. The fences were chiefly of two sorts, (see page 33.) 1st, a fence was made of 5 rails with posts, about 4 feet high. 2d, a sufficient ditch was dug, (perhaps some were 3 feet wide and more than 2 feet deep,) and the earth was thrown upon one bank, and

*The price of boards about 1700, reduced to money, did not differ much from that of 1770. The charge for sawing was higher in 1700. See page 101. In 1726, the town granted a saw-mill at Mill river falls, on condition that the owners should saw logs at the halves.

†I examined the logs at three saw-mills in Hadley, in April, 1846. White pine logs were the most numerous; many of yellow pine, chestnut and oak, and some of hemlock, maple, &c.

‡John Pynchon had four kinds of fence at Springfield and Suffield in the 17th century. The greater part was made of posts and five rails; other kinds were made of pales, of a ditch and dead hedge, and of a dead hedge alone. His rails, posts and pales were of white oak, and some of chestnut. His rails were 11½ feet long and posts 6 or 6½ feet. Carting rails from the woods in Springfield cost 4 or 5 shillings per hundred. Some of his ditches exceeded 4 feet in width and 3 feet in depth, with a dead hedge on the bank. Dead hedges were made by setting stakes in the ground 2 or 3 feet apart, and interweaving bushes, limbs and young trees. These wattled fences were very different from common brush fences.

a line of posts with 2 or 3 rails was set upon this bank. This fence, from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the rails, may have been near 6 feet high. It is believed that oak and chestnut posts and rails were used; and probably some rails were pine. A few made stone wall for common fence, getting stones from Mount Holyoke and Mount Warner; and in 1747, a complaint was made that fence viewers passed brush hedge for common fence. Some private lots were fenced with logs in the last century. The post and rail fence continues. The ditch fence was used many years after 1800, and some had brush fence.

Rails in the 17th century, were about 10 shillings per hundred. Very few were sold in Hadley. The carting was expensive; the trees grew on the commons and cost nothing. Rails rose to 12s. 14s. 16s. and 18s. before 1790. Posts with holes, rose from 3d. to 4d. and 5d. Men made good 5 rail fence about the school lot and found posts and rails, for 2s. 6d. a rod, or 1s. 8d. as money, in 1683 and 1699.* Ditches were dug in the last century at 8 pence per rod, when labor was 2s. a day. Three rods were a day's work.

The crooked Virginia fence was observed by Kalm in Pennsylvania and New York in 1749, and called worm fence. It was made in some towns in New England where rails were plenty not long after that date. It was not very extensive in Hadley in the last century; has been more used since. The rails are of chestnut.

Clearing Land.—The farmers of New England and other colonies long believed that a crop could not be raised on new land until it was plowed or broken up. To fit it for plowing, they stubbed, that is, grubbed up the roots of small trees and shrubs. These things are noticed by several writers. John Pynchon has recorded many agreements made with men, "to stub, clear and plow" new land at Springfield and Suffield, between 1668 and 1680. They were to girdle large trees, cut down and clear off smaller trees, and grub up the roots of little trees and bushes. He paid for stubbing, clearing and plowing, from 33 to 53 shillings an acre. It is not known how long it was before the people of this Norwottuck valley found out that a crop of corn or wheat could be raised among the stumps, without grubbing and plowing.

*About 1708, a fence of pales was built on a part of the School lot. There was doubtless other pale fence in Hadley. It was similar to a rough fence of stout pickets. The lower ends of the pales were sometimes set in the ground.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX TO ORIGINAL EDITION

FIRST RELIGIOUS SOCIETY.

Fifth Pastor.—Rev. John Woodbridge, D. D., born Dec. 2, 1784, a native of Southampton, and a graduate of Williams College in 1804, was ordained as colleague of Dr. Hopkins June 20, 1810, and remained pastor of the church until Sept. 15, 1830, when he was dismissed to take charge of the Bowery Presbyterian church in New York city. During Dr. W's ministry, the church enjoyed several revivals. The most remarkable occurred in 1816. It is still spoken of as "the great revival." During that year, 187 persons were received into the church.

Rev. John Brown, D. D., the sixth pastor, was born 1786, in Brooklyn, Ct., graduated at Dartmouth College in 1809, and before coming here was settled first at Cazenovia, N. Y., and then over the Pine Street church in Boston. He was installed over this church March 2, 1831, and retained the pastoral relation until his death, March 22, 1839.

Rev. Francis Danforth, the seventh pastor, was born 1793, in Hillsborough, N. H., graduated at Dartmouth College, 1819, at Andover Theological Seminary in 1822, was ordained July 11, 1823, over the Congregational church at Greenfield, N. H., and dismissed April, 1831. His second pastorate was at Winchester, N. H. where he was installed Aug. 18, 1831, and whence he was dismissed Nov. 26, 1839. He was installed here Dec. 11, 1839, and dismissed Feb. 2, 1842. He afterwards preached for a time in the western part of Massachusetts, and then removed to Clarence, N. Y., and d. Jan. 29, 1844, while pastor of the Presbyterian church in that place. During the period of his ministry, the house of worship erected in 1806, was removed from its location in the middle of the West street, a quarter of a mile eastward to Middle street.

Rev. Benjamin Nicholas Martin, a graduate of Yale College in 1837, succeeded Mr. Danforth, as the eighth pastor. He was ordained Jan. 19, 1843, and dismissed June 9, 1847. He is now Professor of Rhetoric and Intellectual Philosophy in the University of the City of New York.

Rev. Rowland Ayres, the ninth and present pastor, a native of Granby, graduated at Amherst College in 1841, and was ordained Jan. 12, 1848.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY AT NORTH HADLEY.

The above Society was organized Oct. 26, 1831, with 24 members. Its house of worship is located between three and four miles from that of the First Church, to which its members had previously belonged. Rev. Samuel M. Worcester, D. D., of Salem, then Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Amherst College, became the first supply, and preached in a hall fitted up for that purpose. Rev. Philip Payson succeeded Dr. Worcester, and preached about three years. The meeting house was built and dedicated in 1834. The first settled pastor was Rev. Ebenezer Brown, a native of Brimfield and a graduate of Yale College in 1813. He had been from Oct. 27, 1827, to March 25, 1835 pastor of the church in Prescott. He was installed over the church in North Hadley April 8, 1835, and left town in 1838, although he was not formally dismissed until the day of Mr. Beaman's ordination. For about two years after the dismissal of Mr. Brown, the pulpit was supplied by Rev. David L. Hunn. The second pastor is Rev. Warren H. Beaman, of Wendell, a graduate of Amherst College in 1837. He commenced preaching May 10, 1840, and was settled Sept. 15, 1841. During 1854, a spire was put upon the meeting house, the pulpit re-modeled, the walls of the church painted in fresco, and the house re-painted.

RUSSELL SOCIETY.

This Society was organized in 1841, with about one hundred members. The meeting house is located on the east side of West street, near the site of the residence of Rev. John Russell, the first minister, from whom the Society takes its name. Rev. John Woodbridge, D. D. (who had previously been settled over the First church) was installed as first pastor Feb. 16, 1842, and dismissed July 15, 1857. The second pastor, Franklin Tuxbury, was ordained July 15, 1857, and dismissed Oct. 23, 1862.

BI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

At a Town Meeting held March 30th, 1857, it was voted, in response to an article in the warrant calling the meeting, having reference to that subject, that a committee be appointed to carry the subject of the tenth article into effect, by employing some one of its emigrant sons to give a public address, and to take and adopt such measures as the case may require for a public celebration—

Voted, That the town choose a committee of thirteen to carry the above vote into effect.

The following persons were chosen to act upon that committee:—Giles C. Kellogg, Sylvester Smith, Theodore G. Huntington, Eleazer Porter, George Dickinson, Jeriah S. Smith, Franklin Bonney, Thaddeus Smith, Royal W. Montague, E. H. Bartlett, Levi Adams, Edmund Smith, John A. Morton.

At a town meeting held March 28th, 1859, it was voted that the town appropriate the sum of seven hundred dollars to defray the contingent expenses of the celebration of the Two Hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the town; and that the money be placed in the hands of the Treasurer of the town's committee of thirteen, to be used by them in furtherance of said appropriation.

The committee of thirteen appointed by the town, met June 1st, 1857, and organized by the choice of Giles C. Kellogg as Chairman, and F. Bonney as Secretary.

At a subsequent meeting the following officers and committees were chosen to assist the general committee in carrying out the objects of their appointment:—

President of the Day—Erastus Hopkins, Esq., of Northampton.

Vice Presidents—Rev. Dan Huntington, Giles C. Kellogg, Esq., Dea. Jason Stockbridge, Dea. Sylvester Smith, Rev. John Woodbridge, D. D., Dea. Ashley Williams, Chester Gaylord, Cotton Smith.

Treasurer—Eleazer Porter.

Chief Marshal—William P. Dickinson.

Assistant Marshals—P. Smith Williams, Benjamin Adams, Charles H. Smith, Levi Stockbridge, Rodney Smith.

Toast Master—Erastus Hopkins, Esq.

Assistant Toast Masters—Arthur D. Phelps, Oliver E. Bonney.

Committee of Finance—T. G. Huntington, Eleazer Porter, Geo. Dickinson.

Committee on Invitations—C. P. Hitchcock, James B. Porter, Lorenzo N. Granger, Rev. Rowland Ayres, Rev. Franklin Tuxbury, Rev. Warren H. Beaman, Hon. Joseph Smith, Parsons West.

Committee on Music—Ezra Thayer, Charles Cook, 2d, Francis Smith, Frederick Bell, Edward Stebbins, A. H. Cook.

Committee on Printing—William S. Shipman, C. E. Lamson, J. E. Porter.

Committee on Receptions—Hon. Joseph Smith, Eleazer Porter, Jesse R. Davenport, S. C. Wilder, T. P. Huntington.

Executive Committee—The Committee of Arrangements.

It was voted that the celebration be held on the eighth of June, and that there should be an Address, a Poem and a Dinner. Rev. Frederic Dan Huntington, D. D., of Cambridge, and Edward Clarke Porter, both natives of the town, were invited to deliver the Address and Poem. It was decided to have the exercises as nearly upon the sight of the first meeting house, as circumstances would permit.

By advertisements and circulars the invitation was extended as widely as possible to all persons related to Hadley, by descent, marriage, or otherwise, to participate with the inhabitants in the exercises of the occasion.

The day was opened by the discharge of one hundred guns, the roll of the drum, and the ringing of the church bells at dawn. At an early hour, although the weather was unpromising, a large concourse of people began to gather and continued in unabated numbers, till the exercises were closed. Soon after 10 o'clock in the morning, a procession was formed at the Town Hall, in the following order, and marched to the ground towards the upper end of the West street, where the exercises of the day were to be held.

Aid. Chief Marshal. Aid.

A volunteer corps of Horsemen, 50 in number, Capt. A. H. Cook.

Belchertown Citizen Cavalry, Capt. T. R. Green.

Northampton Infantry, Capt. Wm. R. Marsh.

Colt's Armory Band.

President of the day and His Excellency Gov. Banks.

Lieut. Gov. Trask, Hon. Oliver Warner, Secretary of State, members of the Council, Sergeant-at-Arms and Clerks of the Legislature.

Chaplain.

Orator and Poet.

Invited Guests.

Vice Presidents.

Marshal.

Committee of Arrangements.

Clergymen.

Representatives of the Press.

Members of the Bar.

Physicians.

Marshal.

Soldiers of 1812 with the National Flag.

Sheriff.

County Officers.

Selectmen and Town Clerks of the five Towns.

Representation of the olden time,

consisting of four gentlemen, and as many ladies on pillions, dressed in antique costume, and others dressed in the same manner, riding in old carriages.

Marshal.

Citizens of Hadley.

Representation of the Trades,

consisting of a wagon from North Hadley, drawn by a four ox team, with a banner inscribed:—

"Then the red man scoured the roofless room,
Which now we sweep with the Hadley broom."

Within the wagon were old-fashioned spinning wheels, kitchen utensils, farm implements, guns, cow-bells, a large wooden mortar and pounder, a warming pan, a cobbler at work, and much else, representing the past, that was novel and attractive. In direct contrast came representations of manufactures of the present day, comprising two large wagons, filled with mechanics at work, from Plainville and North Hadley. In the first of these were brooms in the course of manufacture, silver wire for piano strings, a card setting machine, sewing machines, and, not least important, a specimen of soap from the manufactory of W. A. Govern. In the second of these wagons were represented the celebrated wheel manufacturers of North Hadley, specimens of hubs, felloes, wheels, &c., with mechanics at work, from the establishment of J. Adams & Sons, W. E. & C. P. Clark, and D. S. Cowles; at the head of this wagon was a banner with the inscription—

"He who by the plow would thrive,
Must either hold the plow or drive."

In the centre appeared the word "Plainville," the present name of the district, and at the end "Patrick Swamp," its former cognomen.

Marshal.
Hatfield Brass Band.
Citizens of Hatfield.
Haydenville Cornet Band.
Citizens of South Hadley.
Citizens of Amherst.
Citizens of Granby.
Marshal.
Students of Amherst College.
Teachers and Students of Hopkins Academy.
Scholars of the several School Districts with their Teachers.
Citizens of other Towns.

After reaching the stand, the exercises were as follows:

I. Singing.
II. Invocation by the Chaplain, Rev. John Woodbridge, D. D.
III. Prayer.
IV. Anthem by the Choir.
V. Address by Prof. F. D. Huntington, D. D.
VI. Singing.
VII. Poem by E. C. Porter.
VIII. Anthem.
IX. Benediction.

After these exercises were closed, a procession was formed of those holding tickets to the dinner, which marched to the ample tent, located in front of the church in West street, in which plates had been set for sixteen hundred people, by John Johnson of Boston. Although there had been much rain during the day, nearly all the seats at the table were occupied, and the interest which had been manifested from the commencement of the day, seemed in no wise abated. At the close of the dinner, speeches were made by Governor Banks, Giles C. Kellogg, Esq., Rev. John M. Greene of Hatfield, Dr. Kittedge of South Hadley, Hon. Edward Dickinson of Amherst, Rev. Henry Mills of Granby, President Stearns of Amherst College, Judge Russell of Boston, Prof. F. D. Huntington, D. D., Rev. Gordon Hall of Northampton, Prof. W. C. Fowler of Durham, Ct., Hon. James B. Colt of Hartford, Ct., Rev. Jeremiah Porter of Chicago, Ill., Rev. Warren D. Poor, D. D. of Newark, N. J., Hon. John Porter of Auburn, N. Y., Rev. John Woodbridge, D. D., and Dr. Smith of Newark, N. J., and at the hour of seven the great company quietly dispersed apparently well satisfied to have spent one day in commemorating the virtues of their ancestors, and reviving the friendships of earlier years.

MEDICINES, AND PHYSICIANS.

Medical writers of the present day manifest no respect for the theory and practice of medicine which prevailed in England and other countries of Europe when our ancestors came to New England, or in any part of the 17th century. There were ingenious and learned men among European physicians of several schools or sects, but they were misguided by false theories, indulged in fanciful speculations, and supported many doctrines which had no foundation in truth.* Though they made some important improvements, they were generally better adapted to expose the false opinions of their predecessors and of their rivals, than to establish true doctrines. The practice of medicine was not less erroneous and absurd than the theory. Much superstition was connected with it, and virtues altogether imaginary were ascribed to most of the vegetable, mineral and animal substances that were used as

*Some of the physicians were able writers on other subjects. Many of the papers in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society were written by physicians.

medicines. The greatest folly and credulity prevailed in regard to medicines. Among the parts of animals employed in the healing art were the fat of a dog and of a wildcat, blood of a goat and of an ass, tongue and lungs of a fox, feathers of a partridge, liver of an eel and of a wolf, horns of a horned-bug, teeth of a seahorse, dung of a peacock, horns of a stag, jaw of a pike, urine of a cow, claws of a crab, bone from the heart of a stag, the left foot of a tortoise, blood from under the wing of a white pigeon, and many more equally absurd, most of which were employed on the authority of learned physicians.

Among the imported articles in the English "Book of Rates," 1660, on which a duty was to be paid, are about 250 kinds of drugs, vegetable, animal and mineral, including several just noted. Many more, the produce of England, do not appear in this list. There was no lack of substances deemed medicinal, and physicians were not slow "to pour drugs of which they knew little, into bodies of which they knew less."*

Whoever investigates the domestic life and manners of the English in the 17th century, will be convinced that many of the people had but little to do with professed physicians, and that the mother, or some other member of the family, or some experienced friend, was the physician of the family. Gervase Markham who wrote "the English Husbandman" and the "English Housewife" some years before our ancestors left that country, calls a knowledge of physic "a principal virtue of a housewife," and says she should know how to administer medicines to her family. He gives to the housewife, directions how to cure all kinds of diseases and professes to have derived these prescriptions from two or three doctors. Most of the medicines are vegetables. He suggests that some fevers may surpass the housewife's capacity. Some of the prescriptions are ridiculous, many may have been inert and powerless, and others were beneficial. None perhaps were injurious. Remedies are prescribed as if they were infallible; no doubt of their efficacy is intimated; they are "sovereign." The following are among the most absurd of these remedies.

Poultice for ague Sores—to be made of elder leaves boiled in milk.

To produce Sweat. Take posset ale with bruised aniseseeds.

For Frenzy. Squirt juice of beets into the nostrils, and drink posset ale in which violet leaves and lettuce have been boiled.

To produce Sleep. Beat to powder saffron, lettuce seed and poppy seed, mix them with woman's milk and bind them to the temples.

For Apoplexy or Palsy. "The strong smell of a fox is exceeding sovereign." Drink a decoction of lavender, &c.

For a new Cold or Cough. Take sugar and aquavitæ in going to bed. [This medicine was used 200 years after Markham wrote. People loved the aquavitæ. Sugar candy and licorice, he prescribed for colds, and they are still in vogue.]

For the falling Evil. Take a female mole for a man, or a male mole for a woman, and dry it to powder in an oven; take the powder.

For Canker in the mouth. A wash of chervil, ale and alum water. [Alum is still used.]

For Quinsy. Use a drink of mouseear steeped in ale, and rub a stone, where a hog has rubbed, and then rub with it the swelling.

For spitting Blood, from inward bruises. Take pitch and spermaceti in old ale for a drink.†

For the Itch. Quicksilver beaten with other substances for an ointment. [This quicksilver unguentum was used for itch near 200 years later.]

Salve for old sores, was made of poplar buds, elder buds, venice turpentine, wax and rosin, boiled. [Poplar buds are still used by some.]

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*A writer in the London Quarterly Review, No. 58, says physicians have continued to do this.

†"The sovreign'st thing on earth was parmaceti, [spermaceti] for an inward bruise." Shakspeare. This was a common opinion, in that age.

To make Oil of swallows. He directs about 20 kinds of vegetables and "20 quick swallows" to be beaten together in a mortar, and butter and wax to be added. This is exceeding sovereign for pains in the bones.

The housewife is directed to make sage, radish, angelica, celadine, rose and rosemary water, by distilling the plants. These waters are said to be good for various diseases.

Other books were published in England in the 17th century for Farmers and Housekeepers, which contained directions about Physic, Herbs, Medicines and Salves. Some of them were entitled "Closet." Hugh Platt published his Closet in 1651.

Surgery received less attention in England than medicine, perhaps because it is much more certain, and furnishes less room for theories, fancies, and impostures. Montaigne says:—"Surgery sees and feels what it does; physic goes much more upon conjecture." The barbers practised surgery. Young women were sometimes initiated into the art of surgery. Chirurgery was the term used for surgery in the 17th century.

In England many medicinal plants were cultivated in gardens, and others grew in the forests and fields. They were kept by families and by apothecaries, and their supposed healing virtues were given in books, as in Markham's English Housewife, Parkinson's Flower Garden and Kitchen Garden, and in other publications. Parkinson was a London apothecary, and his book was published in 1629.

The seeds of many of these plants were sown in New England,* and the housewives on the banks of the Connecticut preserved a variety of dried herbs for those hurt or diseased. Among the plants from England esteemed medicinal, were sage, hyssop, rue, tansey, wormwood, celandine, comfrey, saffron, mallows, chamomile, mayweed, yarrow, shepherd's purse, dandelion, patience, bloody dock, elecampane, mother wort, burdock, plaintain, catnip, mint, fennel, and dill. Some of these are naturalized, and are quite too plenty by road-sides and in fields. Others were cultivated in gardens 40 years ago, and some still are. The New England housewives and physicians, in addition to European plants, had a large number of native herbs and shrubs of a medicinal character.

Josselyn, a careless writer, about 1672, mentions the reputed virtues of some New England plants, and other substances in medicine. He was no wiser than others of that age, and some of his notions are false or ridiculous. He notices the diseases of New England in his loose way;—griping of the bowels, bloody flux, small pox, quinsy, "great distempers of cold," pleurisy, the stone, sciatica, dropsy, palsy, pestilent fevers, &c.

The physicians of Europe for about two centuries were divided into two sects, denominated Galenists and chemists, the former prescribing chiefly vegetable preparations, and the latter employing mineral preparations and a few of the most active vegetable substances. If the accusations they brought against each other are founded in truth, their patients could not have been much benefited by them. They seem to have united in the 17th century, and the use of chemical medicines became much more common.

The physicians of New England in the 17th century seem to have used medicines from the vegetable, mineral and animal kingdoms. Little is known respecting their practice. Doct. William Douglas from Scotland, who practiced in Boston in the first half of the 18th century, or from 1716 to 1752, says the practice was so bad in the British colonies, that excepting surgery and some acute diseases, it was better to let nature take her course; that frequently there was more danger from the physician than from the disease. The practitioners generally fell into the same routine, such as repeated bleedings, opiates, emetics, cathartics, mercurials and peruvian bark. They practiced from European authorities, and too much neglected experience and observation. Doct. D. accused them of quackery, and was himself charged

*John Dunton, in 1686, alludes to these garden medicines. He says of Doct. Bullivant, an English physician in Boston;—"he does not direct his patients to the East Indies to look for drugs, when they may have far better out of their gardens."

with conceitedness, prejudice and unfairness. He was violent in his opposition to the introduction of inoculation of small pox into Boston in 1721, and his conduct on that occasion was mean and despicable.

Drugs and medicines were imported from England into Boston, and kept for sale, soon after the beginning of that town. The demand gradually increased, but could not have been very extensive in the 17th century, except in the Indian wars. Where a professed physician was not employed, imported medicines were not much used. Soon after 1700, and perhaps before, country traders began to purchase medicines in Boston, from ten to twenty kinds. Traders in Westfield, Springfield, Hadley and Northampton kept them, and undoubtedly those in some other towns. They were saffron, mithridate, diascordium, hierapicra, rhubarb, aloes, senna, aniseseed, licorice, blistering salve, pills, jalap, turmeric, &c. After domestic prescriptions became less common and those of physicians were more relied on, the sale of foreign drugs and medicines was greatly increased. They were now sold, not by the trader, but by the physician, at an enormous profit, and were the principal source of his income. The wholesale demand being vastly enlarged, Doct. Sylvester Gardiner of Boston, a sagacious man, began to import drugs in such quantities as would have astonished, if not frightened the people a few years before. His first advertisement of "all sorts of Drugs and Medicines, both chemical and Galenical" appears in the Boston Gazette in June, 1744. Many still used plants which grew in New England, and "dried herbs of all sorts" were advertised in Boston. In May, 1757, Doct. Gardiner, in company with Doct. William Jepson, established a drug store in Hartford, which was the first or second* establishment of this kind in Connecticut. They also kept groceries. The copartnership continued seven years and eight months and in this time, the net profits, according to a statement of Doct. Gardiner, were 5175 pounds, or 2250 dollars a year.

Levi Shepherd from Hartford, opened an apothecary's shop in Northampton in November, 1765, the first in this part of the country. In July, 1769, he formed a partnership with Doct. Ebenezer Hunt. They imported their drugs and medicines with some spices, paints, surgical instruments, &c. from London, and some things from Bristol. They sold great quantities of drugs to physicians far and near, their trade extending westward and northwestward to Great Barrington, Pittsfield, Williamstown, Bennington and Rupert, northward to Keene, Charlestown and Hanover, and eastward to Ware and Hardwick. They had a drug store in Worcester also, established in 1769, (or perhaps previously commenced by L. Shepherd) and in 1773, Doct. William Paine became a partner. He was afterwards a tory and left the country, and the partnership was dissolved in 1776. The amount of medicines sold at Worcester was nearly as large as at Northampton.

Hunt & Shepherd sold their medicines by the quantity to physicians, on an average, at about two and a half for one, or two and a half New England shillings for what cost one shilling sterling. All the charges of importation were about 17 per cent. Their nominal profit was therefore equal to 60 per cent. on the cost and charges. Ebenezer Hunt's prices in 1784, '85 and '86, still averaged about two and a half for one, but the charges were a little higher. In 1802, E. Hunt and Son sold to physicians, drugs and medicines bought in this country at from 50 to 75 per cent. advance. It may be as well to omit the prices at which medicines were dealt out to patients.

The early planters of New England had as much wisdom and perhaps as much folly, in regard to the art of healing, as those they had left in the mother country. Among them were physicians and surgeons of ability and learning, but imbued with the hypotheses and errors of the age. I do not find in that part of the country to which my inquiries have extended, any evidence that the people of agricultural villages felt the need of the services of mere physicians, or held them in estimation. Like some in England, who

*Miss Cautkins says Dr. Daniel Lathrop's druggist's shop in Norwich was the first in Connecticut. He imported largely and made a fortune. Lathrop & Smith had a druggist store in Hartford, 1765.

have been referred to, they usually seem to have been satisfied with domestic prescriptions, and the advice of experienced persons in the neighborhood. They highly valued the services of a chirurgeon, or bonesetter, and some towns in Hampshire County voted pecuniary rewards to induce one to settle among or near them.

The first chirurgeon and physician on Connecticut river was, Bray Rosseter of Windsor, a capable man. He removed to Guilford. In 1652, the General Court gave Thomas Lord of Hartford 15 pounds to use his skill "for setting of bones and otherwise" in the river towns one year, and his price was fixed. He was to have one shilling for visiting any house in Hartford, and this manifestly included the setting of a bone or other performance. In 1655, and many years after, they paid Daniel Porter of Farmington, 6 pounds a year, "to exercise his art of chirurgerie." In 1670, they raised the salary of Daniel Porter, "Bonesetter," to 12 pounds, and advised him to instruct some person in his art. Lord and Porter were probably physicians, but it was not on this account that they were encouraged by the colony.

At the Hampshire March Court, 1665, George Filer of Northampton, "being presented as one reasonably well fitted and qualified for a chirurgeon, was allowed" by the Court. He removed to Westfield in 1667, and left the colony a few years after. From 1667 to 1730, a space of 63 years, no physician nor surgeon resided in Northampton, the most wealthy and populous town in the county, except Springfield, (which included West Springfield.) They had made some attempts to obtain a bonesetter, but apparently had not sought for a physician.

Lieut. Thomas Cooper of Springfield was a bonesetter, but was not licensed, and received but little for his labor. In March, 1675, he petitioned the court that he might be paid for setting bones, as he often had to go to and fro on this business. His request was referred to the next court, and in the mean time, he was slain. In January, 1677, Mr. Daniel Denton, on application, was allowed in the employment of chirurgery at Springfield. He remained there but a few years. I observe no indications of a resident physician in Springfield for forty years after the place was settled.

In April, 1679, Thomas Hastings of Hatfield, petitioned for license to practice physic and chirurgery. The subject was referred to the next court. No license is recorded, but he was subsequently without doubt allowed to practice. For many years he was the physician and surgeon for Hadley, Northampton, Hatfield and Deerfield, was sometimes called to Springfield and Suffield, and probably to Westfield, Enfield, and Brookfield. Yet his time was but partially occupied with his professional business, his bills were small, and his income could not have been great. He kept the town school several years. After his death, which took place in 1712, the amount due to the estate was only 39 pounds, and his whole estate was valued at only 235 pounds. His son, Thomas Hastings, succeeded him, and practiced in Hatfield, Deerfield and Northampton and sometimes in other places, yet he kept the Hatfield school many years. He died in 1728.

Deerfield was without a resident physician and surgeon above 40 years, and Westfield nearly as long.

For half a century after the settlement of Hadley, the average annual expense to the inhabitants of four towns, Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield and Deerfield, for physicians and surgeons, cannot be fairly estimated at more than 200 dollars, excluding charges for those who were wounded by Indians. The professed physician was rarely sent for. The domestic practice continued, though perhaps it was gradually yielding, in the early part of the 18th century. During these fifty years, when the people of these towns, amidst their toils and hardships, had so little aid from the physician, they suffered less from disease than their descendants, and a larger portion of them attained to advanced age. But they had vigorous constitutions, lived on plain food, and almost all were temperate. Intoxicating liquors, though productive of mischief in that age, had not then become the general curse and scourge.

Some of the clergyman that came to this colony, having studied medicine in England, sometimes performed the duties of a physician as well as those of a religious teacher. Those who were educated in this country, and settled in the Hampshire towns, in the 17th century, do not appear to have given much attention to physic or surgery. They may have read some medical books, and perhaps they occasionally prescribed for their families, and gave advice to their neighbors. Rev. Edward Taylor, of Westfield, who came from England, had in his library a book on Chirurgery and a Dispensatory, but I find no trace of him as a practising physician. Rev. Benjamin Doolittle, who settled in Northfield in 1718, was a regular physician and surgeon, and was furnished with books, instruments and medicines.

Some women in New England possessed skill in physic and surgery. The wife of Rev. John Eliot was one of these, and attended to the sick and maimed without reward. At the close of Philip's war, the Council of Connecticut allowed Mrs. Allyn 20 pounds for attending and curing sick and wounded soldiers. Other women are mentioned who made salves and healed wounds and bruises. The wife of William Miller of Northampton sometimes acted as a surgeon, and perhaps as a physician. Clayton, in his account of Virginia, 1688, mentions "a gentlewoman, a noted female doctress," who cured those bitten by mad dogs.

John Westcarr came to Hadley in 1666. The record of the March court 1673 contains the following:—"Mr. John Westcarr of Hadley, having made use of his skill for some years past in physic and chirurgery with good success, through the good hand of God upon his endeavors, he is by this court allowed to go on in his practice of physic and chirurgery." He died in 1675, and the town remained without a physician, for a period of thirty two years, or until 1707.

John Barnard established himself in Hadley in 1708, and died in 1726. His son Thomas, who became a physician, removed to Connecticut.

In January, 1727, a few months after the death of Doct. Barnard, the town voted to give 50 pounds towards the settling of a good bonesetter in Hadley or one of the adjacent towns, if other towns would join with them. Doct. Hastings of Hatfield may have been infirm.

William Squire, called a chirurgeon, settled in Hadley after 1727. It is believed that he was an Englishman or Scotchman. He died in 1731. He had a gold headed cane like the physicians of England, a gold watch, a silver hilted sword, and a plaid gown.

Richard Crouch, from Great Britain, settled in Hadley in 1731 or before. He administered on the estate of Doct. Squire. He was a physician and not a surgeon, and was often in public business. He died childless in 1761, and gave most of his estate to a nephew of his wife, Giles Crouch Kellogg. He had two brothers in the Isle of Wight, England.

In 1738, Hadley voted to give Mr. Hezekiah Porter of Farmington, bonesetter, 62 pounds, if he would settle in Hadley, and 52 pounds, if he would settle in Northampton or Hatfield. He settled in Northampton.

Giles Crouch Kellogg graduated at Harvard College 1751, began to practice medicine in Hadley before the death of his uncle Crouch, and continued the same until his death, Aug. 28, 1793.

William Porter, born 1763, devoted much of his time to mercantile pursuits, traded in the same store for sixty years, and died in 1847. Seth H. Rogers came in 1796, practiced about ten years, and died in Connecticut about 1808. Reuben Bell, a native of Warren, came to Hadley about 1804, accumulated a large estate in the practice of his profession, and died Feb. 1851, ae. 72. Josiah Goodhue, a native of Dunstable, practiced until somewhat advanced in life in Vermont, was eminent in his profession, especially as a surgeon, and was at one time President of the Pittsfield Medical Institution. Edward Dickinson was for a time in partnership with Dr. Goodhue,

but about 1833 left town and is believed to have died in Peoria, Ill. Watson Loud came about 1833, practiced five or six years, and then removed to the West. Philemon Stacy practiced about nine years. William C. Bailey, Warren McCray, Moses Porter, William Huntington, Stephen G. Hubbard, and Addison Peck practiced for a time. Elam C. Knight came in 1849, and practiced about a year. William Lester came in 1846, and practiced about three years. Benjamin F. Smith, a native of East Lyme, Ct., practiced from 1843-5, when he removed to Amherst. Franklin Bonney, son of Oliver, studied medicine at Dartmouth Medical College, commenced practice in 1847, and is the only practicing physician now in town.

I know not what the charges of physicians were one hundred or one hundred and fifty years ago. I have seen bills from many physicians in Connecticut from 1768 to 1776, and the charge for a visit in Hartford, New Haven, and some other large villages was one shilling. In other towns, the charge was generally eight or nine pence for each visit; and if they rode two, three or four miles, they charged for a visit eight or nine pence for each mile. Commonly more was charged for medicines than for the visit, often two or three times as much.

Doct. Ebenezer Hunt began to practice in Northampton in April, 1768, and until 1776, charged for a visit in the village, eight pence; in other towns, at the rate of eight pence for each mile. A cathartic, an emetic, bleeding, pulling a tooth, and dressing a wound were eight pence each. In 1776, the price of a visit in the village was advanced to one shilling; and afterwards was raised still higher, as money depreciated. After a specie currency was restored, the charge for a visit was one shilling until 1794, when it was advanced to one shilling and sixpence; in 1803, it was two shillings, and in 1814, forty cents. The charge for visits in other towns was nearly as much per mile as that for a visit in the village; the former being raised with the latter, except in 1814. His charges were higher than those of most physicians in the county. For accouchments, which he commenced about 1796, he charged at first eighteen shillings; in 1807, twenty-four shillings; in 1813, thirty shillings. He gave much medicine, though less than some others. Until the price of a visit was raised to one shilling and six pence, the charge for the medicine left at the house of the patient (exclusive of much delivered at the shop) exceeded that of the visit. When the visit was one shilling and six pence, the medicine which he carried with him, averaged about the same sum, making three shillings for a visit and medicine. The result was the same, if ten or twenty visits were made to one patient in as many days.

Doct. Giles C. Kellogg of Hadley bought of Shepherd and Hunt in 14 years, from 1769 to 1783, drugs and medicines to the amount of 473 pounds or 1576 dollars, most of them, the first eight years, before there was much rise in such articles. These were distributed among the people of Hadley, and cost them some thousands of dollars. The doctor's profit on the medicines must have amounted to a larger sum than all his charges for visits.

HADLEY COUNSELLORS.

1755–7, . . .	Eleazar Porter.
1821–3, . . .	Samuel Porter.

HADLEY STATE SENATORS.

1817, . . .	Samuel Porter.
1826–7, . . .	Charles Porter Phelps.
1853–4, . . .	Joseph Smith.

HADLEY DEPUTIES AND REPRESENTATIVES.*

1661, Samuel Smith.
1662, William Lewis.
1663, Samuel Smith, Wm. Lewis.
1664, Samuel Smith, John White.
1665, Samuel Smith, Peter Tilton.
1666, Peter Tilton.
1667, Samuel Smith.
1668, Samuel Smith, Peter Tilton.
1669, William Holton, John White.
1670, Henry Bridgham, Peter Tilton.
1671, Samuel Smith, Peter Tilton.
1672, Henry Phillips, Peter Tilton.
1673, May. Sam'l Smith, Peter Tilton.
1673, Sept. Peter Tilton, H. Phillips.
1674, Peter Tilton.
1675, John Richards, Peter Tilton.
1676, Peter Tilton.
1677, Philip Smith, Peter Tilton.
1678, Peter Tilton.
1679, Peter Tilton.
1680, Philip Smith.
1681, Philip Smith.
1682, Philip Smith.
1683, Philip Smith.
1684, Philip Smith.
1685, Samuel Partrigg.
1686, Samuel Partrigg, Thos. West.
1756, Josiah Pierce.
1757, Josiah Pierce.
1758, Eleazar Porter.
1759, Moses Marsh.
1760, Josiah Chauncey, of Amh.†
1761, Eleazar Porter.
1762, Josiah Chauncey, of Amh.
1763, Eleazar Porter.
1764, Daniel Nash, of So. Had.
1765, Daniel Nash, of So. Had.
1766, Enos Nash.
1767, Simeon Strong, of Amh.
1768, Enos Nash.
1769, Simeon Strong, of Amh., Elisha Porter.
1770, Elisha Porter.
1771, Josiah Pierce.
1772, Josiah Pierce, Eleazar Porter.
1773, Josiah Pierce.
1774, Josiah Pierce, Delegate to Provincial Congress at Concord.
1775, Jan. Josiah Pierce, Delegate to Prov. Congress at Cambridge.
1776, John Chester Williams.
May 28,
1777, Elisha Porter, Jonathan Smith.
1778, Elisha Porter, Jonathan Smith.
1779, Phinehas Lyman.
1780, Jonathan Smith.
1781, Phinehas Lyman.
1782, Oliver Smith.
1783, Oliver Smith.
1784, Oliver Smith.
1785, Oliver Smith.
1786, Oliver Smith.
1787, Oliver Smith.
1788, Oliver Smith.
1789, None.
1790, None.
1791, Charles Phelps.
1792, Charles Phelps.
1793, Charles Phelps.
1794, Jonathan E. Porter.
1795, Charles Phelps.
1796, Charles Phelps.
1797, Jonathan E. Porter.
1798, Charles Phelps.
1799, Charles Phelps.
1800, Samuel Porter.
1801, Samuel Porter.
1802, Samuel Porter.
1803, Samuel Porter.
1804, Samuel Porter.
1805, Samuel Porter.
1806, Samuel Porter.
1807, Charles Phelps.
1808, Charles Phelps.
1809, Giles Crouch Kellogg.
1810, Giles Crouch Kellogg.
1811, Samuel Porter.
1812, Samuel Porter.
1813, Samuel Porter.
1814, Giles C. Kellogg.
1815, Samuel Porter.
1816, Samuel Porter.
1817, Giles Crouch Kellogg.
1818, Samuel Porter.
1819, Samuel Porter.
1820, Charles Porter Phelps.
1820, Samuel Porter, Moses Porter, Esq., Members of Constitutional Convention.
1821, Charles Porter Phelps.
1822, Charles Porter Phelps.
1823, Moses Porter.
1824, Charles Porter Phelps.
1825, None.
1826, Moses Porter.
1827, Giles Crouch Kellogg.
1828, Nathaniel Cooledge, Jr.
1829, Giles Crouch Kellogg, Charles Porter Phelps.

*The town records prior to 1800 seldom giving the name of the Deputy or Representative, this imperfect record obtained from the State records at Boston is inserted.

†From the date of Amherst becoming a District, 1759, up to 1774, the towns of Hadley, South Hadley, Amherst and Granby united in the choice of Representatives.

1830, Moses Porter.
1831, Moses Porter.
1832, Charles Porter Phelps.
1833, Oliver Bonney,
Simeon Dickinson.
1834, Oliver Bonney,
Ephraim Smith.
1835, William Smith,
Jason Stockbridge.
1836, William Smith,
Jason Stockbridge.
1837, Walter Newton,
Parsons West.
1838, Charles Porter Phelps.
1839, Charles Porter Phelps,
William Smith.
1840, Charles Porter Phelps,
John Shipman.
1841, Charles Porter Phelps.
1842, Joseph Smith, 2d.
1843, Samuel Nash.
1844, Samuel Nash.
1845, John A. Morton.
1846, John A. Morton.
1847, Giles Crouch Kellogg.
1848, Giles Crouch Kellogg.
1849, Giles Crouch Kellogg.
1850, Dudley Smith.
1851, Dudley Smith.
1852, Lorenzo Noble Granger.
1853, Giles Crouch Kellogg.
1853, Giles Crouch Kellogg,
Member of Constitutional
Convention.
1854, John Smith Bell.
1855, Levi Stockbridge.
1856, Perez Smith Williams.
1857, Theodore Clark.
1858, Leicester W. Porter.*
1859, Peregrine Waters, of So. Had.
1860, Thaddeus Smith.
1861, Thomas M. Nash, of So. Had.
1862, Horace Cook.
1863, Stephen C. Weld, of So. Had.

HADLEY TOWNSMEN OR SELECTMEN.†

1660. Andrew Bacon, Andrew Warner, Nath. Dickinson, Samuel Smith, William Lewis.
1662. Thomas Meekins, William Allis, Nath'l Ward, Richard Goodman, John White, Sen'r.
1663. Mr. William Westwood, Thomas Meekins, Thomas Wells, Philip Smith, John White.
1664. Gregory Winterton, John Dickinson, John Hubbard, William Allis, Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr.
1665. John White, Sen., Joseph Kellogg, Nathaniel Standley, Thomas Meekins, Isaac Graves.
1666. Nathaniel Dickinson, Sen., John Crow, Aaron Cooke, Zachary Field, John Coleman.
1667. Thomas Coleman, Stephen Terry, Samuel Porter, John Cole, Daniel Warner.
1668. Lt. Samuel Smith, William Partrigg, Andrew Warner, Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr., Samuel Belding.
1669. William Lewis, Francis Barnard, Jno. Dickinson, Thomas Meekins, William Allis.
1670. Mr. Henry Clarke, John Russell, Sen., Mr. Peter Tilton, Isaac Graves, Daniel White.
1671. Philip Smith, Aaron Cooke, Edward Church, John Crow, Richard Montague.
1672. Lt. Samuel Smith, Samuel Porter, Samuel Partrigg, Samuel Church, Samuel Moody.
1673. Richard Goodman, Timothy Nash, John Dickinson, Francis Barnard, Thomas Dickinson.
1674. Andrew Warner, Mr. Peter Tilton, Ens. Aaron Cooke, Joseph Kellogg, Noah Coleman.
1675. Nehemiah Dickinson, John Marsh, Daniel Hovey, Philip Smith, Chileab Smith.
1676. Lt. Samuel Smith, Ens. Aaron Cooke, John Hubbard, Sergt. John Dickinson, Francis Barnard.

*Since 1858, Hadley and South Hadley have formed one Representative District.
†Usually called Townsmen until 1673.

1677. Philip Smith, Richard Montague, Samuel Porter, Joseph Kellogg, Peter Tilton.
1678. Lt. Samuel Smith, Aaron Cooke, John Hubbard, Samuel Partrigg, Thomas Dickinson.
1679. Lt. Philip Smith, Peter Tilton, Timothy Nash, Richard Montague, Ens. Joseph Kellogg.
1680. Lt. Samuel Smith, Capt. Aaron Cooke, Nehemiah Dickinson, Samuel Partrigg, Joseph Baldwin, Sen.
1681. Dea. Philip Smith, Lt. Joseph Kellogg, Ens. Timothy Nash, Chileab Smith, Thomas Hovey.
1682. Capt. Aaron Cooke, Samuel Partrigg, John Hubbard, Peter Montague, Daniel Marsh.
1683. Dea. Philip Smith, Ens. Timothy Nash, Samuel Porter, Francis Barnard, Nehemiah Dickinson.
1684. Capt. Aaron Cooke, Samuel Partrigg, Jonathan Marsh, Thomas Hovey, Nathaniel White.
1685. Ens. Timothy Nash, Chileab Smith, Lt. Joseph Kellogg, Nehemiah Dickinson, Daniel Marsh.
1686. Capt. Aaron Cooke, Mr. Samuel Partrigg, Francis Barnard, Thomas Hovey, Samuel Barnard.
1687. Ens. Timothy Nash, Daniel Marsh, Nehemiah Dickinson, Peter Montague, Peter Tilton.
1688. Francis Barnard, Jonathan Marsh, Thomas Hovey, Samuel Moody, Thomas Selden.
1689. Ens. Timothy Nash, Samuel Porter, Sen'r, Peter Montague, Nehemiah Dickinson, Lt. Jonathan Marsh.
1690. Capt. Aaron Cooke, Thomas Hovey, Chileab Smith, Nathaniel White, Thomas Selden.
1691. Nehemiah Dickinson, Ens. Timothy Nash, Samuel Porter, Jonathan Marsh, Corporal Samuel Smith.
1692. Capt. Aaron Cooke, Lt. Joseph Kellogg, Samuel Barnard, George Stillman, Daniel Marsh.
1693. None recorded.
1694. Nehemiah Dickinson, Jonathan Marsh, Peter Montague, Nathaniel White, Samuel Smith, son of Chileab.
1695. Lt. Timothy Nash, Daniel Marsh, Thomas Hovey, John Kellogg, Samuel Barnard.
1696. Mr. George Stillman, Ens. Chileab Smith, Nathaniel White, Joseph Smith, Daniel Hubbard.
1697. Jonathan Marsh, Mr. Samuel Porter, Nathaniel Warner, John Montague, Timothy Eastman.
1698. None recorded.
1699. Thomas Selding, Daniel Marsh, Sergt. Samuel Smith, John Kellogg, Corp. Samuel Smith.
1700. Mr. Samuel Porter, Cornet Nehemiah Dickinson, Jonathan Marsh, Samuel Boltwood, John Nash.
1701. Daniel Marsh, Dea. N. White, Peter Montague, Hezekiah Porter, Samuel Partrigg.
1702. Cornet Nehemiah Dickinson, Jonathan Marsh, Thomas Selding, John Smith, (tailor,) John Smith, (orphan.)
1703. Mr. Samuel Porter, Sergt. Daniel Marsh, Corporal Peter Montague, John Nash, Samuel Barnard.
1704. Cornet Nehemiah Dickinson, Jonathan Marsh, Sergeant Samuel Smith, Dea. Nath'l White, Hezekiah Porter.
1705. Thomas Selding, Lt. Thomas Hovey, Quartermaster Peter Montague, John Smith, (tailor,) Samuel Cooke.
1706. Mr. Samuel Porter, Jonathan Marsh, Daniel Marsh, Westwood Cook, Samuel Barnard.

1707. Sergt. Joseph Smith, Sergt. Samuel Smith, Sergt. John Nash, Dea. Nathaniel White, Luke Smith.
1708. Quartermaster Peter Montague, Thomas Selding, John Kellogg, Samuel Barnard, Moses Cook.
1709. Jonathan Marsh, Sergt. Daniel Marsh, Sergt. Samuel Smith, John Smith, (orphan,) Experience Porter.
1710. Mr. Samuel Porter, Dea. Nathaniel White, Dea. John Smith, Samuel Partridg, Sergt. Joseph Smith.
1711. Lt. Nehemiah Dickinson, Peter Montague, Daniel Marsh, Sergt. Samuel Smith, Samuel Barnard.
1712. Mr. Samuel Porter, Jonathan Marsh, Lt. Thomas Hovey, Dea. John Smith, Experience Porter.
1713. Mr. Samuel Porter, Luke Smith, Sergt. Samuel Smith, Westwood Cook, Sergt. Daniel Marsh.
1714. Mr. Jonathan Marsh, Dea. John Smith, Sergt. John Nash, Experience Porter, Lt. Nehemiah Dickinson.
1715. Mr. Daniel Marsh, Sergt. Samuel Smith, Mr. Peter Montague, Dea. Nathaniel White, John Smith, (orphan.)
1716. No Record, a leaf being gone.
1717. Nathaniel Kellogg, Lt. Westwood Cook, Experience Porter, John Smith, (son of Chileab,) Luke Smith.
1718. Mr. Peter Montague, John Nash, Dea. John Smith, Sergt. Samuel Smith, Sergt. John Marsh.
1719. Samuel Porter, Esq., Experience Porter, William Dickinson, Samuel Partridg, Samuel Barnard.
1720. Dea. John Smith, John Smith, (orphan,) Sergt. Samuel Smith, John Nash, Sergt. Samuel Moody.
1721. Samuel Porter, Esq., Luke Smith, Nathaniel Kellogg, Experience Porter, Lt. Samuel Cook.
1722. Sergt. John Nash, Sergt. Samuel Smith, Lt. John Smith, Samuel Barnard, Moses Cook.
1723. Dea. John Smith, Mr. Experience Porter, Mr. Luke Smith, John Smith, (orphan,) Sergt. William Dickinson.
1724. Mr. John Nash, Moses Cook, Nathaniel Kellogg, Dr. John Barnard, Sergt. John Marsh.
1725. Dea. John Smith, Mr. Eleazar Porter, Samuel Partridge, Samuel Moody, Sergt. William Dickinson.
1726. Mr. John Nash, Mr. Luke Smith, Sergt. Samuel Dickinson, Ensign Moses Cook, Samuel Porter.
1727. Eleazar Porter, Esq., Nathaniel Kellogg, Samuel Moody, Sergt. William Dickinson, Joseph Eastman.
1728. Mr. John Nash, Lt. Samuel Cook, Mr. Samuel Porter, Mr. Luke Smith, Sergt. Chileab Smith.
1729. Eleazar Porter, Esq., Lt. John Smith, Lt. Moses Cook, Ens. William Dickinson, Job Marsh.
1730. Mr. John Nash, Capt. Luke Smith, Lt. Samuel Cook, Dea. Samuel Dickinson, Joseph Eastman.
1731. Eleazar Porter, Esq., Lt. John Smith, Lt. Moses Cook, Ens. Wm. Dickinson, Ichabod Smith.
1732. Lt. Westwood Cook, Thomas Goodman, Samuel Moody, Joseph Eastman, Samuel Barnard.
1733. Eleazar Porter, Esq., Capt. Luke Smith, Lt. Jno. Nash, Lt. Samuel Cook, Dea. Samuel Dickinson.
1734. Lt. Moses Cook, Lt. John Smith, Dea. Joseph Eastman, Samuel Moody.
1735. Samuel Porter, Eleazar Porter, Ebenezer Marsh, Joseph Smith, Nathaniel Kellogg, Jr.
1736. Moses Cook, Ens. Wm. Dickinson, Dea. Samuel Dickinson, Dea. Joseph Eastman, Chileab Smith, Ebenezer Moody, Samuel Boltwood.

1737. Samuel Porter, Eleazar Porter, Joseph Smith, Nathaniel Kellogg, Noah Cook.

1738. Lt. Moses Cook, Ens. Wm. Dickinson, Dea. Joseph Eastman, Chileab Smith, Dea. John Smith, John Nash, Jr., Job Marsh.

1739. Col. Porter, Samuel Cook, Dr. Crouch, Dea. Dickinson, Nathaniel Kellogg, Jr., Ephraim Nash, Jonathan Smith.

1740. Capt. Moses Cook, Lt. Dickinson, Ichabod Smith, Nathaniel White, Peletiah Smith, Samuel Porter, Dea. J. Eastman.

1741. Col. Porter, Capt. Luke Smith, Dea. Samuel Dickinson, Lt. Chileab Smith, Nathaniel Kellogg, Sam'l Smith, John Nash.

1742. Capt. Moses Cook, Lt. Dickinson, Sam'l Porter, Ichabod Smith, Benjamin Church, William Montague, Ebenezer Kellogg.

1743. Col. E. Porter, Dea. Eastman, Richard Church, Nath'l Smith, Lt. Chileab Smith, Edmund Hubbard, James Kellogg.

1744. Capt. Moses Cook, Dea. Ichabod Smith, Samuel Porter, Nathaniel Kellogg, Jonathan Smith, Dea. Eleazar Mattoon, Sergt. John Smith.

1745. Col. Porter, Chileab Smith, Joseph Eastman, Edmund Hubbard, James Kellogg, Luke Montague, Dea. Ebenezer Dickinson.

1746. Capt. Moses Cook, Dea. Ichabod Smith, Samuel Porter, Noah Cook, Lt. Chileab Smith, Samuel Moody, Dea. John Nash.

1747. Eleazar Porter, Esq., Dea. Joseph Eastman, James Kellogg, Edmund Hubbard, David Smith, Chileab Smith, Lt. Jonathan Smith.

1748. Capt. Moses Cook, Lt. Nathaniel Kellogg, Dea. John Nash, Dea. Enos Nash, William Smith, John Dickinson, Jonathan Smith, Jr.

1749. Eleazar Porter, Esq., Lt. Jonathan Smith, Joseph White, James Kellogg, Edmund Hubbard, David Smith, Dea. Nathaniel Montague.

1750. Capt. Moses Cook, Lt. Nathaniel Kellogg, Lt. Ebenezer Kellogg, Jonathan Smith, 3d; William White, Hezekiah Smith, Dea. Enos Nash.

1751. Dea. John Smith, Dea. John Nash,* Dea. Ebenezer Dickinson,* Lt. Ebenezer Kellogg,* Ens. William Montague, Samuel Smith, Thomas Goodman, Dea. Joseph Eastman,* Joseph Hubbard,* Edmund Hubbard,* Capt. Moses Marsh,* Daniel Nash,* John Moody,* Solomon Boltwood.

1752. Eleazar Porter, Esq., David Smith, John Smith, Jr., John Nash, Ebenezer Kellogg, Edmund Hubbard, Daniel Nash, Moses Porter, Enos Nash.

1753. Jonathan Smith, 2d, Nathaniel Kellogg, Moses Marsh, John Dickinson, Jr., Thomas Goodman, Samuel Smith, Ebenezer Dickinson, Samuel Marsh.

1754. Hon. Eleazar Porter, John Nash, Ebenezer Kellogg, Enos Nash, Sam'l Smith.

1755. Capt. Jona. Smith, Jonathan Smith, 2d, James Kellogg, Josiah Chauncey, Joseph Hubbard.

1756. Capt. John Lyman, David Smith, Enos Nash, Eleazar Porter, Jr., Jonathan Cooke, John Dickinson, Jos. Eastman, Jr.

1757. Jonathan Smith, Nathaniel Kellogg, Jos. Hubbard, Charles Phelps, Jona. Dickinson, Josiah Chauncey, Jonathan Moody.

1758. David Smith, Eleazar Porter, Giles Crouch Kellogg, Joseph Eastman, Jr., Peter Smith, Capt. Moses Marsh, Mr. Edmund Hubbard.

1759. Nathaniel Kellogg, Enos Nash, Jonathan Smith, Samuel Gaylord, Jonathan Cook.

1760. Mr. David Smith, Capt. Moses Marsh, Eleazar Porter, Esq., Jona. Warner, John Eastman.

1761. Enos Nash, Nathaniel Kellogg, Edmund Hubbard, Noah Smith, Samuel Gaylord.

1762. Mr. Jonathan Smith, Eleazar Porter, Esq., Capt. Moses Marsh, Capt. John Lyman, Mr. Noah Cook.

*Refused to serve.

1763. Giles Crouch Kellogg, Enos Nash, John Eastman, Jonathan Warner, David Smith.
1764. Eleazar Porter, Esq., Mr. Jonathan Smith, Capt. Moses Marsh, Mr. Jonathan Cook, Mr. Oliver Warner.
1765. Dea. Enos Nash, Dea. David Smith, Mr. Edmund Hubbard, Mr. John Eastman, Mr. Jonathan Warner.
1766. Mr. Jonathan Smith, Eleazar Porter, Esq., Oliver Warner, Nehemiah Gaylord, Capt. Moses Marsh.
1767. Enos Nash, Samuel Gaylord, John Eastman, Oliver Smith, John Kellogg.
1768. Mr. Jonathan Smith, Eleazar Porter, Esq., Mr. Noah Cooke, Mr. Nehemiah Gaylord, Mr. Elisha Porter.
1769. David Smith, Jonathan Cooke, Oliver Warner, Josiah Peirce, Phinehas Lyman.
1770. Eleazar Porter, Esq., John Eastman, Elisha Porter, Edmund Hubbard, Capt. Moses Marsh.
1771. Jonathan Cooke, Jonathan Warner, Nehemiah Gaylord, Jonathan Smith, Benjamin Colt.
1772. Elisha Porter, Esq., John Eastman, Warham Smith, Oliver Warner, Oliver Smith.
1773. Eleazar Porter, Esq., Jonathan Warner, John Chester Williams, Capt. Moses Marsh, Jonathan Cooke.
1774. Oliver Smith, Charles Phelps, Phinehas Lyman, Warham Smith, Eliakim Smith.
1775. John Eastman, Nehemiah Gaylord, Stephen Goodman, Ebenezer Marsh,* Moses Kellogg, Oliver Smith.
1776. Maj. Eleazar Porter, Caleb Lyman, Capt. Moses Marsh, Josiah Peirce, John Chester Williams.
1777. Eleazar Porter, Esq., Capt. Oliver Smith, Lt. Moses Kellogg, Caleb Lyman, Nehem. Gaylord.
1778. Charles Phelps, Phinehas Lyman, Enos Smith, Enos Nash, John Cooke.
1779. Capt. Oliver Smith, Lt. Daniel White, Thomas Smith, Phinehas Lyman, Ebenezer Marsh.
1780. Col. Elisha Porter, John Chester Williams, Esq., Ensign Edmund Hubbard, Warham Smith, Daniel White.
1781. Enos Nash, Stephen Goodman, Enos Smith, Noah Smith, Nathaniel Montague.
1782. Eleazar Porter, Esq., Charles Phelps, Oliver Smith, Caleb Lyman, Edmund Hubbard.
1783. Charles Phelps, Timothy Eastman, Warham Smith, Sam'l Gaylord, Jr., Capt. D. White.
1784. Nathaniel White, Azariah Dickinson, Lemuel Warner, Stephen Goodman, Lt. Enos Smith.
1785. Warham Smith, Samuel Gaylord, Seth Smith, Dan'l White, Enos Nash.
1786. Warham Smith, Enos Nash, Caleb Lyman, Daniel White, Stephen Goodman.
1787. John Cook, Warham Smith, Lt. Enos Nash, Lt. Enos Smith, Elisha Dickinson.
1788. Ens. Edmund Hubbard, Capt. Charles Phelps, Lt. Enos Smith, Lt. Enos Nash, Ens. Jno. Montague.
1789. Capt. Charles Phelps, Lt. Enos Nash, Lt. Enos Smith, Lt. Elisha Dickinson, Mr. Samuel Gaylord.
1790. Capt. Charles Phelps, Capt. Elisha Dickinson, Ens. Caleb Lyman, Seth Smith, Maj. John Smith.
1791. Oliver Smith, Warham Smith, Charles Phelps, Eleazar Porter, Esq., Willard Smith.

*Refused to serve.

1792. Warham Smith, Elisha Dickinson, Enos Nash, Seth Smith, Eleazar Porter, Jr.
1793. Charles Phelps, Elisha Dickinson, Enos Nash, John Smith, 3d, Chileab Smith.
1794. Enos Nash, Enos Smith, Elisha Dickinson, Samuel Porter, Daniel White.
1795. Elisha Dickinson, Warham Smith, Charles Phelps, Enos Smith, Eleazar Porter, Jr.
1796. Charles Phelps, Esq., Elisha Dickinson, Eleazar Porter, Jr., Seth Smith, Samuel Porter.
1797. Enos Smith, Seth Smith, Samuel Porter, Eleazar Porter, Jr., William Dickinson.
1798. Charles Phelps, Esq., Col. Samuel Porter, Capt. Elisha Dickinson, Lt. Enos Smith, Elihu Smith, 2d.
1799. Capt. Daniel White, Lt. Enos Smith, Maj. Eleazer Porter, William Dickinson, Col. Samuel Porter.
1800. Capt. Elisha Dickinson, Charles Phelps, Esq., Col. Samuel Porter, Lt. Enos Smith, Ens. Caleb Smith.
1801. Lt. Enos Smith, Col. Samuel Porter, Maj. Eleazer Porter, Capt. Elisha Dickinson, David Stockbridge.
1802. Lt. Enos Smith, Dea. Seth Smith, Capt. Elihu Dickinson, Col. Samuel Porter, David Stockbridge.
1803. Enos Smith, Samuel Porter, Elisha Dickinson, David Stockbridge, John Hopkins.
1804. Lt. Enos Smith, Col. Samuel Porter, Charles Phelps, Esq., Lt. Windsor Smith, Timothy Hopkins.
1805. Samuel Porter, Charles Phelps, Elisha Dickinson, Windsor Smith, William Dickinson, 2d.
1806. Charles Phelps, Esq., Samuel Porter, Esq., Lt. Enos Smith, Windsor Smith, Oliver Smith, Jr.
1807. Capt. Elisha Dickinson, Lt. Enos Smith, Charles Phelps, Esq., Lt. Windsor Smith, Samuel Porter, Esq.
1808. Capt. Elisha Dickinson, Lt. Enos Smith, Charles Phelps, Samuel Porter, Esq., Capt. Caleb Smith.
1809. Charles Phelps, Elisha Dickinson, Enos Smith, Windsor Smith, Stephen Johnson.
1810. Charles Phelps, Esq., Enos Smith, Elisha Dickinson, Windsor Smith, Samuel Porter, Esq.
1811. Dea. William Dickinson, Timothy Hopkins, Stephen Johnson, Capt. Caleb Smith, Giles C. Kellogg.
1812. Dea. William Dickinson, Lt. Enos Smith, Samuel Porter, Esq., Charles Phelps, Esq., Lt. Windsor Smith.
1813. Dea. William Dickinson, Samuel Porter, Esq., Charles Phelps, Esq., Jacob Smith, Windsor Smith.
1814. Dea. William Dickinson, John Hodge, Capt. Eli Smith.
1815. Samuel Porter, Esq., Lt. Sylvester Goodman, Chester Hawley.
1816. Gen. Samuel Porter, Dea. William Dickinson, Moses Porter, Esq., John Hodge, Lt. Sylvester Goodman.
1817. Doct. Reuben Bell, Ens. William Smith, Capt. Ephraim Smith.
1818. Doct. Reuben Bell, Lt. William Smith, Capt. Ephraim Smith.
1819. Hon. Samuel Porter, Capt. Ephraim Smith, Lt. Sylvester Smith.
1820. Hon. Samuel Porter, Charles P. Phelps, Esq., Capt. Eli Smith.
1821. Hon. Samuel Porter, Charles P. Phelps, Esq., Capt. Eli Smith.
1822. Charles P. Phelps, Esq., Col. Sylvester Goodman, Moses Porter, Esq.
1823. Charles P. Phelps, Esq., Dea. William Dickinson, Capt. Eli Smith.
1824. Dea. Wm. Dickinson, Charles P. Phelps, Esq., Capt. Eli Dickinson.
1825. Charles P. Phelps, Esq., Samuel Porter, Esq., Capt. Amos Pasco.
1826. Capt. William Dickinson, Joseph Marsh, Moses Porter, Esq.
1827. Dea. William Dickinson, Moses Porter, Esq., Joseph Marsh.

1828. John Hibbard, Zadock Lyman, Sylvanus Dickinson.
1829. Col. Ephraim Smith, Zadock Lyman, John Hibbard.
1830. Hon. Charles P. Phelps, Capt. Amos Pasco, Dr. Reuben Bell.
1831. Hon. Charles P. Phelps, Simeon Dickinson, Oliver Bonney.
1832. Hon. Charles P. Phelps, Simeon Dickinson, Oliver Bonney.
1833. Jason Stockbridge, Col. Ephraim Smith, John Shipman.
1834. Jason Stockbridge, Col. Ephraim Smith, John Shipman.
1835. Simeon Dickinson, Cotton Smith, Elijah Smith.
1836. Walter Newton, Simeon Dickinson, Joseph Smith.
1837. Simeon Dickinson, E. W. Skerry, William Smith.
1838. Sylvester Smith, Levi Dickinson, Jr., Cotton Smith.
1839. John Shipman, Charles P. Phelps, Esq., Wm. Smith, Esq.
1840. Simeon Dickinson, Hiram Thayer, Erastus Smith, Jr.
1841. Sereno Smith, Hiram Thayer, Nathan Clark.
1842. Sereno Smith, Nathan Clark, Parsons West.
1843. Hiram Thayer, Zenas Cook, Horace Smith.
1844. Horace Smith, Hiram Thayer, Zenas Cook.
1845. Leicester W. Porter, William S. Shipman, Calvin Russell.
1846. Leicester W. Porter, William S. Shipman, Calvin Russell.
1847. Caleb D. Dickinson, Wyman Smith, Joseph Smith, Esq.
1848. Oliver Bonney, John A. Morton, Isaac Hawley.
1849. William S. Shipman, Alfred H. Cook, Thaddeus Smith.
1850. William S. Shipman, Alfred H. Cook, Thaddeus Smith.
1851. Lorenzo N. Granger, Rodney Smith, Martin F. Cook.
1852. Rodney Smith, Martin F. Cook, Lorenzo N. Granger.
1853. Charles P. Hitchcock, Linus Green, Perez S. Williams.
1854. Charles P. Hitchcock, Linus Green, Levi Stockbridge.
1855. H. C. Hurd, John S. Bell, Perez S. Williams.
1856. John S. Bell, H. C. Hurd, Jeriah S. Smith.
1857. William P. Dickinson, Jeriah S. Smith, David S. Cowles.
1858. William P. Dickinson, D. S. Cowles, Enos E. Cook.
1859. Thaddeus Smith, Samuel Bell, George Shipman.
1860. R. M. Montague, Samuel Bell, George Shipman.
1861. R. M. Montague, Enos E. Cook, Thomas Reynolds.
1862. John S. Bell, Lorenzo N. Granger, Jeriah S. Smith.

HADLEY RECORDERS OR TOWN CLERKS.

1660—1. Nathaniel Dickinson.
1661—1693. Peter Tilton.
1693—1727. Samuel Barnard.
1727—1747. Job Marsh.
1747—1781. Josiah Peirce.
1781—1790. Eleazar Porter.
1790—1796. Enos Nash.
1796—7. Elisha Hubbard.
1797—1802. John Hopkins.
1802—1803. William Porter.
1803—1806. Seth Herbert Rogers.
1806—1834. Giles Crouch Kellogg.
1834—1841. Dudley Smith.
1841—1842. Simeon Dickinson.
1842—1854. Orlando Smith.
1854—1862. William S. Shipman.

AMHERST REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS.

1801—3, ... Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr.
1839—45 . . . . . Osmyn Baker.
1853—5, ... Edward Dickinson.

AMHERST STATE COUNSELLORS.

1846—7, ... Edward Dickinson.
1849—50, ... Timothy J. Gridley.

STATE SENATORS FROM AMHERST.

1792—3, ... Simeon Strong.
1795—6, ... Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr.
1833—4, ... John Leland.
1842—3, ... Edward Dickinson.
1858, ... James Woodbury Boyden.
1860, ... Lucius Manlius Boltwood.

AMHERST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTOR.

Ebenezer Mattoon.

AMHERST DELEGATES AND REPRESENTATIVES.

1774, Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr., Delegate to Prov. Congress at Concord.
1775, Jan. Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr., Delegate to Prov. Congress at Watertown.
1775, July. Moses Dickinson.
1776, May. John Billings.
1776, May. Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr., Delegate to State Convention at Concord.
1777, May. John Billings, Moses Dickinson.
1778, Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr., Joseph Eastman.
1779, July. Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr., Delegate to Convention at Concord which formed State Constitution.
1780, Nathaniel Dickinson.
1781, Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr.
1782, None.
1783, Nathaniel Dickinson.
1784, Eli Parker.
1785, Eli Parker.
1786, None.
1787, Daniel Cooley.
1788, Daniel Cooley.
1789, None.
1790, Simeon Strong.
1791, Simeon Strong.
1792, Moses Cook.
1793, Moses Cook.
1794, Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr.
1795, None.
1796, Zebina Montague.
1797, Zebina Montague.
1798, Zebina Montague.
1799, Zebina Montague.
1800, Zebina Montague.
1801, Zebina Montague.
1802, Zebina Montague.
1803, Zebina Montague.
1804, Zebina Montague.
1805, Samuel Fowler Dickinson.
1806, Samuel Fowler Dickinson.
1807, Samuel Fowler Dickinson.
1808, Samuel Fowler Dickinson, Zebina Montague.
1809, Samuel Fowler Dickinson, Simeon Strong.
1810, Medad Dickinson, Elisha Smith.
1811, Medad Dickinson, Elisha Smith.
1812, Ebenezer Mattoon, Simeon Strong.
1813, Samuel Fowler Dickinson, Simeon Strong.
1814, Simeon Strong, Noah Webster.
1815, Noah Webster.
1816, Samuel Fowler Dickinson.
1817, Samuel Fowler Dickinson.
1818, Samuel Fowler Dickinson.
1819, Noah Webster.
1820, Timothy Jones Gridley.
1820, Ebenezer Mattoon, Israel Scott, } Delegates to Constitutional Convention.
1821, Nathan Franklin
1822, Aaron Merrick.
1823, Isaac Robbins.
1824, Isaac Robbins.
1825, No representative.
1826, Timothy Jones Gridley.
1827, Chester Dickinson, Samuel Fowler Dickinson.
1828, Enos Dickinson, Samuel Fowler Dickinson.
1829, Elijah Boltwood, Daniel Dickinson, Samuel Fowler Dickinson.
1830, Isaac Guernsey Cutler, Zebina Dickinson.
1831, Zebina Dickinson, John Leland.
1832, Oliver Dickinson, 2d. John Leland.
1833, Osmyn Baker, Daniel Dickinson, George Nutting.
1834, Osmyn Baker, Elijah Boltwood, Zebina Dickinson.
1835, Elijah Boltwood. Reuben Roberts, Ebenezer Williams.
1836, Martin Baker, Osmyn Baker, George Nutting.
1837, Osmyn Baker, Enos Dickinson, 2d, Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr.

1838,	Edward Dickinson, Eleazer Kellogg.
1839,	Edward Dickinson, Oliver Dickinson.
1840,	Charles Adams, Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr.
1841,	Samuel Cutts Carter
1842,	Samuel Cutts Carter.
1843,	Ezra Ingram.
1844,	Timothy Jones Gridley.
1845,	Thomas Jones.
1846,	Timothy Jones Gridley.
1847,	John Leland.
1848,	Alfred Baker.
1849,	Luke Sweetser.
1850,	Waitstill Dickinson.
1851,	William Chauncey Fowler.
1852,	Oliver Watson.
1853,	Ithamar Conkey, Delegate to Constitutional Convention.
1853,	Moses Billings Greene.
1854,	Ithamar Francis Conkey.
1855,	Benjamin Franklin Smith.
1856,	Baxter Eastman.
1857,	Enos Dickinson Williams.
1858,	George Warner,†
1859,	Lorenzo S. Nash, of Granby.
1860,	Josiah Ayres.
1861,	Marcus C. Grout, of Pelham.
1862,	John R. Cushman.
1863,	Samuel Smith, Jr., of Granby.

COLLEGE GRADUATES, NATIVES OF AMHERST.

1771,	Harvard,	*Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr.
1771,	"	*Rev. David Parsons, D.D.
1773,	"	*Ebenezer Boltwood.
1775,	Dartmouth,	*Rev. David Kellogg, D.D.
1776,	"	*Hon. Ebenezer Mattoon.
1778,	Yale,	*Aaron Kellogg.
1785,	Dartmouth,	*Rev. Timothy Dickinson.
1786,	Yale,	*Simeon Strong, Esq.
1792,	Dartmouth,	*Dr. Rufus Cowles.
1795,	"	*Hon. Samuel Fowler Dickinson.
1795,	"	*Eli Emmons.
1796,	"	*Rev. Tilton Eastman.
1798,	Williams,	*John Strong.
1798,	"	*Hon. Solomon Strong.
1800,	"	Hon. John Dickinson.
1800,	"	*Moses Dickinson.
1800,	"	*Rev. Eliphalet Beecher Coleman.
1800,	"	*Rev. Bela Kellogg.
1802,	Dartmouth,	Hon. Samuel Eastman.
1803,	"	Noah Dickinson Mattoon.
1810,	Williams,	Hon. Daniel Kellogg, LL.D.
1811,	"	*Moses Smith.
1811,	Yale,	*Jonathan Eastman, Esq.
1812,	Williams,	*Oliver Smith.
1813,	"	*Hon. Chester Ashley.
1813,	Dartmouth,	*Rev. Austin Dickinson.
1814	Williams,	Lucius Boltwood, Esq.
1815,	Yale,	Henry Kellogg, Esq.
1815,	Williams,	*Lucius Smith, Esq.
1815,	Middlebury,	*Hon. Silas Wright, LL.D.
1816,	Williams,	*Horace Smith, Esq.
1816,	Yale,	*Hon. Francis Parsons.
1817,	"	Rev. Baxter Dickinson, D.D.
1821,	"	Rev. Ornan Eastman.
1822,	"	Hon. Osmyn Baker.
1822,	Middlebury,	*Rev. Aaron Billings Church.
1822,	"	Rev. Moses Billings Church.
1822,	"	Rev. Erie Prince.
1823,	Yale,	Hon. Edward Dickinson.

†Since 1858, Amherst, Granby and Pelham have constituted one Representative District.
*Deceased.

1825,	Amherst,	*Appleton Dickinson.
1825,	"	*George White, M.D.
1826	"	Robert Cutler.
1826,	"	*Joseph Peck.
1826,	"	*Charles Lee Strong.
1828,	"	William Barre Stetson.
1829,	"	Moses Billings Greene.
1829,	"	*Stillman Moody.
1830,	"	*James Parsons.
1831,	"	Chester William Cowles, M. D.
1831,	"	*Rev. Solomon Boltwood Ingram.
1832,	"	Zebina Clinton Montague.
1833,	Union,	John Dickinson.
1835,	Amherst,	Rev. David Eastman.
1837,	"	Frederick Dickinson.
1839,	"	*Albert Ripley Palmer, Esq.
1840,	"	Rev. John Henry Martyn Leland.
1841,	"	Rev. Noadiah Smith Dickinson.
1842,	"	*Rev. James Granger Bridgman.
1843,	"	Hon. Lucius Manlius Boltwood.
1843,	"	Rev. Zephaniah Moore Humphrey.
1847,	"	Samuel Worcester Dana, Esq.
1849,	"	Prof. Edward Hitchcock, Jr.
1850,	"	William Austin Dickinson, Esq.
1851,	"	William Parsons Washburn.
1852,	"	William Horatio Adams.
1853,	"	Henry Leonidas Boltwood.
1853,	"	Rev. Joseph Leroy Atwell Fish.
1853,	"	Richard Salter Storrs.
1855,	"	Rev. William Eastman Dickinson.
1856,	Yale,	Francis Fellowes, Esq.
1856,	Amherst,	Charles Henry Hitchcock.
1857,	"	Rev. Asahel Lewis Clark.
1858,	"	Royal Washburn Clark.
1858,	"	Rufus Bela Kellogg.
1860,	Yale,	Edward Boltwood, Esq.
1860,	Amherst,	Justin Perkins Kellogg, Esq.
1861,	"	Marshall Blair Cushman.
1862,	"	Marquis Fayette Dickinson, Jr.
1862,	"	Mason Whiting Tyler.

*Deceased.

APPENDIX TO PRESENT EDITION

Notes on the Recent History of the Town

BRINGING THE RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS DOWN TO 1905

North Hadley. From 1850 to 1875 there was scarcely a home in this part of the town that did not have one or more broom machines at work on the premises during the winter months. The largest individual manufacturers were Thaddeus Smith and his successor G. Myron Smith, who made a specialty of brooms for export. An allied business was the manufacturing of broom tools. This industry was originated by C. D. Dickinson, and conducted by J. C. and A. C. Howe. Even to this day the name of C. D. Dickinson & Sons is a standard for a well-made broom, needle or knife to the uttermost parts of the United States.

A considerable lumbering business was done between 1860 and 1870 by L. M. Granger, who was also a building contractor.

Another well-known industry was that of Benjamin and Levi Adams' wagon-making shop in Plainville.

The financial stress of 1873 caught the northern section of the town unprepared, and the failure of some of the leading men dealt a blow which transformed a prosperous people into a disheartened community. Only one or two persons continued to make brooms, and most families turned to tilling the soil. Tobacco raising has since been the principal industry, and has proved a lottery, enriching some and impoverishing others.

Memoranda. A steam ferry was installed at Hockanum in 1865, but it was not profitable and was discontinued a few years later.

In July, 1888, the Lyman Tavern at Hockanum, over a century old, burned.

Early in 1891 a train on the Massachusetts Central ran into a sleighing party at Flaherty's Crossing and two young people of Florence were killed—Dr. Learned's son and Rev. Mr. Hinckley's daughter.

In the fall of 1894 a section of state road was built in the town. Additions were made in the years following until in 1904 the entire distance from Northampton to Amherst had been macadamized.

In 1899 the electric road was built from Northampton to Amherst. For a time passengers crossed the long bridge on a barge; but the following year a bridge for the electric road was completed.

In 1901 the town joined two other towns to engage a superintendent of schools.

In 1902 the St. John's Catholic Church was erected at a cost of about $8000.

Late in 1902 an acetylene gas plant was established by citizens of the town at a cost of about $1000, and from this source the Library, Town Hall and First Church are now lighted.

In 1902 a pipe organ was installed in the First Church at a cost of $1200.

In 1905 a reservoir was made at Hartsbrook and pipes were laid to supply the center of the town. The investment of this enterprise was about $40,000.

Mt. Holyoke. In 1851 Mr. J. W. French built a two-story "Prospect House" on the summit of the mountain, and in 1854 constructed a rude railway up the last steep ridge. A horse in the basement of the house furnished the motive power. Two years later a small steam engine was substituted for the horse. In 1861 the house was much enlarged, and in 1867 the railway track was covered as it is now. A rival house was started in 1869 by Loren Pease, an old-fashioned Hockanum farmer who was not on the best of terms with Mr. French. His house stood on a spur of the mountain a little south of Mr. French's place; but it was never finished. Mr. Pease's money gave out and his farm was saddled with a mortgage he never was able to pay. His mountain house grew brown and weatherworn and shabby, and about 1880 was pulled to pieces. "Lord John," as Mr. French was sometimes called by local residents, had no other rivals. His house was again very much enlarged in 1894.

Just after the war Mr. French had a steamer built to ply back and forth on the river and connect with the railroad at the Mt. Tom Station. It was a square-ended side-wheeler, called the "Wawhillowa," a name formerly borne by an Indian chief of the vicinity. Till 1876 it made its seven trips a day during the summer season. Then, for two years there was no boat, but in 1878, the "Mt. Holyoke," a trim stern-wheeler, with a pointed bow, went into service and continued to run back and forth till 1882.

The Civil War. The number of men who went from Hadley to the Civil War was 214. There was hardly a family but had representatives on the distant battlefields. From Virginia to Louisiana they marched and fought, and many found graves under a southern sun. The most notable of Hadley's soldiers was "Fighting Joe" Hooker, born in an old hip-roofed mansion on West street, in 1814. He died at Garden City, Long Island, in 1879. In 1895 the Third Army Corps Union held their Annual Meeting in Hadley and did honor to the memory of their old leader. This was one of the town's great days. The Hooker house was burned April 6th, 1898, by a fire started on an adjoining estate.

Floods. The greatest flood on record was that of April, 1862. It was caused entirely by melting snow. The weather was very warm for several days, touching at the highest point 82 in the shade. The water rose very fast and the meadows and West street were almost entirely covered. Not half a dozen houses in the old street escaped with dry cellars, and at the south end the lower floors were invaded. There were lively times night and day rescuing furniture, and wading and swimming the stock from the barns to certain knolls that were not submerged. It was feared the current would tear a channel through the street, and an attempt was made to shut out the water by filling a hollow at the north end with dirt, but this was ineffectual. At the post-office the water just missed coming in on the floor, and boats were rowed from there along the highway clear to Northampton.

In October, 1869, there was another serious flood. For thirty-six hours the rain fell in sheets and streamed down the window-panes so that one could hardly see out. The storm cleared about noon, and by night the river was over the meadows. The husking had begun, but much of the corn was still in the fields and great quantities were swept away. The river was full of stalks and pumpkins and wreckage of all sorts. Farther north, buildings and manufactories had been overwhelmed, including the Esty Organ Works at Brattleboro. A good deal of wreckage lodged on the banks and low grounds, and the meadows between the town and Hockanum were covered. There were many black walnut boards from the organ works and boxes of boots and shoes, barrels of flour and no end of corn and pumpkins. More or less of value was rescued. Some of the corn, even, was taken home, but it was too wet to keep.

Hopkins Academy. The first Academy building was erected

in 1817 on what was then known as Middle Lane, now Russell street. It was of brick, and its height of three stories made it seem to the country boys of that day the biggest and most imposing structure they had ever seen. Rev. Dan Huntington was the first principal at a salary of $500 a year. In the early morning of February 18, 1860, the building was destroyed by fire which started in some ashes in the basement. There was no insurance. For a few months the school was continued in two rooms of Lucius Crane's house, but by autumn a room for the purpose was made ready in the lower part of the First Church. A new building was not erected until 1865. It replaced the Blake and Stebbins houses on the southwest corner of Middle and Russell streets. Though a rather plain and unpretending two-story wooden structure, it cost with furnishings at that time of high prices nearly $16,000. This building burned about noon December 14, 1893, the fire starting in the heating pipes, and the school was again transferred to the First Church. The year following, the present handsome building was put up. The cost when the plans were accepted was estimated to be $12,000, but it exceeded $18,000.

The Academy funds, after various vicissitudes, have increased to a total of about $100,000 and yield an income which will do much for the town's future.

A Railroad Investment. In 1872, Hadley borrowed $70,000 and invested it in Massachusetts Central Railroad stock. Many other towns along the line also bought stock in order that the railroad might be built, and with the idea that they would realize manifold benefits. But in spite of all this public fostering the enterprise went to pieces, and all Hadley had to show for its dream of railway connection with the rest of the world were some weedy embankments and cuts, a half-completed bridge across the Connecticut and a debt on which the people were paying six per cent, seven per cent and even more, interest. Years passed and the railroad that looked so dead came to life and was completed. Trains began to run in 1887 and the stock was worth something. Its value was, however, only a small fraction of par and the prospect of income from it was remote. The towns were heartily sick of railroading, and within a few years they all sold out, some for less than ten per cent, a few for nearly thirty. For two or three years the Hadley station was in an old house on West street, because the two sections of the town were squabbling as to where the permanent station should be. But at last

that matter was settled. The millstone of a debt has been lightened, too, yet the end is still a long way off.

The Bridge Disaster. On the afternoon of June 14, 1876, a cyclone struck the region. It laid low various tobacco barns and many trees, and it lifted from its piers the great covered toll bridge connecting Hadley with Northampton and dropped it into the river beside them. Eleven persons and seven teams went down with the bridge. Mrs. Catharine Sullivan of Hadley was instantly killed and Sheriff Enos Cook of Hadley was struck on the head by a heavy timber and seriously injured. Some of the travelers would probably have been drowned had it not been that the water was very low at the time and the wreckage lay on the sandbars and in the shallows like a stranded raft. Most of those in the bridge soon either crawled out or were helped out. When the gale began Charles Cook of Hadley and his little son Fred sought shelter in the bridge, and then, fearful of danger, left it. No sooner had they stepped outside than the wind caught the boy and blew him into the top of a tree, whence he had to be taken down. The present iron bridge replaced the old one at a cost of $20,000 and was ready for travel in November, 1877.

The Poor. In 1878, the town bought a farm at the upper end of East street, enlarged the house on it, and since then the place has been run as a poor farm. Before that the helpless poor were as a rule boarded out. There was, however, on the lane which runs east from the present Bardwell place, a low, long, shanty of a house known as "the poor house." It belonged to the town with an acre or so of land, and was occupied by "Dud" Till, a colored man, and his numerous progeny. One or two shiftless whites were included among the inmates, but the other color was so predominant that the byway was usually spoken of as "Nigger Lane." The pauper dwellers at the present poor farm are reasonably comfortable, and yet the place serves as a wholesome sort of a bugbear. The stigma of being an inmate there is not agreeable, liberty is curtailed, one is cut off from the life and surroundings to which he is accustomed, and most persons will contrive to do something for themselves and get along with a very slender dole of outside aid before they will go to the town farm.

The Great Blizzard. This occurred in March, 1888. It began rather mildly early one morning, but presently thickened into a blinding storm. A fierce gale blew and by afternoon

travel was almost impossible. The schools closed early. Many children from the outlying districts had their teams at the Center and most of them attempted to go home. From Hockanum there were three sleighs, but the children after leaving the last house behind soon got off the road, one horse fell and could not be got on its feet. They unhitched the other two horses and laying hold of their tails struggled back to the town. The abandoned horse was found the next day, but was so far gone with exposure it had to be killed. The North Hadley children fared much the same as those from Hockanum. On the outskirts of the central village they concluded it was a hopeless task to proceed with their teams and left them at one of the homes. They attempted to continue on foot, but a half-mile farther they, too, sought shelter for the night.

There were many narrow escapes from death in the storm, and travel was almost suspended for several days. Three feet of snow had fallen and ten-foot drifts were common. Often windows and doorways were covered out of sight.

The Threatening River. In 1888 the state appropriated $15,000 to protect the river bank north of the town. The current had been continually encroaching here until it threatened the homes. The bank was graded and completely covered, both above and below the water line, with mats of willow brush over which there was placed rubblestone and riprap. In each of the years 1889, 1900 and 1901 appropriations the same as the first were made, and a total of $60,000 has been expended protecting a length of about a mile.

The Library. Somewhat before the middle of the last century there was organized "The Hadley Young Men's Library Association." This began a semi-public library and for many years the town turned over to this association two-thirds of the dog fund, the balance being paid to a similar organization in North Hadley. There was presently not much left to the Association in Hadley but the name, and Dr. Franklin Bonney took entire charge of the books and kept them in his house until his dwelling burned about 1878. Most of the books were rescued and they were thenceforth kept for a number of years at the home of Miss Julia Lawrence, and later at Mr. Dwight Marsh's. The fee for drawing books was twenty-five cents for three months, and the number of patrons in the later years was only about ten a week. In 1900 the library was made free and transferred to a basement

room in the Academy building. Since then the number of books drawn weekly has been a hundred or more.

In March, 1901, the suggestion was made by Mr. Clifton Johnson to Bishop Huntington that there was a possibility Mr. John Dwight of New York, a summer resident of the vicinity and a wealthy descendant of the town, might be willing to supply the community with a library building. The suggestion appealed to Bishop Huntington as worthy to be acted on, and his personal interest in the matter had much to do with the final result. Mr. Dwight contributed a total of $5,050, and citizens and friends of the town raised about $4,300 more. The Goodwin Memorial building was erected the following year, replacing the old Kellogg house just north of the town hall. The library was dedicated on August 19, 1903. The day was warm, the sky clouded and threatening, but the town hall, where the exercises were held, was crowded. This was Bishop Huntington's last public appearance in the town. At the close of the exercises the library was thrown open, and the building itself and the collection of rare historical relics gathered for the occasion in the assembly room of the upper story were viewed with general interest and satisfaction.

Bishop Huntington. Gen. Hooker and Bishop Frederic Dan Huntington are the two most famous men Hadley has produced. The latter was born in 1819 in the fine old colonial mansion that was built by his ancestor Captain Moses Porter in 1752. In early life he was a Unitarian pastor in Boston, later professor of morals in Harvard College, and still later he connected himself with the Episcopal church and became the Bishop of Central New York. He was always a man of liberal thought, high ideals and the widest sympathy. As a speaker his good sense and sincerity, his simplicity and humor and eloquence made him one of the great preachers of his time. He was the author of a number of books and of many articles in periodicals. His summers were spent at the family home in Hadley and his interest in the old farm and his delight in the region were unfailing. He died in the house where he was born, July 11, 1904. By a strange coincidence, his son, Rev. George P. Huntington, died the same day, and both were buried on the beautiful and gentle summer afternoon of July 14, in the Hadley cemetery.

Hadley in Literature. The most famous book for which the town has furnished inspiration is J. Fenimore Cooper's "The Wept of Wish-ton-wish." This deals with the early life

of the region. It is highly romantic and there is much of poetic license in its handling of facts.

In Scott's "Peveril of the Peak" the story of Hadley's "Angel Deliverer" is incidentally told.

Another notable book closely concerned with the town is J. G. Holland's "Kathrina," one of the most widely circulated volumes of verse that has been published in this country.

Holland was born in Belchertown, in 1819. The family was poor and moved several times, and the boy was soon thrown on his own resources. When he was about eighteen he worked for a time on a Hockanum farm, the owner of which was the local ferryman. One of Holland's tasks was to pull the rude ferry-boat back and forth across his

"Winding and willow-fringed Connecticut."

It is remembered that when working in the meadow with some of the other village lads they got to talking of their future, and Holland said, "I tell you, boys, I'm going to be something when I grow up."

The hero of "Kathrina" was a Northampton boy whose mother when he was a child took him across the river to where

..... "At Holyoke's verdant base
Like a slim hound, stretched at his master's feet—
Lay the long, lazy hamlet, Hockanum."

The mother had a woman friend in the village and with her spent the afternoon. Many years passed and the hero was now a young man. One summer Sunday he wandered across the long covered bridge and through the meadows to Hadley. The doors of the church on the common were open and he heard the congregation singing. A woman's voice rising above the others attracted him and he went in, and the owner of the voice proved to be Kathrina. This maiden, it happened, was living with her aunt in Hockanum, and the aunt was the friend of the hero's mother. The girl had so charmed him that he henceforth began to go over the river pretty constantly to Hockanum to see her. His first visit was on a Thursday and that evening he escorted her to the weekly social worship at

....."the humble hut
Which, for long years, had held the village school
The room,
Battered and black by wantonest abuse
Of the rude youth, was lit by feeble lamps,
Brought by the villagers; and scattered round
Upon the high, hacked benches, hardly less
Rude and rough-worn than they, the worshippers
In silence sat."

Autumn came and on one of their field walks, sitting near the foot of the mountain, the young man proposed, and in a few weeks the wedding followed.

Mary P. Wells Smith has given great pleasure to a multitude of readers by her "Young Puritans of Old Hadley" and other books in the same series, dealing with incidents of the town's colonial period.

The following of Clifton Johnson's books are concerned more or less closely with the town life past and present—"Old Time Schools and Schoolbooks," "The Farmer's Boy," "What They Say in New England," "Country Clouds and Sunshine" and "The Country School."

Rev. Rowland Ayres wrote a detailed "History of Hopkins Academy;" Miss Aria Huntington tells the story of the beautiful old Huntington homestead in "Under a Colonial Rooftree"; and Mrs. Julia Taft Bayne has given us a little volume of "Hadley Ballads," which starts with a beautiful poem on "The Hadley Weathercock." The first verse is this:

"On Hadley steeple proud I sit,
Steadfast and true, I never flit;
Summer and winter, night and day,
The merry winds around me play,
And far below my gilded feet
The generations come, and go,
In one unceasing ebb and flow,
Year after year in Hadley street.
I nothing care, I only know,
God sits above, He wills it so;
While roundabout and roundabout and
roundabout I go,
The way o' the wind, the changing wind,
the way o' the changing wind."

John Howard Jewett, poet and writer of children's book, is a Hadley boy, and Clarence Hawkes, the blind poet, makes the town his home, as does also George C. Marsh, author of several novels.

The Feud of the Streets. For a long time West street was practically the whole town; but at length houses began to grow up along Middle street, and outlying villages developed. Thus it in time came about that Middle street was a more convenient center for public buildings than the older street. The town meeting-house stood on the common just north of the Northampton road, and along the street walks on either side were lines of rails to which the worshippers hitched their teams. The residents in other parts of the town finally concluded the church ought to

be moved to a more generally convenient location, and in 1840 they outvoted the old street, and the church started on its journey. The old street was no longer supreme, but it still had all the "crankiness and aristocracy and its residents felt warranted in putting on airs over everybody outside." A family on Middle street might be "rich as mud" and yet not hold a candle to the ancient families on the other street. Hockanum, Hartsbrook and North Hadley were "of no account anyway." Nevertheless, such men as Gen. Parsons West and Maj. 'Vester Smith had to be reckoned with. The former especially had the reputation of being "a bulldog of a fellow," and he was always put in front when there was a fight. There is a legend that it had been agreed the church should stand half way between the two streets; but that when it had progressed that far, Gen. West got enthusiastic and swung his hat, shouting, "Come on, let's move it to Middle street. They'll all follow." He was backed up by his party and the building was hustled along to its present site; and to this day the West family are said to be proud of this episode in the life of their ancestor.

The incident is probably exaggerated. The facts seem to be that the old street was willing to agree to the removal of the church halfway to Middle street, but their opponents would not compromise. The process of moving was very slow and services were held in the church for several Sundays while the church was on its travels. It is said that the West street people attended the services till the church passed the half-way point and then promptly seceded. For a time they held their religious meetings in the assembly hall in the third story of the Academy building, but in 1842 they erected a church on the east side of the broad street, a little north of Russell street. Here worship was continued until about 1890. Meanwhile the old families had dwindled, and the wealth of the street was depleted, and finally the church was closed. Most of the attendants joined forces with the First Church on the other street. Their church property reverted to the heirs of the original owner of the land, and the basement of the edifice was for a time used as a grain store, but now the building is empty and shows melancholy marks of time and weather.

One chief reason for the removal of the old church is reputed to have been the lack of shelter for the worshippers' horses. West street objected to having horse sheds erected there, and the other party took the church where they could put them up. But though they built a long triple line of them, not all the teams

could find shelter in those good church-going days. Many were hitched to a convenient quarter-board fence that separated the church property from the Pierce homestead next to the south. Mr. Pierce was a rather silent and peculiar individual, commonly known as "Kapas." He objected to having his fence chewed up by the church-goers' horses, and he nursed his wrath until one day he took his hammer and some tenpenny nails and nailed every halter to his fence. Kapas did not take much stock in religion, and yet at long intervals he would attend service. On such an occasion his most noteworthy article of clothing was a pair of silk pants made out of an old dress of his wife's. He was commonly believed to be a miser. He certainly lived shabbily enough, and he would pick up old cigar stubs and smoke them. When he died, about 1890, it was rumored that the nearest of kin tore up floors and opened walls and ransacked the antiquated dwelling pretty thoroughly in a hunt for the miser's treasure.

But to return to the feud of the streets.

The two sections of the town never have established wholly amicable relations since those old days when the church traveled a quarter of a mile east from its ancient site. There is still bitterness. The two streets, West and Middle, are popularly known as Front and Back streets, and the boys of the former used to shame those of the latter by saying

"Back-streeters
Eat muskeeters."

Then there would be a fight and the Front-streeter would try to convince the other with his fists that, "You stole our church."

The elders were accustomed to battle for what they thought were their rights in town-meeting, and the wrath and vehemence were sometimes very spectacular.

Contrasts. At the time Sylvester Judd died, Hadley was a substantial and wealthy town. It contained many important families which were considered rich. Those were the old broom-corn and cattle-raising days, and the business of the residents was steady and methodical. Nearly all persons of mature years were "pretty strong on religion." Indeed, religion was their recreation and a vital topic of social conversation. They would not have gone to a theater. In the first place, there was none to go to, and in the second place it was an amusement of the devil's own contriving. What the old deacons and elders of the church didn't know about sanctification and predestination and such like things wasn't worth knowing. They would talk over these

topics soberly and profoundly as if they understood all about them, while the children listened in awed silence to the incomprehensible discussions. Times and seasons were observed with care and everybody went to church. A man would hardly have dared outrage the public sentiment of the town by staying away from divine service. The Sabbath began at sunset on Saturday, and the minute the sun was gone the ordinary week-day work stopped. "I can remember," says one of the older Hadley men, "that if I was husking on the meadow, the minute the sun was out of sight I'd drop the ear I had in my hand and start for home. After a while I got a position as a printer's apprentice in Northampton, and there I had to work right along without regard to the Saturday sundown. I felt wicked enough." At sunset on Sunday the sacred period ended, the children could play and the men might whet their scythes and go out and mow, and the women would sew or knit, or perhaps do their weekly washing.

The strictness of the elders and their rather colorless sobriety did not always have a salutary effect on the young people. The latter were inclined to resent so much theological constraint and to kick over the traces. Some of them were "raising Cain" all the time. Firstly, they probably learned to smoke. Often of an evening they would drive off "lickity cut" to Northampton, and you could hear their team rattling with an ominous celerity across the old covered bridge. After indulging in some more or less mild dissipation they would return. Again, they would attend some rowdy dance and be out all night, and come home and blow about what they had done as if it was the greatest performance ever heard of and reflected vast credit on them—"got the best of the old man that time."

An immense amount of broom-corn was raised on the town meadows, and occasional lots were planted to it as late as 1875; but since then broom-corn has been a rarity. There are still a few broom-shops left; but the material is imported from the West. Just before the war tobacco began to take the place of the former staple. Hitherto the people had been conservative and frugal, and perhaps rather given to squeezing the dollar. The people all owned their homes and most of them had money laid away. Tobacco for the first few years was a bonanza. The profits were large and people thought they were now going to get rich in a year or two. It was a kind of intoxication. They were bewitched with the new crop, and with the money flowing in built big barns and bought recklessly many things they never thought of needing before. The children, too, imbibed extravagant notions and the

yearly cost of living greatly increased. Then the high prices of tobacco took a drop and entanglements and a dismal aftermath of mortgages followed. The town has never recovered.

Of course some citizens fought shy of tobacco. They thought the use of it was vicious and the raising of it scarcely less so. The business was like liquor selling—morally wrong. Besides it was nasty work handling the crop—picking off those big green worms and getting your hands covered with that gummy, bitter juice. So they staunchly held to their accustomed ways and when the smash came their view was that it served the tobacco raisers right.

Most of the old families are gone now, and the spot which is the most eloquent of the past is the meadow cemetery. On the western side are the moss-grown stones of the early settlers, and on the eastern side the more modern marble and granite. Within a stone's throw the shriek of the locomotive is heard every day, and the railroad cuts the wide street in twain. If the first settlers should return to view the town, no doubt they would be frightened back to their graves by the monster engines which rush along the iron rails. If the ancestral citizens were to venture through the town that once was theirs, they would find few of their descendants in the village homes; and yet the change in population has been comparatively recent. Fifty years ago the Irish were beginning to acquire some of the little farms on the outskirts. Now they are an important part of the life of the town and are large property owners. In recent years many Poles have been buying land in the town. They spend little, they all work, men, women and children, and soon pay for their places; and they are becoming more and more an important element in the community.

In appearance the town has improved decidedly. The older people tell how the broad street, now the pride of all the citizens, was broken with hillocks and with shallow pools where great flocks of geese paddled in the mire. The home-lots between West street and Middle street were each fenced off from those adjoining, and thickets of wild cherry and ditch brush grew along the fences, and in the season became the haunts of armies of caterpillars. The cowsheds were often conspicuously near the streets and the manure heaps in full view. Frequently the farm wagons and litter took up pretty much all the premises about the front door. There was no effort to have an attractive yard—no aspiration to keep things looking nice. If the women wanted a few flowers they could tuck them in somewhere, but their doing so was likely to be regarded as nonsense.

Most of the fences that used to tightly hem in the home premises have gone; lawns are kept mowed and there is constant care to have all the surroundings of the house neat and presentable. But the chief glory of the town is its trees, and nothing quite so adequate has ever been said of them as is found in Mrs. Bayne's poem.

THE HADLEY ELMS

The Hadley elms! in what forgotten year
Men planted them to make our village fair
We cannot know. The sun, the earth, and air
Have fostered them, and those who set them here
Have fled so far beyond, even history's ear
Scarce knows their footfall. Lasting, precious, rare—
This gift they left. What glory shalt thou wear,
Oh Hadley—Hadley, that we hold so dear,
From this *our* generation? These gifts, these,
Would we leave with thee for thy joy and praise,
For the Republic's need in bitter days,
True men, good women, beneath the Hadley trees—
When danger thrusts, and sorrow overwhelms,
To stand strong, beautiful, as Hadley elms!

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GENEALOGIES

OF

HADLEY FAMILIES

EMBRACING THE

EARLY SETTLERS

OF THE TOWNS OF

HATFIELD, SOUTH HADLEY, AMHERST
AND GRANBY

INTRODUCTION

THE material for the following pages has been drawn from every available source. Town, county, probate, church, and family records have been examined with the utmost care, and the moss-grown and crumbling tomb-stones of all the old burying yards within the limits of ancient Hadley, have been carefully deciphered. I may safely say, that prior to 1700, the records of but few towns were more carefully kept than those of Hadley, and although since that time, until within about twenty years, the records are less complete, it is thought that in few works of this character are so many of the families traced back to the first settlers of the town, as in this.

The plan adopted in the arrangement of the families, is so simple as to be readily understood by all familiar with genealogical tables. For the information of others, it is only necessary to explain, that the figures which precede the names of individuals denote their place in the series, and those which follow point back to the place in the series where the paternal ancestor is to be found. For example, in the family of Barnard, we read, "5. John, s. of Joseph, (4.)" The figure 5 denotes that this is the fifth family described; and the figure (4) refers back to the fourth family, on examining which we find that John was born Nov. 19, 1696. By observing this rule, it will be easy to trace any family back to the first ancestor in the town.

In justice to myself, and as an apology for the delay in putting these genealogies to press, I ought to remark, that Mr. Judd left his minutes of Hadley settlers in quite a confused state, not having taken the first step towards preparing them for the printer, and hence the labor of arranging them has been four-fold what I had anticipated. Having however, at length compared with the original records every date in regard to which I was at all in doubt, and arranged the same with care, I have the satisfaction of submitting the work to the public, with the feeling that it will be found, in the main, accurate and reliable.

L. M. BOLTWOOD.

AMHERST, June, 1862.

ABBREVIATIONS

abt.	about.	m.	married.
A. C.	Amherst College.	mos.	months.
ae.	aged.	N. H.	New Hampshire.
Amh.	Amherst.	Nh.	Northampton.
b.	born.	North.	Northfield.
bapt.	baptized.	per.	perhaps.
Capt.	Captain.	prob.	probably.
Ch.	Church.	pub.	published.
Cong.	Congregational.	rem.	removed.
d.	died.	res.	resided.
D. C.	Dartmouth College.	s.	son.
dau.	daughter.	s. p.	without issue.
Dea.	Deacon.	So. Had.	South Hadley.
Deer.	Deerfield.	Spr.	Springfield.
gr.	graduated.	Sund.	Sunderland.
Gr.	Granby.	unm.	unmarried.
Green.	Greenfield.	Weth.	Wethersfield.
Had.	Hadley.	wid.	widow.
Hart.	Hartford.	W. C.	Williams College.
Hat.	Hatfield.	Wind.	Windsor.
H. C.	Harvard College.	Y. C.	Yale College.

GENEALOGIES

ABBOTT, DANIEL. Children—*Phila; Achsah; Moses Graves; Lucy Willard; Ithream*, bapt. Jan. 14, 1798; *Son*, b. 1800; *Loi*, b. 1802.

ABBOTT, JACOB, Amherst, m. Mercy. Children—*Daniel*, b. July 25, 1764; *Persis*, b. Oct. 8, 1766; *Amos*, b. April 28, 1769; *Eliab*, b. Sept. 24, 1771.

1. ALEXANDER, JOSEPH, s. of Joseph of Winchester, N. H., res. for a few yrs. in North. before coming abt. 1748 to Had.; d. Sept. 30, 1761, ae. 70 or more. m (1) 1736, Mary Mighill. m. (2) Experience. Children—*Miles*, b. 1737, d. in Sund., April 10, 1806, ae. 69; *Rachel*, b. Mch. 18, 1742, d. in North., 1775, ae. 32; *Mary*, b. 1743; *Aaron*, b. May 13, 1748; *Joseph*, b. Apr. 19, 1750; *Experience*, b. Feb. 5, 1753; *Eunice*, b. Aug. 25, 1757; *Thankful*, b. Jan. 6, 1761; *Eliakim*, b. Dec. 12, 1766.

2. JOSEPH, s. of Joseph (1) m. Sarah. Children—*Experience*, b. July 31, 1775; *Josiah*, b. Mch. 8, 1779, d. Dec. 1779; *Lydia*, b. Mch. 3, 1781, d. Sept. 30, 1781; *Thankful*, b. Dec. 30, 1783; *Polly*, bapt. Apr. 9, 1786, d. Dec. 1, 1786; *Elizabeth*, b. Jan. 11, 1794.

LEVI. Child—*Lewis Porter*, b. Mch. 5, 1837.

NATHANIEL, s. of George of Windsor, b. Dec. 29, 1652, d. Oct. 29, 1742.

EUNICE. Child—*Paul*, b. Oct. 28, 1790.

1. ALLIS, WILLIAM, freeman May 13, 1640, Braintree, rem. abt. 1661 to Hat., and d. Sept. 6, 1678. m. (1) Mary, who d. Aug. 10, 1677; m. (2) June 25, 1678, Mary, dau. of John Brownson, and wid. of John Graves, of Haddam, Ct. She m. (2) Mch. 16, 1681, Samuel Gaylord, Sen. Children—*John*, b. Mch. 5, 1642; *Samuel*, b. Feb. 24, 1647; *Josiah*, d. Oct. 15, 1651; *Josiah*, b. Oct. 20, 1651; *William*, b. Jan. 10, 1653, d. ae. 9 mos.; *William*, b. Jan. 10, 1656, slain in Falls fight, May 19, 1676; *Hannah*, m. June 28, 1670, William Scott; *Mary*, d. unm. Jan. 25, 1690.

2. JOHN, s. of William, (1) carpenter in Hat., m. Dec. 14, 1669, Mary, wid. of Nathaniel Clark of Nh., and dau. of Thomas Meekins, d. Jan. 1691. She m. (3) abt. 1691, Samuel Belden. Children—*Joseph; Abigail*, b. Feb. 25, 1672, m. Jan. 23, 1696, Ephraim Wells; *Hannah*, b. Oct. 9, 1673; *Ichabod*, b. July 10, 1675; *Eleazar*, b. July 23, 1677, m. Jemima; *Elizabeth*, b. Apr. 4, 1679, m. July 13, 1704, James Bridgman; *Lydia*, b. Aug. 15, 1680, d. Aug. 31, 1691; *John*, b. May 10, 1682, m. (1) Jan. 29, 1708, Mary Lawrence, (2) Bethiah Field; *Rebecca*, b. April 16, 1683, m. April 30, 1702, Nathl. Graves; *William*, b. May 16, 1684; *Mary*, b. Aug. 25, 1687; d. Apr. 20, 1688; *Nathaniel*, m. abt. 1705, Mercy Dudley, and rem. to East Guilford, Ct.

3. Samuel, s. of William, (1) d. Mch. 9, 1691. m. Alice, who m. (2) Sergt. John Hawks, and was slain in Deer. Feb. 29, 1704. Children—*Mehitable*, b. July 2, 1677, m. Dec. 13, 1698, Benoni Moore; *Samuel*, b. Feb. 20, 1679, slain Feb. 29, 1704; *William*, b. Oct. 19, 1680; *Mary*, b. July 6, 1682, m. Nathaniel Brooks; *Thomas*, b. Mch. 12, 1684, rem. to Guilford; *Sarah*, b. abt. 1685; *Rebecca*, b. Nov. 29, 1687.

4. Joseph, s. of John, (2) Hat., was slain by Indians, June 19, 1724. m. Naomi. Children—*Daniel*, b. Apr. 11, 1703, drowned at the mill, May 20, 1719; *Mary*, m. Sept. 26, 1723, John Smead; *Thankful*, b. Mch. 11, 1711, m. Josiah Holmes, of Deerfield; *Experience*, b. Mch. 11, 1711, m. 1736, Noah Ferry, of So. Had.

5. Ichabod, s. of John, (2) Hat., d. July 9, 1747. m. (1) abt. 1698, Mary, dau. of Samuel Belding. She d. Sept. 9, 1724, ae. 45; (2) Nov. 25, 1726, Sarah, wid. of John Belden. Children—*Abigail*, b. Feb. 28, 1700, m. Nathaniel Smith; *Lydia*, b. Jan. 7, 1702, m. Jan. 13, 1736, Daniel Dickinson, and d. Oct. 16, 1737, ae. 35; *Martha*, b. Nov. 19, 1703, m. (1) ——— Hammond, of Hardwick; (2) Nathaniel Kellogg, of Hadley, and d. Sept. 13, 1764; *Samuel*, b. Dec. 12, 1705, grad. H. C. 1724, was a clergyman in Somers, Ct.; *Sarah*, b. Jan. 11 1708, m. Nov. 14, 1734, Joseph Miller; *Bathsheba*, b. Jan. 12, 1710, m. 1734, Jonathan Warner; *Abel*, b. July 21, 1714, m. Dec. 14. 1735, Miriam, dau. of Joseph Scott; *Elisha*, b. Dec. 3, 1716.

1. ALVORD, John. Children—*John; Gideon*, b. June 12, 1734.

2. John, s. of John, (1) d. in S. H., July 8, 1758. m. July 17, 1734, Abigail White, dau. of Joseph. She d. Nov. 15, 1770, ae. 82. Children—*Moses*, b. Aug. 26, 1735; *Azariah*, b. Jan. 20, 1738, res. in Spr. and W. Spr., and d. Jan. 11, 1819, ae. 89. m. (1) Jan. 5, 1768, Abigail Nash, who died Mch. 31, 1782, ae. 42; m. (2) Mch. 5, 1789, Lucy Nash, of Gr.; *Abigail*, b. Sept. 23, 1739; *Jerusha*, b. Sept. 27, 1741; *Dorcas*, b. Nov. 4, 1743; Rachel, b. Apr. 15, 1747; *Phineas*, b. June 26, 1750; *Luther*, b. Mch. 4, 1753, d. 1784, ae. 31; *Rebecca*, b. Apr. 14, 1756.

1. AMSDEN, John, rem. from Cambridge to Hat., and d. 1696. m. Elizabeth, who d. Aug. 13, 1689. Children—*John*, b. Nov. 24, 1686; *Isaac*, d. Aug. 8, 1692.

2. John, s. of John, (1) Deerfield, was drowned 1742. m. Mch. 23, 1720, Mary, dau. of Samuel Cole. Children—*John*, b. Feb. 16, 1721, res. in Deerfield; *Isaac*, b. Sept. 27, 1722, Conway, 1770; *Elizabeth*, b. Sept. 27, 1724, d. unm.; *Violet*, b. Sept. 14, 1726, m. Jona. Bardwell; *Oliver*, b. 1728, slain by Indians, Aug. 26, 1746, *Elisha*, b. 1733, Conway, 1770; *Mary*, b. 1735, m. Aaron Phelps, of Belchertown; *Simeon*, b. 1737, slain by Indians, Aug. 26, 1746; *Eunice*, b. 1739, m. ——— Chamberlain of Sunderland; *Asahel*, res. in Ashfield, 1770.

ARMS, William, rem. from Hatfield to Sund., and thence to Deerfield, and d. 1731. m. Nov. 21, 1677, Joanna Hawks. Children—*William*, b. Feb. 14, 1678, d. in Deer. 1690; *John*, b. Dec. 25, 1679, res. in Deer.; *Sarah*, b. Nov. 21, 1681, m. Zebadiah Williams; *Margaret*, b. Oct. 6, 1683, m. William Belding; *Hannah*, b. 1685, m. abt. 1704, Joseph Clesson; *Daniel*, b. Sept. 11, 1687, res. in Deer. 1729; *Ebenezer*, b. Aug. 28, 1689, d. Sept. 25, 1690; *William*, b. Oct. 26, 1692.

ARNOLD, Thomas, was per. a trader during the Revolution. Children—*Rachel*, bapt. Jan. 15, 1775; *Thomas*, bapt. Dec. 22, 1776; *Betsey*, bapt. Oct. 1778.

ATCHISON, John, Hatfield, was slain by Indians, Sept. 19, 1677. M. Deliverance. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. Apr. 22, 1672, m. 1690, Daniel Lamb; *Mary*, b. Oct. 30, 1673, m. 1692, N. Rust; *John*, b. Mch. 23, 1676, m. and died in Brimfield, 1738; *Benoni*, b. Nov. 22, 1677, d. in Springfield, 1704.

ATHERTON, Rev. Hope, Hat., was bapt. Aug. 30, 1646, s. of Mr. Humphrey, ord. 1671, freeman 1672, d. June 8, 1677. M. 1674, Sarah Hollister, dau. of Lt. Joseph of Wethersfield. She m. (2) Timothy Baker, of Nh. Children—*Hope* and *Joseph*, (twins,) b. Jan. 7, 1675; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 26, 1676.

ATWELL, Oliver, m. June 8, 1781, Jerusha Smith. Children—*Daughter*, b. Feb. 18, 1782, d. Apr. 1782; *Child*, b. Aug. 1784; *Oliver*, bapt. July 25, 1785; *John*, bapt. Sept. 25, 1785; *Pamela*, b. Sept. 27, 1785; *George Washington*, bapt. Nov. 20, 1789; *Fanny Sanford*, bapt. Jan. 3, 1790.

AYRES, Samuel, b. abt. 1714, rem. in 1740 from Brookfield to Granby. He was drowned in Conn. river, Nov. 15, 1768, ae. 54. His body was found, Apr. 1771, below South Hadley falls, in a state of good preservation. M. Martha Bell, who d. Oct. 25, 1765, ae. 41. Children—*John*, m. Ruth Smith, of Granby, and d. in Greenwich, Jan. 26, 1817; *Aaron*, b. Nov. 12, 1744, m. (1) Lois Moore of Gr., who d. Sept. 26, 1789, ae. 39; (2) Mary Hitchcock, who d. June 22, 1830, ae. 69; *Eleazar*, b. abt. 1746, m. Sybil Clark, and d. Mch. 2, 1832, ae. 36; *Martha*, m. Asher Alvord of So. Had., and rem. to Wilmington, Vt.; *Amos*, m. Esther Dickinson, and res. in Amherst; *Daniel*, b. July 15, 1751, m. and rem. to the west; *Sarah*, b. May 10, 1754, d. Apr. 26, ae. 22; *Lydia*, b. Sept. 22, 1756, m. Chilion Palmer, and rem. to Litchfield, Ct.; *Susanna*, b. Jan. 28, 1759; *Asa*, b. June 5, 1761, m. Mary Wait, and rem. to Ohio; *Ruth*, b. Sept. 22, 1763.

BACON, Andrew, was in Hartford, 1639, where he was a highly useful citizen, assistant of the Gen. Ct., 1637–8, and several times deputy of the Gen. Ct. A first settler of Had., he was there freeman in 1661, and d. s. p., Oct. 4, 1669. He m. Elizabeth, wid. of Timothy Stanley, of Hartford. She came in 1634 from England. The court gave her all Mr. Bacon's lands and buildings in Hadley. She rem. to Hartford, and d. abt. 1679.

BAKER, Elijah, s. of John of Northampton, settled in Amherst. M. (1) June 16, 1757, Rebecca, dau. of Jonathan Smith of Amh.; (2) ——— ———. Children by first wife—*Elijah*, a soldier, d. at Rhinebeck; *Hannah*, bapt. Dec. 9, 1759, m. Wm. Hubbard, of Leverett; *Enos*, bapt. May 20, 1764; *Sarah*, bapt. May 4, 1766; *Enos*, bapt. May 15, 1768, d. in Amh. 1845, ae. 77; *Martin*, bapt. Oct. 7, 1770, m. July 16, 1797, Mary Smith. Child by second wife—*Martha*, m. June 22, 1797, Moses Gaylord.

1. BALDWIN, Joseph, Milford, 1639, rem. abt. 1663 to Had., was freeman 1666, and d. Dec. 8, 1676. M. (1) Hannah; m. (2) wid. Isabel Northam, who as widow Catlin, had come with s. John from Newark, N. J.; m. (3) Elizabeth, wid. of William Warriner. She had before been the wife of Luke

Hitchcock, of Wethersfield. She d. in Spr. Apr. 25, 1696. Children—*Joseph; Benjamin*, res. in Milford; *Hannah*, m. Jeremiah Hull, of New Haven; *Mary*, m. John Catlin, of Arthur Kill., N. J.; *Elizabeth*, bapt. 1645; *Martha*, b. 1647, m. Dec. 26, 1667, John Hawks of Hat.; *Jonathan*, bapt. 1650, res. in Milford; *David*, b. 1651, m. Nov. 11, 1674, Mary Stream, d. in Milford, 1689; *Sarah*, bapt. 1653, m. Samuel Bartlett of Nh.

2. Joseph, s. of Joseph, (1) d. Nov. 21, 1681. M. (1) Elizabeth; m. (2) Sarah Cooley of Milford, bapt. 1648, dau. of Benjamin. She d. in Spr. 1689. Children—*Joseph*, b. 1663, rem. to Malden; *James; Mary*, d. Dec. 17, 1674; *Mehitable*, b. June 1670, d. July 11, 1670; *Hannah*, b. Apr. 13, 1673; *Mercy*, b. Nov. 10, 1674. She or Mary m. Samuel Allen, Jr., of Nh.; *Hannah*, b. Mch. 9, 1675, d. Oct. 31, 1676; *Samuel*, b. Apr. 7, 1679; *Hannah*, b. Apr. 27, 1681.

BALLARD, Joshua, saddler, s. of Jeremiah, of New Salem, m. Dec. 27, 1757, Ruth Kellogg, who d. May 3, 1776. Children—*Ruth*, b. Dec. 27, 1758, m. Waitstill Cook; *Lovisa*, b. Feb. 25, 1761; *Polly*, b. Jan. 16, 1764; *Jerusha*, b. Dec. 26, 1765; *William*, b. Nov. 1, 1768.

BARDWELL, Robert, Hatfield, d. Jan. 9, 1726. M. Nov. 29, 1676, Mary, dau. of William Gull. She d. Nov. 12, 1726. Children—*Ebenezer*, b. Oct. 19, 1679; *Mary*, b. Oct. 15, 1681; *John*, b. Sept. 16, 1683, d. 1685; *Samuel*, b. Sept. 26, 1685; *John*, b. Aug. 18 or 28, 1687; *Elizabeth*, b. July 30, 1689; *Thomas*, b. Dec. 8, 1691; *Hester*, b. Aug. 8, 1693, m. Oct. 23, 1717, Joseph Belding; *Sarah*, m. May 19, 1713, Jona. Barrett, of Hartford; *Thankful*, m. May 23, 1717, Abram Graves; *Abigail*, b. abt. 1699, m. June 6, 1720, David Graves, and died 1786, ae. 87.

1. BARNARD, Francis, b. abt. 1617, Hartford, 1644, maltster, a first settler of Had., freeman 1666, d. Feb. 3, 1698, ae. 81. M. (1) Aug. 15, 1644, Hannah Merrill, or Meruil, or Marvin; m. (2) 1677, Frances, wid. of John Dickinson, and dau. of Nathaniel Foote. Children—*Thomas; Samuel; Joseph; Hannah*, m. (1) Oct. 17, 1667, Doct. John Westcarr; m. (2) Oct. 9, 1680, Simon Beaman, of Deer., and d. 1739; *John*, slain with Capt. Lathrop, Sept. 18, 1675; and prob. *Sarah*, who d. 1676.

2. Thomas, s. of Francis, (1) grad. H. C. 1679, ord. Jan. 1682, pastor of 1st Chh. Andover, and d. Oct. 13, 1718, in 62 yr. M. (1) Dec. 14, 1686, Elizabeth Price, dau. of Theodore. She d. Oct. 10, 1693; m. (2) May 28, 1696, Abigail Bull, who d. 1702; m. (3) July 20, 1704, Lydia Goffe. Children—*Thomas*, b. Oct. 20, 1688; *John*, b. Feb. or Mch. 26, 1690, grad. H. C. 1709, pastor of 1st Chh. Andover, d. June 14, 1758; *Theodore*, b. Feb. 6, 1692, d. Feb. 16, 1725, ae. 34.

3. Samuel, captain, s. of Francis, (1) d. Oct. 17, 1728, ae. 74. M. Nov. 5, 1678, Mary Colton, who d. Mch. 4 or 5, 1709, ae. 58. Children—*Mary*, b. Aug. 11, 1681, m. 1698, Moses Cook; *Hannah*, b. June 8, 1684, m. 1715, John Marsh, and d. Sept. 31, 1716, ae. 32; *Samuel*, b. Mch. 29, 1686, d. unm., Nov. 5, 1742, ae. 56; *John*, b. May 6, 1688; *Sarah*, b. Aug. 17, 1691.

4. Joseph, s. of Francis, (1) rem. to Deer., where he d. Sept. 6, 1695, from wounds received of Indians. M. Dec. 19, 1675, Sarah, dau. of Elder John Strong of Nh. She m. (2) Sept. 23, 1698, Jonathan Wells, and d. 1733.

Children—*John*, b. Nov. 19, 1676; *Sarah*, b. Dec. 30, 1677, m. 1700, Thomas Wells; *Joseph*, b. Oct. 13, 1679, d. Aug. 8, 1681; *Joseph*, b. June 20, 1681, rem. to Windsor; *Thomas*, b. Mch. 13, 1683, of Lebanon, 1701; *Samuel*, b. Dec. 1, 1684, of Salem, 1762; *Rebecca*, b. Dec. 25, 1686, m. 1718, Jonathan Wells, Jr.; *Hannah*, b. abt. 1688, m. 1709, Samuel Child; *Abigail*, b. Oct. 3, 1691, m. 1714, Ebenezer Sheldon; *Ebenezer*, b. Mch. 13, 1696, of Roxbury, 1717.

5. JOHN, s. of Joseph, (4) a physician, d. Mch. 6, 1726, ae. 49. M. Jan. 13, 1701, Bridget Cook. She m. (2) Sept. 24, 1730, Dea. Samuel Dickinson. Children—*Thomas*, a physician in Tolland, Ct.; *Bridget*, b. Sept. 30, 1708, m. 1729, Jonathan Burt, of Deerfield; *Sarah*, b. Feb. 2, 1710, m. Aug. 12, 1730, Thomas Temple; *Abigail*, b. Mch. 14, 1712, m. May, 1740, Aaron Cook; *John*, b. Dec. 12, 1713, rem. to Shutesbury; *Joanna*, b. Oct. 1, 1715, m. 1735, Enos Nash; *Francis*, b. Nov. 11, 1717, d. Jan. 5, 1719; *Joseph*, b. Jan. 1, 1720, rem. to Sund.; *Francis*, b. Oct. 6, 1721; *Rebecca*, b. May 18, 1724.

BARNARD, JOHN, rem. from Cambridge to Hartford, was a first settler of Had., where he was buried May 23, 1664. He left much of his property to the children of his kinsman Henry Hayward of Wethersfield, and the children of his sister, Mary Bedient. M. Mary, who d. Feb. or Mch. 1665.

BARNS, WILLIAM, m. Aug. 20, 1696, Mary Smith. Children—*Mary*, b. July 7, 1697; *William*, b. Aug. 7, 1698; *Mercy*, b. Nov. 14, 1700; *John*, b. Sept. 22, 1702.

1. BARTLETT, DANIEL, m. (1) Nov. 16, 1777, Elizabeth Smith; m. (2) Feb. 3, 1784, Deborah Ferguson. Children—*Daniel; Zebina; Jerusha; Samuel; Elizabeth; Leonard*, bapt. Oct. 24, 1790; *Lewis*, bapt. Feb. 26, 1792; *Stillman*, bapt. Dec. 22, 1793; *Roxa*, bapt. Jan. 17, 1796; *Nancy*, bapt. Oct. 29, 1797; *Charles*, bapt. Aug. 30, 1804; *Dexter*, bapt. Aug. 30, 1804.

2. DANIEL, s. of Daniel, (1.) Children—*Elijah*, b. Jan. 10, 1805; *Elatah Stockbridge*, b. Sept. 20, 1808; *Patience*, b. Apr. 13, 1810; *Miranda*, b. Mch. 13, 1812; *Adeline*, b. May 30, 1813; *Daniel Lewis*, b. Dec. 6, 1816.

3. LEONARD, s. of Daniel, (1.) Children—*Roxana*, b. Mch. 24, 1817; *Catharine Cooley*, b. Dec. 24, 1818; *Daniel James*, b. Mch. 8, 1820; *Henry Leonard*, b. Aug. 27, 1824; *Lewis Williston*, b. June 23, 1826; *David Norton*, b. May 28, 1828; *Lyman*, b. Feb. 20, 1831; *Hannah Jerusha*, b. Jan. 7, 1836.

BARTLETT, LEVI. Children—*Clarissa*, b. May 3, 1809; *Clarissa*, b. Oct. 27, 1810; *Levi Harvey*, b. Sept. 23, 1812; *Mary Ann*, b. June 3, 1814; *Elijah Henry*, b. Mch. 1, 1816; *Harriet Newell*, b. Mch. 8, 1818; *Elizabeth*, b. June 1, 1820; *John*, b. Aug. 22, 1824; *Clarissa Naomi*, b. Apr. 11, 1827.

BARTLETT, NICHOLAS, m. Nov. 14, 1771, Mary Morton of Hat. Children—*Lucy*, bapt. Oct. 11, 1772; *Mary*, bapt. Aug. 7, 1774; *Caleb*, b. Dec. 29, 1777; *Abigail*, bapt. Jan. 17, 1776.

BARTLETT, OLIVER, m. 1765, Asenath Smith of So. Had. Children—*Sarah Lane*, bapt. May 17, 1767; *Henry*, bapt. 1767; *Benjamin*, bapt. Dec. 11, 1769; *Oliver*, bapt. Jan. 30, 1773; *Warham*, bapt. Sept. 1775; *William*, bapt. Aug. 18, 1782; *Asenath*, bapt. Aug. 1784.

BASCOM, Thomas, Amherst, m. Martha. Children—*Joel*, b. Sept. 18, 1773; *Nathan*, b. June 22, 1775; *Martha*, b. Aug. 12, 1777; *Nathan*, b. Apr. 8, 1779; *David*, b. Aug. 8, 1780.

BEDIENT, Mary, widow of Morgan, of Staynes, England, with her two sons came to New England to receive estate devised by her brother, John Barnard. Children b. in England—*Morgan*, b. June 25, 1651; *Thomas*, b. July 22, 1654, rem. to Fairfield, Ct., and d. abt. 1698.

BEEBE, James, m. Oct. 24, 1667, Mary Boltwood, dau. of Robert. She d. Aug. 19, 1676, and he then perhaps rem. to Stratford, Ct., and m. Dec. 19, 1679, Sarah Benedict, dau. of Thomas of Norwalk, Ct. Children—*Mary*, b. Aug. 18, 1668; *James* b. Dec. 9, 1669, d. Jan. 3, 1670; *Rebecca*, b. Dec. 8, 1670; *Samuel*, b. June 26, 1672; *Mary*, b. 1675.

BEERS, Ephraim, Hatfield, m. Sept. 9, 1680, Mary Gardner. Child—*Elizabeth*, b. June 27, 1683, d. Oct. 19, 1684.

BELDING, Daniel, b. Nov. 20, 1648, s. of William of Wethersfield, settled as early as 1671 in Hat., whence abt. 1689 he rem. to Deer., and d. Aug. 14, 1732, ae. 85. M. (1) Nov. 10, 1670, Elizabeth Foote, dau. of Nathaniel; she was slain Sept. 16, 1696; m. (2) Feb. 17, 1699, Hepzibah, wid. of Thomas Wells of Hat., and dau. of Wm. Buell. She was b. in Windsor, Dec. 11, 1649, slain Mch. 1704; m. (3) Sarah, wid. of Phillip Mattoon. She d. Sept. 17, 1751, in 95th yr. Children—*William*, b. Dec. 26, 1671; *Richard*, b. Mch. 29, 1672; *Elizabeth*, b. Oct. 8, 1673, m. ——— Brooks; *Nathaniel*, b. Jan. 26, 1675, d. Aug. 21, 1714; *Mary*, b. Nov. 17, 1677, m. ——— Trowbridge; *Daniel*, b. Sept. 1, 1680, slain Sept. 16, 1696; *Sarah*, b. Mch. 15, 1682, m. ——— Trowbridge; *Daniel*, b. Sept. 1, 1680, slain Sept. 16, 1696; *Sarah*, b. Mch. 15, 1682, m. Benjamin Burt; *Hester*, b. Sept. 29, 1683, m. ——— Clark; *Abigail*, b. Mch. 10, 1686, d. June 15, 1686; *Samuel*, b. Apr. 10, 1687; *John*, b. June 24, 1689, d. June 25, 1689; *Abigail*, b. Aug. 18, 1690; *John*, b. Feb. 28, 1693, slain Sept. 16, 1696; *Thankful*, b. Dec. 21, 1695, slain Sept. 16, 1696.

BELDING, Joshua. Children—*Submit*, bapt. Dec. 5, 1790; *Anna*, bapt. Oct. 21, 1792; *Naomi*, bapt. March, 1796; *Content*, bapt. March, 1796.

1. BELDING, Samuel, s. of Richard, rem. from Wethersfield to Hat., and d. Jan. 3, 1713. M. (1) Mary, who was slain Sept. 19, 1677; m. (2) June 25, 1678, Mary, wid. of Thomas Wells; she d. Sept. 20, 1691; m. (3) 1691, Mary, wid. of John Allis; m. (4) Apr. 10, 1705, Sarah, wid. of John Wells. Children—*Mary*, b. July 10, 1655; *Samuel*, b. Apr. 6, 1657; *Stephen*, b. Dec. 28, 1658; *Sarah*, b. Sept. 30, 1661; *Ann*, b. Jan. 27, 1665; *Ebenezer*, b. Nov. 16, 1667, m. Martha; *John*, b. Nov. 13, 1669.

2. Samuel, s. of Samuel, (1) res. in Hat., d. abt. 1737. M. (1) Oct. 9, 1678, Sarah, wid. of Samuel Billings, and dau. of Richard Fellowes. She d. Feb. 5, 1713; m. (2) May 7, 1713, Mary, wid. of Dr. Thomas Hastings, and dau. of David Burt, of Nh., b. May 3, 1676, and d. April 13, 1734. Children—*Mary*, b. Aug. 27, 1679, m. Ichabod Allis; *Hannah*, b. Dec. 5, 1681, m. Joseph Clary; *Samuel*, b. Oct. 19, 1684, d. April 17, 1697; *Mehitabel*, b. Jan.

23, 1687, m. Samuel Hawley; *Sarah*, m. Eleazer Graves; *Thankful*, m. Dec. 5, 1739, John Belding, Jr.; *Lydia*, b. Oct. 28, 1718.

3. Stephen, s. of Samuel, (1) res. in Hat., and d. Oct. 6, 1720. M. Aug. 16, 1682, Mary Wells, dau. of Thomas. She m. (2) Jan. 2, 1723, Capt. Joseph Field, of Northfield, and d. 1751. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. Feb. 2, 1683, m. Richard Scott; *Mary*, b. May 20, 1685, m. John Wait; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 25, 1687; *Stephen*, b. Feb. 22, 1689, prob. m. Mindwell, dau. of Capt. Benjamin Wright, and d. in Northfield, 1735 or 1736; *Samuel*, b. Oct. 23, 1692; *Joshua*, b. abt. 1695, d. in Whately, 1738; m. Dec. 1, 1725, Sarah Field. She perhaps m. 1761, Thomas Noble of Westfield, and d. Aug. 17, 1763, in 62d yr.; *Esther*, m. 1724, Nathaniel Gunn; *Lydia*, d. July 24, 1714.

4. John, s. of Samuel, (1) res. in Hat., and was killed at a raising, Oct. 18, 1725, ae. 56. M. Sarah, perhaps Wait, dau. of Benjamin. She m. (2) Nov. 25, 1726, —— Allis. Children—*John*, b. Sept. 22, 1694, d. abt. 1758; m. (1) Dec. 1, 1715, Deliverance Lawrence; m. (2) Dorothy; *Joseph*, b. Aug. 9, 1696, d. in Whately, Oct. 1788, ae. 88; m. (1) Oct. 23, 1717, Esther Bardwell; m. (2) July 13, 1727, Margaret Gillett; *Martha*, b. Aug. 6, 1698, m. —— Bridgman, prob. Orlando; *Sarah*, b. Feb. 10, 1701, m. Thomas Bardwell; *Hannah*, b. May 14, 1703, m. Nathaniel Hawks of Deer.; *Mary*, b. July 27, 1705, m. Obadiah Dickinson; *Ebenezer*, b. June 7, 1712; *Ebenezer*, b. July 29, 1714, m. Sept. 30, 1736, Hannah Nash; *Rhoda*, b. July 20, 1716, m. [Aaron?] Sheldon.

5. Samuel, s. of Stephen, (3) res. in Hat., and d. Oct. 5, 1732. M. 1717, Elizabeth, dau. of Hezekiah Dickinson of Spr. Children—*David*, b. Feb. 4, 1718, rem. to Swansey, N. H.; *Samuel*, b. Aug. 15, 1719, rem. to Swansey; *Abigail*, b. May 4, 1721, m. Noah Nash, of Hat., and d. Feb. 7, 1797, ae. 75; *Elizabeth*, b. Dec. 2, 1723, m. —— Arms of Deerfield; *Mary*, b. Oct. 23, 1725, d. before 1741; *Hezekiah*, b. July 2, 1728; *Noah*, b. May 8, 1731, rem. to Conway, and thence to State of New York; *Jonathan*, b. May 9, 1733.

6. Hezekiah, s. of Samuel, (5) a deacon in 2nd Chh Amh., where he d. June 22, 1813, ae. 85. M. (1) April 16, 1752, Mary, dau. of Jonathan Dickinson of Hat. and Amh.; m. (2) Abigail, dau. of John Nash of Hat.; m. (3) April 21, 1767, Martha Field of Sund.; m. (4) April 16, 1795, Martha, dau. of Windsor Smith of Had. She m. (2) July 6, 1815, Col. Asaph White, of Erving. Children—*Mary*, b. Jan. 11, 1753, m. Hezekiah Howard of Leverett; *Elizabeth*, m. Eleazar Warner of Sund.; *Submit*, bapt. Jan. 25, 1756, m. Ethan Billings of Conway; *Hepzibah*, m. Elias Graves of Sund.; *Abigail*, bapt. Dec. 5, 1762, m. Nov. 7, 1782, Ebenezer Dickinson of Amh.; *John*, b. July 4, 1764, m. Lydia Hunt, of Belchertown; *Elihu*, b. June 5, 1768, m. Sally Clapp, and d. in Amh.; *Martha*, b. July 21, 1770, m. (1) Gershom Ingram of Amh.; (2) John Kellogg of Amh., and d. May 10, 1837, ae. 67.

BELDING, Stephen, m. Feb. 10, 1796, Abigail Hibbard. Children—*Martha*, bapt. Feb. 5, 1797; *Abigail*, bapt. May 4, 1800; *Melinda*, bapt. March 31, 1805; *Lucinda*, bapt. Feb. 28, 1808; *Esther*, bapt. May 6, 1810.

1. BELL, Reuben, doctor, m. Dec. 28, 1806, Alethea Smith. Children—*John Smith*, b. May 26, 1807; *Frederick* and *Samuel*, (twins,) b. Jan. 8, 1811; *Charles*, b. Oct. 28, 1814; *Ruth Maria*, b. Oct. 21, 1816; *Elizabeth*, b. March 17, 1824.

2. JOHN SMITH, s. of Reuben, (1.) Children—*Frederick*, b. June 26, 1834; *Mary Porter*, b. Nov. 11, 1836; *Charles Henry*, b. Nov. 22, 1838.

1. BILLINGS, RICHARD, Hartford, 1640, rem. 1661, to Hat., where he d. March 13, 1679. M. Margery, who d. Dec. 5, 1679. Child—*Samuel.*

2. SAMUEL, s. of Richard, (1) Hat., d. Feb. 1; 1678. M. abt. 1661, Sarah, dau. of Richard Fellowes. She m. (2) Oct. 9, 1678, Samuel Belding, Jr., of Hat., and d. Feb. 5, 1713. Children—*Samuel*, b. Jan. 8, 1665; *Ebenezer*, b. Oct. 29, 1669; *Sarah*, d. July 15, 1674; *Richard*, b. April 7, 1672; *John*, b. Oct. 11, 1674, slain July 15, 1698; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 18, 1676, m. Samuel Dickinson of Hat.

3. SAMUEL, s. of Samuel, (2) Hat., m. (1) Nov. 18, 1686, Hannah Wright, who d. Nov. 18, 1687; m. (2) 1691, wid. Rebecca Miller. Children—*Samuel*, res. in Sund. and Hardwick; *Sarah*, b. March 15, 1697, m. Jan. 16, 1724, Dea. Samuel Smith of Sund.; *Joseph*, b. Nov. 15, 1700, m. Jan. 7, 1726, Elizabeth, wid. of Joseph Kellogg, res. in Hat., and d. abt. 1783; *Zechariah*, b. Nov. 29, 1702, m. Ruth Meekins, and d. 1771; *Benjamin*, b. Jan. 18, 1705, m. Nov. 13, 1729, Mary, dau. of Joshua Hastings, res. in Belchertown, and d. 1782, ae. 78.

4. EBENEZER, s. of Samuel, (2) rem. after 1713 from Hat. to Sund., and d. Nov. 14, 1745. M. abt. 1691, Hannah Church. Children—*Samuel*, b. June 7, 1693; *Ebenezer*, b. Nov. 10, 1695; *John*, b. Nov. 26, 1698; *Mary*, b. May 24, 1701, m. Jonathan Field of Sund.; *Fellowes*, b. Feb. 15, 1704, res. in Sund. and Conway; *Edward*, b. Aug. 10, 1707, m. Aug. 12, 1741, Lucy, dau. of Rev. David Parsons of Leicester. He grad. H. C., 1731, was pastor of chhs. in Belchertown and Greenfield, and d. abt. 1757; *Jonathan*, b. June 2, 1710, m. Mary Root.

5. RICHARD, s. of Samuel, (2) Hat., d. abt. 1753. M. (1) March 18, 1703, Hannah, dau. of Samuel Marsh of Hat.; m. (2) Sarah. Children—*Sarah*, b. Jan. 9, 1704, m. Samuel Gillett; *Hannah*, b. July 14, 1706, m. Nathan Wait; *Richard*, b. Sept. 14, 1709, d. unm. in Amh., May 26, 1780, ae. 70; *Damaris*, b. Nov. 26, 1712, m. Samuel Church; *Martha*, d. Aug. 1720, ae. 2; *Thankful*, b. May 9, 1721, m. Elijah Chapin; *John*, b. July 8, 1725; *Ruth*, m. Moses Morton.

6. JOHN, s. of Richard, (5) rem. soon after marriage, from Hat. to Amh., where he was Dea. in 2nd Chh.; d. Aug. 31, 1813, ae. 88. M. (1) Jerusha, dau. of John Waite of Hat.; m. (2) Sarah, dau. of William Matthews. She d. July 2, 1829, ae. 91 yrs. and 11 mos. Children—*Joel*, b. April 1, 1747, d. Nov. 4, 1825; m. (1) Mary Field; m. (2) wid. Lombard; *Hannah*, b. Feb. 15, 1749, d. Oct. 5, 1823, m. Thomas Hastings of Amh.; *Lois*, b. Sept. 14, 1750, d. young; *Ursula Fellows*, b. Jan. 7, 1753, d. Aug. 30, 1832; m. Feb. 1782, Dea. Elisha Smith of Amh.; *John*, b. May 1, 1755, served in Rev. war, and d. Sept. 11, 1776; *Moses*, b. Aug. 5, 1757; *Lois*, b. July 28, 1759, d. Aug. 11, 1831; m. Giles Church, of Amh.; *Aaron*, b. Oct. 1, 1761, d. in Amh., Jan. 23, 1817; m. (1) Jan. 1782, Lucy Rich; m. (2) Dec. 23, 1810, Esther Ayres; *Jerusha*, b. Nov. 3, 1763, d. July 3, 1798; m. April, 1782, Elijah Hastings of Amh.; *David*, b. Dec. 31, 1765, rem. to State of N. Y.; m. (1) April 3, 1786, Hannah Eastman; m. (2) Aug. 21, 1798, Hannah Hyde;

Martha, b. Nov. 19, 1767, m. April 9, 1789, Calvin Rich, of New Lebanon, N. Y.; *Moses*, b. Nov. 7, 1769, d. in Amh. Sept. 18, 1798; m. July 3, 1798, Mary Field; *Sarah*, b. Jan. 5, 1774, m. (1) —— Hull; m. (2) Timothy Sturdevant; *Ame*, b. Aug. 24, 1777, d. Nov. 6, 1803.

BLYE, JOHN, m. Mary. Children—*John*, b. Oct. 2, 1715; *Oliver*, b. June 10, 1718.

BODMAN, JOSEPH, came from Westfield to Hat., abt. 1685, and d. July 8, 1711, ae. 56. M. (1) Hepzibah, who d. Jan. 15, 1686; (2) May 4, 1687, Naomi Church. Children—*Lydia*, b. Jan. 1686, d. ae. 2 weeks; *Manoah*, b. March 29, 1692, m. Anna, and d. s. p. 1759, in Sund.; *William*, b. Jan. 5, 1698, d. May [July?] 27, 1723, ae. 25; *Sarah*, b. April 10, 1701, m. Thomas Keet; *Mary*, b. Feb. 12, 1704, m. 1744, John Billings, and d. 1753; *Lydia*, b. July 30, 1707, m. Samuel Harvey; *Samuel*.

1. BOLTWOOD, ROBERT, sergeant, perhaps came from Essex Co., Eng., where the name existed as early as the reign of Edward I. (1273,) is first named on Conn. Records, in 1648, freeman, May 20, 1658. Before removing to Had., as one of the first settlers, he probably resided in east part of Wethersfield, now Glastenbury. An enterprising man, he was made freeman in Mass., March 26, 1661, and d. April 6, 1684. M. Mary, who d. May 14, 1687. Children—*Samuel; Sarah*, m. (1) May 31, 1666, Isaac Warner of Hat.; m. (2) Dec. 30, 1696, Dea. John Loomis of Windsor; *Lydia*, m. April 2, 1674, John Warner of Spr., and d. Jan. 26, 1683; *Martha*, m. April 1, 1674, Daniel Warner, of Hat., and d. Sept. 22, 1710; *Mary*, m. Oct. 24, 1667, James Beebe, and d. Aug. 19, 1676.

2. SAMUEL, s. of Robert, (1) sergeant, a man of remarkable strength and bravery, was stationed at Deer. at the time of the sack of that village by French and Indians, and was there slain Feb. 29, 1704. M. Sarah, dau. of Capt. William Lewis of Farmington. She was b. abt. 1652, and d. Aug. 10, 1722, ae. 70. Children—*Sarah*, b. Oct. 1, 1672, m. June 28, 1692, Nathaniel Kellogg; *Mary*, b. Aug. 7, 1675, d. young; *Samuel*, b. Oct. 12, 1679; *Elizabeth*, b. April 12, 1681, m. July 20, 1715, Dea. Eleazar Mattoon of Amh.; *Robert*, b. April 19, 1683, slain at Deer., Feb. 29, 1704, ae. 20; *Ebenezer*, b. March 20, 1685; *William*, b. Jan. 28, 1687, d. while on his return from captivity in Canada, Aug. 27, 1714, ae. 27; *Rebecca*, b. Aug. 1, 1691, m. May 7, 1724, Daniel Shattuck of Hinsdale, N. H.; *Solomon*, b. July 2, 1694; *Lydia*, b. Oct. 1696, m. June 29, 1719, John Ingram, 3d, of Amh., and d. abt. 1779.

3. SAMUEL, s. of Samuel, (2) rem. as early as 1731, to Amh., where he d. in Oct. or Nov. 1738. M. May 10, 1703, Hannah, dau. of Nathaniel Alexander. She was b. Nov. 1680. Children—*Hannah*, b. Jan. 2, 1705, m. Nov. 9, 1726, Ebenezer Smith of S. H., and d. Oct. 1733, ae. 28; *Samuel*, b. Jan. 29, 1706; *Sarah*, b. Dec. 21, 1708; *Mary*, b. Dec. 27, 1710; *Martha; Abigail*, m. July 10, 1739, John Field, of Amh.; *Jemima*, m. Sept. 29, 1742, David Nash, of Amh. and S. H.

4. EBENEZER, s. of Samuel, (2) rem. as early as 1716 to Berwick, Me., and there d. prior to 1741. M. Mary. Children—*William*, b. Sept. 27, 1715;

Elizabeth, bapt. May 1, 1720, m. Benjamin Gubtill of Berwick; *Sarah*, bapt. May 1, 1720; *Mary*, bapt. May 2, 1725; *John*, bapt. May 2, 1725, res. in Berwick; *Ebenezer*, bapt. Aug. 6, 1727, drowned in Nh., July 9, 1743.

5. SOLOMON, s. of Samuel, (2) rem. to Amh. as early as 1737, and there d. April 20, 1762, ae. 65. M. Mary, wid. of John Pantry, Jr., of Hartford, and dau. of John Norton of Farmington, Ct. She was bapt. Nov. 21, 1686, and d. May 24, 1763, ae. 76. Children—*Ruth*, b. April 25, 1722, m. Oct. 19, 1742, Charles Wright, of Amh., and Pownal, Vt., and d. April 15, 1806, ae. 85; *Sarah*, b. April 5, 1723, m. Elijah Merrill, and d. May 17, 1746, ae. 23; *William*, b. Feb. 4, 1725; *Solomon*, b. Dec. 26, 1727; *Ebenezer*, b. April 7, 1731, d. June 9, 1749, ae. 18; *Mary*, b. July 19, 1733, m. July 11, 1751, Samuel Ingram, of Amh., and d. abt. 1780.

6. WILLIAM, Lieut., s. of Solomon, (5) res. in Amh., served in the French war, and d. May 2, 1779, ae. 54. M. Dec. 10, 1750, Mary, dau. of Ebenezer Sheldon of Nh. She was b. Dec. 8, 1724, and d. May 10, 1809, ae. 84. Children—*Sarah*, bapt. Feb. 16, 1752, m. Israel Dickinson of Amh.; *Mary*, bapt. Nov. 4, 1753; *Lucy*, bapt. Jan. 3, 1757, m. Feb. 10, 1780, Stephen Hubbard of Amh., and d. Sept. 1823; *John*, bapt. Oct. 14, 1759; *Esther*, b. Feb. 14, 1762, m. Jan. 1, 1795, Abner Noble, of Pownal, Vt., and d. Jan. 1, 1820, ae. 57; *Abagail*, bapt. May 20, 1764, prob. d. Dec. 28, 1766; *William*, b. May 4, 1766.

7. SOLOMON, s. of Solomon (5) res. in Amh., and d. May 17, 1777, ae. 49. M. Aug. 29, 1751, Mary, dau. of Nehemiah Strong, of Amh. She was b. Feb. 21, 1732, and d. Aug. 1, 1814, ae. 82. Children—*Ebenezer*, b. July 23, 1752, grad. H. C. 1773, merchant in Amh., where he d. unm., July 23, 1804, ae. 52; *Samuel*, b. June 12, 1754; *Martha*, b. April 1, 1756, d. Oct. 2, 1778, ae. 22; *Mary*, b. Aug. 2, 1758, m. (1) Moses Dickinson of Amh.; m. (2) Oct. 5, 1780, Daniel Cooley, Esq., of Amh., and d. Jan. 10, 1795, ae. 36; *Solomon*, b. May 25, 1760, m. Sarah Benney, res. in Amh., and was killed at raising of Hat. Bridge, Dec. 12, 1805, ae. 45; *Hannah*, b. April 21, 1762, d. Dec. 13, 1784, ae. 22; *Jemima*, b. Dec. 18, 1763, m. Oct. 16, 1805, William Brewer of Wilbraham, and d. July 29, 1850, ae. 86; *Keziah*, b. Dec. 18, 1763, m. Doct. Abia Southworth of Pelham, and d. April 28, 1835, ae. 71; *Elijah*, b. Aug. 31, 1766, d. Feb. 3, 1776, ae. 9; *Elisha*, b. Sept. 16, 1767.

8. JOHN, s. of William, (6) Amh., served in Rev. war, and d. Feb. 5, 1803, ae. 43. M. —— Haze, of Pelham. Child—*John*, b. 1786.

9. WILLIAM, s. of William, (6) Amh., d. Aug. 15, 1845, ae. 69. M. (1) Aug. 2, 1789, Eunice, dau. of Stephen Noble of Westfield. She d. June 5, 1807, ae. 37. M. (2) Feb. 18, 1808, Irene, wid. of Asahel Clark, of Amh., and dau. of Isaac Hubbard. She d. Aug. 6, 1831; m. (3) April 20, 1833, Olive, wid. of Lucius Hastings, and dau. of Joel Smith. She m. (3) Rev. Samuel Ware, of Sund. Children—*Sarah*, b. May 19, 1790, m. 1809, Jonathan Marsh, and d. in Richmond, Va., Oct. 19, 1817, ae. 27; *Lucius*, b. Mch. 16, 1792; *Mary Sheldon*, b. Feb. 20, 1794, m. Jan. 17, 1813, Rufus Green, of Carroll N. Y.; *Emily*, b. May 8, 1798, d. unm., in Amh., Feb. 2, 1834, ae. 35; *Harriet*, b. Jan. 24, 1800, m. (1) Nov. 7, 1838, George Newhall of Athol; m. (2) April 17, 1844, Joseph Marsh of Had.; *William*, b. July 3, 1802; *Eunice Church*,

b. Sept. 19, 1804, d. May 27, 1808, ae. 3; *Oliver Noble*, b. June 1, 1807, m. Nov. 13, 1833, Nancy, dau. of Nathaniel Smith of Bridgewater, N. H., res. in Ionia, Mich.; *Eunice Church*, b. 1809, m. Horace Dexter of Willoughby, Ohio.

10. Samuel, s. of Solomon, (7) res. in Conway and Amh., and d. March 2, 1808, ae. 53. M. Judith, dau. of John Nash. She d. April 28, 1832, ae. 76. Children—*Martha*, b. Dec. 4, 1778, m. John Arms, of Conway; *Elijah*, b. Feb. 19, 1780, res. in Amh.; m. Nov. 5, 1807, Eliza, dau. of Tillinghast Almy, and d. s. p. April 13, 1855, ae. 75.

11. Elisha, s. of Solomon, (7) res. in Amh., and d. Aug. 14, 1804, ae. 36. M. Lucinda, dau. of Gaius Brewer of Wilbraham. She m. (2) Enos Baker, of Amh., and d. Jan. 9, 1852, ae. 73. Child—*Elishaba.*

12. John, s. of John, (8) settled in Windsor, Vt. and d. 1843. M. Mch. 5, 1808, Eunice, dau. of Urijah Brainerd, of Lempster, N. H. Children—*Joseph*, b. Dec. 7, 1808, went to sea in 1829, and has never since been heard from; *Frederick Pettis*, b. July 29, 1810, m. Sept. 6, 1840, Mabel E. Washburn, and res. in Troy, N. Y.; *Minerva*, b. Nov. 11, 1811, m. May 2, 1834, Nathan Walker, and d. Feb. 18, 1856; *William Mynders*, b. Nov. 8, 1813, m. Oct. 18, 1840, Mary McLean, res. in Victor, N. Y., and was for eight years Post Master at that place; *Harriet*, b. Aug. 21, 1816, m. Mch. 1845, Dwight L. Sanderson, and d. Aug. 5, 1847; *Emeline*, b. Nov. 3, 1821, d. unm. June 11, 1844, ae. 22; *Lucy*, b. Dec. 24, 1824, m. Oct. 16, 1848, Cyrus Houghton; *Abby*, b. June 16, 1827, m. (1) April 22, 1846; (2) Dec. 29, 1851, George Hosington; *Mary*, b. Oct. 13, 1829, m. Oct. 1, 1848, Joel Houghton.

13. Lucius, son of William, (9) Amherst, commenced his studies preparatory for college in the town school of Amh., under the instruction of William D. Williamson, afterwards Governor of Me., and completed the same at Had. Grammar school, under the instruction of ——— Lyman, entered Williams College in 1810, and graduated with distinguished honor in 1814, in the same class with Rev. Orville Dewey, D. D. of Boston, Hon. Samuel Farley Vinton of Gallipolis, O., and Washington, D. C., and Hon. Austin E. Wing of Detroit, Mich., pursued his legal studies with Hon. Samuel Fowler Dickinson of Amh., was admitted to the bar of Hampshire County, in Aug. 1817, and entered immediately into practice with his instructor. In 1820, his partnership with Mr. Dickinson having been dissolved, he opened an office of his own, and continued practice until 1836, when he retired from business. In 1828 he was appointed Secretary of Amh. College, an office which he still retains. In politics originally a Whig, he was subsequently a member of the Liberty party and in 1841 their candidate for Governor. He m. Aug. 30, 1824, Fanny Haskins, dau. of Rev. Mase Shepard, of Little Compton, R. I. Children—*Lucius Manlius*, b. June 8, 1825; *George Shepard*, b. April 29, 1827, d. July 19, 1833, ae. 6; *Fanny Shepard*, b. May 31, 1829, d. May 19, 1831, ae. 1; *Charles Shepard*, b. July 16, 1832, d. July 28, 1833, ae. 1; *George Shepard*, b. July 27, 1834, d. in Aikin, S. C., April 14, 1856, ae. 21; *Charles Upham*, b. March 28, 1837, is a clerk in Middletown, Ct.; *Edward*, b. Sept. 4, 1839, grad. Y. C. 1860, and is now a member of Cambridge Law school; *Thomas Kast*, b. Feb. 15, 1844, is a member of the class of 1864 in Y. C.; *Samuel*, b. Dec. 29, 1849.

14. WILLIAM, s. of William, (9) Amherst, m. June 1, 1826, Electa, dau. of Jacob Stetson of Amh. Children—*Sarah*, b. Feb. 7, 1827, m. Jan. 1847, Silas Dexter Clark, of Keokuk, Iowa; *Caroline*, b. April 4, 1829, d. Aug. 15, 1830, ae. 1; *Henry Leonidas*, b. Jan. 17, 1831, grad. A. C. 1853, master of High School, Lawrence; *Solomon*, b. Jan. 29, 1833, d. June 1, 1833, ae. 4 mos.; *Caroline Amelia*, b. March 23, 1835, grad. 1860, at South Hadley Female Sem.; *William Francis*, b. April 16, 1837; *Edmund*, b. Sept. 5, 1839; *Rizpah*, b. Feb. 20, 1842; *John Emerson*, b. March 24, 1844; *Harriet Newhall*, b. June 26, 1848; *Robert*, b. Feb. 12, 1852.

15. OLIVER NOBLE, s. of William, (9) Ionia, Mich. M. Nov. 13, 1833, Nancy, dau. of Nathaniel S. Smith of Bridgewater, N. H. Children—*Emily Maria*, b. Sept. 24, 1834, m. April, 1853, J. A. Sweezey, Esq. of Hastings, Mich.; *Solomon*, b. July 10, 1837, d. in Jamestown, N. Y., Jan. 4, 1856, ae. 18.

16. HON. LUCIUS MANLIUS, s. of Lucius, (13) Amherst, pursued his studies preparatory to College, at Amh. Academy, between 1834 and 1839, under the instruction of Rev. George C. Partridge, Hon. Rodolphus B. Hubbard, Mr. Frederick A. Buel, and Rev. Nahum Gale, D. D., graduated at Amh. College in 1843, was appointed in 1852, Librarian of Amh. College, and in June, 1861, Post Master of Amherst. In politics a Republican, he was in 1859 by that party chosen State Senator for the Hampshire & Franklin District. He m. June 6, 1860, Clarinda Boardman, dau. of Hinckley Williams of Goshen. Child—*George Shepard*, b. March 2, 1861.

BONNEY, OLIVER. Children—*Son*, b. April 13, 1815; *Elijah Hayward*, b. Nov. 4, 1816, grad. A. C. 1839, Presbyterian clergyman in ———, N. Y.; *Franklin*, b. Sept. 7, 1819; *Franklin*, b. Feb. 2, 1822, physician in Had.; *Oliver Edmund*, b. Dec. 7, 1823; *George Washington*, b. Nov. 23, 1825; *Susan Jane*, b. Dec. 1, 1827; *Mary Jane*, b. June 21, 1830; *Elizabeth Harvey*, b. Aug. 29, 1832; *Cynthia*, b. March 12, 1836; *Cynthia*, b. Oct. 21, 1838.

BRACY, THOMAS, Hat., s. of Phebe Martin of Wethersfield, who was dau. of William Bisby of London. Children—*Thomas*, b. Oct. 8, 1675, d. Oct. 28, 1675; *Mary*, b. Oct. 20, 1677; *Phebe*, b. Nov. 14, 1680; *Hannah*, b. Aug. 12, 1683; *Thomas*, b. Feb. 12, 1686; *Sarah*, b. Sept. 23, 1688.

BROOKS. JOHN, m. Hannah. Children—*Abigail*, b. Dec. 1, 1779; *Lydia*, b. Aug. 19, 1782; *Sarah*, b. April 7, 1784; *Roxcelana*, b. May 30, 1787; *Roxcelana*, b. May 4, 1799.

BROOKS, JOSEPH, m. Miriam. Children—*Uri*, (son) b. July 8, 1759; *Miriam*, b. Feb. 9, 1761.

BROWN, JAMES, rem. abt. 1683, from Hat. to Deerfield, and thence to Colchester, Ct. M. Jan. 7, 1674, Remembrance Brook. Children—*Mary*, b. May 26, 1677; *Abigail*, b. Sept. 8, 1678; *Thankful*, b. June 1, 1682; *Sarah*, b. 1683; *James*, b. 1685; *Mindwell*, b. 1686; *Hannah*, b. 1688; *Mercy*, b. 1690; *Elizabeth*, b. 1693, d. ae. 5; *John*, b. 1695.

BROWN, LEMUEL, m. Oct. 2, 1798, Betsey, dau. of John Dickinson, Jr. Children—*Douglas; Abigail.*

BROWNE WILLIAM, had rem. to Leicester, 1720. M. Mary. Children—*Mary*, b. Jan. 22, 1695; *Elizabeth*, b. Dec. 16, 1696; *Ann*, b. Feb. 27, 1700; *William*, b. March 27, 1702; *John*, b. Nov. 3, 1703; *Zechariah*, b. Oct. 14, 1707; *Abigail*, b. Sept. 26, 1709; *Sarah*, b. Dec. 4, 1716.

BURNHAM, JAMES, came from Windsor, Ct., and rem. to Amherst and Granby. Children—*Allen*, bapt. Aug. 23, 1795; *Elsey*, bapt. Aug. 23, 1795.

BURR, TIMOTHY, m. Mary. Children—*Mary*, b. Sept. 8, 1754; *Timothy*, b. Sept. 1, 1757; *Elizabeth*, b. July 9, 1759; *Eleanor*, b. March 8, 1761; *Esther*, b. April 9, 1763; *Nancy*, b. May 7, 1765.

CARRIER, ISAIAH, m. Hannah. Children—*Dau.*, b. Sept. 30, 1771; *Seth Kneeland*, b. Jan. 16, 1773, d. Jan. 21, 1779; *Samuel*, b. Jan. 11, 1775, d. Feb. 2, 1775; *Benjamin*, b. April 28, 1776, d. April 29, 1776; *Samuel*, b. March 6, 1778; *Seth Kneeland*, b. Sept. 5, 1780; *Hannah*, b. April 13, 1783; *Sarah*, b. Sept. 18, 1785; *Nathaniel Montague*, b. Nov. 23, 1787.
"Old Mr. Carrier" d. July 3, 1780.

1. CATLIN, SAMUEL, m. May 30, 1735, Mary Crow. Children—*Samuel Crow; Mary; Elizabeth*, m. —— Moody; *Irene*, d. Sept. 26, 1753.

2. SAMUEL CROW, s. of Samuel, (1) a saddler, rem. abt. 1770 to S. H., and thence to the West. M. Dorcas. Children—*Samuel*, b. Oct. 1, 1766, d. young; *Irene*, b. May 17, 1769, d. unm. 1825, ae. 56; *Lucretia*, b. Oct. 4, 1771, m.—— Woodworth; *Dorcas*, b. July 27, 1776; *Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 23, 1778, m. Eleazar Goodman, Jr.; *Roxa*, b. April 25, 1781, m. Chester Moody; *Samuel*, b. July 23, 1783.

CHAMBERLAIN, JOSEPH, came to Had. as a soldier, in 1676, and rem. before 1700 to Hat., and before 1709 to Colchester, Ct. where he d. Aug. 7, 1752, ae. 87. M. Mary or Mercy, dau. of John Dickinson. She d. June 30, 1735. Children—*Sarah*, b. Nov. 2, 1690; *Sarah*, b. March 10, 1693; *John*, b. in March.

1. CHAUNCY, REV. ISAAC, b. in Stratford, Ct., Oct. 5, 1670, s. of Rev. Israel, grad. H. C. 1693, ord. over Had. chh. Sept. 9, 1696, and d. May 2, 1745, ae. 74. M. (1) Sarah, who d. June 29, 1720, ae. 38; m. (2) Abiel, wid. of Rev. Joseph Metcalf of Falmouth, and dau. of Rev. William Adams of Dedham. Children—*Mary*, b. May 10, 1698, d. Aug. 1701; *Israel*, b. March 15, 1700, grad. H. C. 1724, a preacher, became deranged, and was burnt to death the latter part of Nov. 1736, in "a small out house," of his father's; *Abigail*, b. Nov. 13, 1701, m. Sept. 14, 1726, Rev. John Graham of Southbury, Ct.; *Richard*, b. Oct. 23, 1703; *Catharine*, b. Jan. or June 5, 1705, m. Rev. Daniel Russell of Rocky Hill, Ct.; *Sarah*, b. Dec. 13, 1707; *Dorothy*, b. June 24, 1710, m. May 19, 1738, Rev. Grindal Rawson, of S. H.; *Charles*, b. June 28, 1712; *Jerusha*, b. Sept. 7, 1714, m. abt. 1747, Rev. Hobart Estabrook of East Haddam, Ct.; *Josiah*, b. Nov. 14, 1716.

2. RICHARD, s. of Rev. Isaac, (1) res. in Amh. and Whately, and d. Dec. 31, 1790, ae. 87; m. Nov. 6, 1729, Elizabeth, dau. of Jonathan Smith of Hat. She was b. May 8, 1708, and d. in Wh. May 22, 1790, ae. 82. Children—*Oliver*, b. July 9, 1730, m. Dec. 1751, Huldah Moody; *Elizabeth*, b. July 25,

1732; *Eunice*, b. April 2, 1735; *Jerusha*, b. Feb. 8, 1741, d. Sept. 1746; *Medad*, b. July 14, 1744, d. Sept. 1746; *Abigail*, bapt. Sept. 18, 1748.

3. Charles, s. of Rev. Isaac, (1) res. in Amh., Sund., &c. M. (1) Jan. 29, 1740, Sarah Ingram; m. (2) Sept. 18, 1746, Mary Gaylord. Children—*Catharine*, bapt. Jan. 4, 1741, m. April 24, 1759, Benjamin Harwood; *Dorothy*, bapt. April 1, 1744; *Isaac*, bapt. Aug. 22, 1745; *Eunice*, bapt. June 5, 1748; *David*, bapt. April 18, 1750.

4. Josiah, s. of Rev. Isaac, (1) res. in Had. and Amh. He was a Justice of the Peace, Selectman, Representative to General Court, rem. abt. 1781 to western part of Albany Co., now Schenectady Co., N.Y., where both himself and wife Mary are believed to have died within a year from the time of their removal. Children—*Elizabeth Billing*, b. April 16, 1747; *Mary*, b. Jan. 20, 1749, d. unm., abt. 1796; *Sarah*, b. March 2, 1751; *Josiah*, b. July 5, 1753, d. June 27, 1766; *Isaac*, b. Oct. 16, 1755; *Moses*, b. July 14, 1757, d. 1761; *Moses*, b. April 12, 1761, m. 1792, Sarah Calkin, and d. April 11, 1814; *Samuel*, b. June 3, 1763, d. June 11, 1763; *Samuel*, b. July 28, 1764, d. unm.; *Josiah*, b. July 19, 1767, d. 1813.

CHAUNCY, Rev. Nathaniel, s. of Rev. Charles Chauncy, Pres. of Harv. Col., was b. about 1639, in Plymouth, grad. H. C. 1661, and d. in Hat., Nov. 4, 1685. M. Nov. 12, 1673, Abigail, dau. of John Strong of Nh. She m. (2) Sept. 8, 1686, Medad Pomeroy of Nh. and d. April 15, 1704. Children—*Isaac*, b. Sept. 6, 1674, d. unm. in Durham, Ct., July 23, 1748, ae. 68; *Katharine*, b. Jan. 12, 1676, m. Aug. 23, 1689, Rev. Daniel Brewer of Springfield, and d. May 15, 1754, ae. 78; *Abigail*, b. Oct. 14, 1677, m. (1) Dr. Hudson; (2) or (3) Edward Burroughs; *Charles*, b. Sept. 3, 1679, d. Oct. 31, 1679; *Nathaniel*, b. Sept. 21, 1682, Y. C. 1702, ordained over church in Durham, Ct., Feb. 17, 1711, and there d. Feb. 8, 1756, ae. 74; *Sarah*, b. Sept. 15, 1683, m. July 1, 1712, Rev. Samuel Whittlesey of Wallingford, Ct., and d. Oct. 20 or 23, 1767, ae. 84.

1. CHURCH, Richard, Hartford, 1637, rem. in 1659 to Had., and d. Dec. 16, 1667. M. Anne, who d. in Hat., March 10, 1684, in 84th yr. Children—*Edward*, b. abt. 1628; *John*, b. abt. 1636, m. Oct. 27, 1657, Sarah Beckley, res. in Hartford, and was buried Oct. 16, 1691; *Samuel; Mary*, m. Isaac Graves.

2. Edward, s. of Richard, (1) deacon, Norwalk, 1654, rem. to Hat., and d. Sept. 19, 1704, ae. 76. M. Mary, who d. Sept. 30, 1690, acc. to Town Rec., but Sept. 17, 1691, ae. 54, acc. to grave-stone. Children—*Rebecca*, per. m. Feb. 11, 1677, Joseph Selden; *Mary*, b. 1656, prob. m. Dec. 25, 1679, Philip Russell; *John*, slain in Falls' fight, May 19, 1676; *Samuel*, b. April 4, 1662, d. May 6, 1662; *Samuel*, b. Aug. 4, 1663; *Naomi*, b. May 12, 1666, m. May 11, 1687, Joseph Bodman; *Sarah*, b. May 18, 1670, per. m. Dec. 3, 1697, William Porter; *Hannah*, per. m. abt. 1691, Ebenezer Billings; *Richard*, b. Jan. 18, 1675.

3. Samuel, s. of Richard, (1) freeman of Conn., 1657, d. April 13, 1684. M. Mary, prob. dau. of Josiah Churchill. Children—*Mary*, b. Jan. 23, 1665, m. 1684, Samuel Smith, and d. June 18, 1700; *Samuel*, b. Aug. 19, 1667; *Richard*, b. Dec. 9, 1669, m. Jan. 24, 1696, Sarah Bartlett, and was slain by

Indians Oct. 15, 1696, ae. 26; *Mehitable*, b. Jan. 11, 1672, m. Nehemiah Dickinson; *Josiah*, b. April 10, 1673; *Joseph*, b. May 26, 1678, d. unm., 1721; *Benjamin*, b. Sept. 1, 1680; *John*, b. Dec. 24, 1682.

4. RICHARD, s. of Edward, (2) Hat., d. April 4, 1763. M. Mary, who d. Dec. 22, 1776, in 85th yr. Children—*Mary*, b. Feb. 7, 1713, m. —— Smith; *Hannah*, b. May 1716, m. Richard Church; *John*, b. March 27, 1719, d. young; *Samuel*, b. July 16, 1721, d. Oct. 1, 1725, ae. 4; *Sarah*, d. Jan. 14, 1722; *Sarah*, m. Ebenezer Train; *Edward*, b. Dec. 5, 1726, d. at Cape Breton; *John*, b. July 26, 1729, d. unm., April 25, 1779, ae. 49; *Samuel*, b. Aug. 11, 1731, m. Lydia Billings, and d. May 9, 1786, ae. 55.

5. SAMUEL, s. of Samuel, (3) d. abt. 1737. M. (1) July 7, 1692, Abigail Harrison, who d. Sept. 7, 1717; m. (2) Aug. 12, 1720, Abigail Strong. She m. (2) Oct. 12, 1738, Ebenezer Chapin. Children—*Samuel*, d. April 28, 1703; *Martha*, b. Sept. 23, 1694, m. Jan. 5, 1715, John White; *Abigail*, b. Dec. 25, 1696, m. May 7, 1723, Samuel Warner; *child*, b. and d. June 16, 1699; *Richard*, b. Sept. 20, 1700; *Nathaniel*, b. Feb. 7, 1704; *Samuel*, b. Aug. 21, 1706; *Experience*, b. Feb. 2, 1710, m. June 14, 1733, Joseph Wright; *Joseph*, b. Jan. 28, 1728.

6. JOSIAH, s. of Samuel, (3) m. Nov. 24, 1699, Thankful Brooks. Children—*Mary*, b. Jan. 15, 1701; *Jonathan*, b. Dec. 13, 1702; *John*, b. Oct. 2, 1704; *Elizabeth*, b. April 10, 1707; *Josiah*, b. Nov. 27, 1709; *Mehitable*, b. Sept. 3, 1711; *Joseph*, b. Jan. 12, 1714; *Samuel*, b. April 30, 1716; *Ann*, b. Aug. 31, 1718; *Martha*, b. Oct. 4, 1720.

7. BENJAMIN, s. of Samuel, (3) d. Jan. 15, 1755. M. (1) Jan. 13, 1709, Miriam Hovey; m. (2) Sept. 23, 1714, Hannah Dickinson; m. (3) May 29, 1724, Sarah, wid. of Elisha Perkins. Children—*Benjamin*, b. Dec. 26, 1709; *Meriam*, b. May 12, 1712, m. May 24, 1739, Joseph Smith, and d. 1773; *Nehemiah*, b. July 22, 1715; *John*, b. Sept. 23, 1716, m. March 24, 1741, Jemima Montague; *Esther*, b. Feb. 13, 1718, m. Nov. 1, 1749, Joseph Barnard; *Mary*, b. Aug. 13, 1719, m. Feb. 11, 1746, Phinehas Smith; and prob. others.

8. RICHARD, s. of Samuel, (5) m. Jan. 12, 1727, Mehitable Dickinson. Children—*Moses*, b. Feb. 23, 1728, d. Sept. 9, 1748; *Elisha*, b. May 29, 1730, d. abt. 1766; *Son*, b. Sept. 1732, d. Nov. 5, 1732; *Richard*, b. Nov. 9, 1733, d. Dec. 8, 1733; *Waitstill*, b. Feb. 7, 1735, d. Sept. 12, 1748; *Dau.*, b. Feb. 27, 1737, d. Feb. 1737; *Mary*, b. April 3, 1738, d. abt. 1778; *Martha*, b. March 1, 1740; *Rebecca*, per.

9. NATHANIEL, s. of Samuel, (5) m. 1727, Rachel McCranney of Spr. Children—*Nathaniel*, b. Dec. 5, 1728; *William Harrison*, b. March 3, 1730; *Rachel*, b. April 10, 1731, m. 1750, Joseph Burt of Spr.; *Malachi*, b. June 24, 1732, m. April 30, 1756, Elizabeth Miller; *Jesse*, b. July 14, 1733; *Eber*, b. Dec. 14, 1734; *Timothy*, b. May 12, 1736, m. June 9, 1757, Abigail Church; *Samuel*, b. Dec. 7, 1737; *Ruth*, b. June 24, 1739; *Experience*, b. June 24, 1739; *Mary*, b. Aug. 4, 1741; *David*, b. Dec. 30, 1744; *Jonathan*, b. April 17, 1747; *Benjamin*, b. May 20, 1751.

10. SAMUEL, s. of Samuel, (5) rem. abt. 1743, to Amh. M. Margaret, dau. of Samuel Smith. She d. 1791. Children—*Margaret*, b. Jan. 12, 1735; m. Gideon Smith; *Sarah*, b. Aug. 17, 1736, m. Ebenezer White, and d. abt.

+ Mills

1802; *Abigail*, b. 1738, m. Elisha Smith; *Thankful*, b. 1741, d. in Conway, 1788; *Daniel*, b. 1743, m. Feb. 2, 1775, Hannah Smith; *Eunice*, bapt. Nov. 1747, d. unm.; *Giles*, b. Aug. 20, 1754, m. Lois Billings, and d. in Amh. Feb. 14, 1807, ae. 52.

11. Joseph, s. of Samuel, (5) Amh., d. Sept. 7, 1819, ae. 91. M. Jan. 2, 1755, Abigail, dau. of Jonathan Smith. She d. March 22, 1815. Children—*Samuel*, a physician in Sund., m. (1) Sabra Farnum, and d. June 7, 1826, ae. 71; *Abigail*, m. Gideon Henderson, and rem. to Claremont, N. H.; *Joseph*, b. abt. 1760, m. (1) Lydia Wait; m. (2) Elizabeth Kellogg, and d. in Amh., Sept. 20, 1840; *child*, bapt. 1764; *Sylvanus*, b. Nov. 13, 1768, m. Betsey Stevens, and d. in Amh., Sept. 6, 1854, ae. 85.

12. Benjamin, s. of Benjamin, (7) S. H., m. Ruth Kellogg. Children—*Joel*, b. Sept. 16, 1740, res. in S. H., m. Hannah; *Benjamin*, b. April 16, 1742, m. Miriam, and d. in Gr., Dec. 15, 1775; *Josiah*, b. July 9, 1744; *David*, b. March 31, 1746; *John*, b. Jan. 13, 1747, d. unm., in S. H., 1831; *Waitstill*, b. Feb. 9, 1752; *Nathan*, b. July 27, 1754, grad. D. C. 1784, settled as a minister in Bridgton, Me., in 1789, and d. Nov. 14, 1836, ae. 82; *Ruth*, b. Nov. 15, 1757; *Dorcas*, b. Aug. 7, 1763.

13. Nehemiah, s. of Benjamin, (7) Amh. and Montague, d. 1773. M. Esther Smith. Children—*Medad*, b. Dec. 22, 1747; *Hannah*, b. Oct. 25, 1749; *Samuel*, (?) b. Feb. 21, 1752; *Ebenezer*, bapt. Oct. 15, 1754; *Esther*, bapt. Sept. 4, 1757.

14. William Harrison, s. of Nathaniel, (9) m. Nov. 15, 1750, Jane Wood. Children—*child*, d. March, 1752; *Diadema*, b. March 7, 1755; *child*, b. Dec. 7, 1756, d. Dec. 7; *Jesse*, b. Dec. 7, 1756.

15. Eber, s. of Nathaniel, (9) rem. to Brattleboro', Vt.; m. May 25, 1758, Mary Farrand. Children—*Eber*, b. April 11, 1759, d. May 16, 1759; *Josiah*, b. July 21, 1761; *Eber*, b. July 19, 1763.

CLAPP, Preserved, s. of Preserved of Nh., b. 1705, res. in Amh., and d. Oct. 18, 1758, ae. 53. M. Aug. 20, 1730, Sarah, dau. of Christopher West, of Guilford, Ct. She was b. Nov. 9, 1706, and d. 1795. Children—*Preserved*, b. May 6, 1731, m. Eunice Atherton of Bolton; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 4, 1733, m. (1) Jan. 13, 1751, Ebenezer Kellogg of Amh.; m. (2) April 23, 1778, John Nash, of Amh.; *Lucy*, b. Nov. 10, 1737, m. (1) Jan. 4, 1760, Martin Smith of Amh.; m. (2) —— Shattuck, of Hinsdale, N. H.; *Irene*, b. Nov. 12, 1740, m. 1759, Noadiah Lewis, of Amh., and d. Oct. 10, 1830, ae. 89; *Miriam*, b. June 25, 1743, d. young; *Oliver*, b. 1744, m. Elizabeth Mattoon, and d. in Amh. Oct. 25, 1832, ae. 88; *Mary*, bapt. Jan. 25, 1747, m. Timothy Hubbard, and d. April 22, 1835, ae. 88; *Timothy*, bapt. May 21, 1749, m. Sarah Field, and d. in Amh. May 20, 1824, ae. 75; *William*, bapt. Aug. 1752, m. Martha Dickinson, and d. Aug. 28, 1809.

CLARK, Israel, Gr., d. June 17, 1796, in 62d yr. M. Dec. 3, 1756, Mehitable, dau. of Luke Montague. She d. Oct. 23, 1815, in 77th yr. Children—*Sybil*, b. Nov. 9, 1757; *Israel*, b. Nov. 10, 1759; *Luke*, b. Feb. 11, 1762; *Jotham*, b. Nov. 19, 1764; *Joseph*, b. Aug. 7, 1767; *Asa; Joel; Titus.*

1. CLARK, John, b. abt. 1704, in Ireland, m. Mary. Children—*John*, b. abt. 1739; *Moses*, b. Aug. 7, 1749.

2. JOHN, s. of John, (1) m. 1764, Margaret Farrand. Children—*Sarah*, b. July 19, 1766; *Enoch*, b. May 19, 1768; *Peggy*, b. Jan. 19, 1770; *Phyllira*, b. Sept. 14, 1772; *Achsah*, bapt. Sept. 25, 1774, d. Jan. 14, 1776; *Achsah*, b. Aug. 12, 1777.

3. MOSES, s. of John, (1) m. Sarah. Children—*James*, b. Aug. 28, 1773; *Moses*, b. March 9, 1775; *William*, b. Dec. 2, 1776; *David*, b. Nov. 5, 1778; *Phene*, (dau.) b. July 28, 1780: *Jonathan*, b. Sept. 9, 1782.

CLARK, NOAH, b. 1719, came from Nh. to Gr., and d. abt. 1790. M. Rachel, dau. of Samuel Phelps, of Nh. She was b. 1724. Children—*Rachel*, b. Dec. 14, 1745; *Gad*, b. Feb. 27, 1746, d. 1749; *Amaziah*, b. Nov. 26, 1748, joined the Shakers; *Rufus*, b. Feb. 22, 1751; *Eunice*, b. April 27, 1753; *Rhoda*, b. Aug. 28, 1755; *Esther*, b. Aug. 28, 1757; *Kezia*, b. May 21, 1759; *Noah*, b. April 27, 1762.

CLARK, SETH, came from Nh. to Gr., m. Mary Edwards. Children—*Enos*, b. 1747; *Mary*, b. 1748, d. young; *Mary*, b. 1749; *Eleanor*, b. Nov. 13, 1750; *Mary*, b. 1751, d. 1751; *Seth*, b. July 15, 1753; *Mary*, b. Nov. 2, 1755; *Adah*, (dau.) b. May 16, 1759; *Naomi*, b. Jan. 1, 1761; *Levi*, b. Aug. 3, 1762, d. Jan. 11, 1764.

CLARK, SIMEON, b. Oct. 20, 1720, s. of Increase of Nh., deacon in Amh., where he d. Oct. 28, 1801, ae. 81. M. Nov. 2, 1749, Rebecca, dau. of Nathaniel Strong. She d. Jan. 13, 1811, ae. 86. Children—*Eunice*, b. Aug, 11, 1750, m. Timothy Green of Amh., and d. May 6, 1776, ae. 25; *Simeon*, b. June 25, 1752, m. (1) Lucy Hubbard; m. (2) April 23, 1795, Irene Lewis; res. in Amh., and d. May 3, 1831, ae. 78; *Levi*, b. Aug. 27, 1753, m. —— Lincoln, and d. Sept. 1836, ae. 83; *Judah*, b. April 18, 1756, d. Sept. 9, 1757; *Lois*, b. March 9, 1758, d. June 20, 1759; *Judah*, b. Aug. 16, 1759, m. Nov. 26, 1789, Esther Merrick, and d. July 18, 1842, ae. 82; *Asahel*, b. Feb. 6, 1762, m. Nov. 23, 1786, Irene Hubbard; d. in Amh., March 7, 1800, ae. 38; *Lois*, b. Jan. 3, 1764, m. Jan. 29, 1792, Oliver Cowls of Amh., and d. Dec. 4, 1803, ae. 39; *Justus*, b. Nov. 24, 1765, m. Oct. 26, 1794, Dorcas Pomeroy, and d. Dec. 25, 1847, ae. 82; *Mary*, b. Dec. 13, 1767, m. John Stebbins of Gr.; *Jerusha*, b. May 31, 1770, d. Jan. 19, 1771; *Jerusha*, b. May 12, 1772, m. Nov. 19, 1804, John Stebbins of Gr., and d. March 26, 1815, ae. 42.

CLARKE, MR. HENRY, Windsor 1640, representative 1641–1650, Assistant 1650–1661, a first settler of Had., a wealthy and distinguished man. He was one of the Commissioners for holding the courts at Spr. and Nh. (or Associates, as they were called after 1666) from 1663 to 1676. He d. s. p. Dec. 23, 1675. M. Jane, who d. Feb. 25, 1672.

1. CLARY, JOHN, came from Watertown, and d. Feb. 10, 1691. M. Feb. 5, 1644, Sarah Caddett, but Cady, accd. to Savage, and Cassell, accd. to Bond. She d. Dec. 23, 1681. Children—*John; Sarah*, b. Oct. 4, 1647, m. Dec. 13, 1667, John Perry of Watertown; *Gershom*, b. Sept. 7, 1650.

2. JOHN, s. of John, (1) res. in Hat. and North., and d. Aug. 15, 1688. M. Jan. or June 16, 1670, Ann Dickinson, who m. (2) Enos Kingsley. Children—*John*, b. April 3, 1671, slain in Brookfield, 1709, leaving John and Rachel; *Sarah*, b. March 19, 1673, d. young; *Joseph*, b. Nov. 30, 1677; *Mary*, m. —— Hutchinson.

3. Joseph, s. of John, (2) Hat. and Sund., d. 1748. M. Nov. 19, 1702, Hannah, dau. of Samuel Belding of Hat. Children—*Joseph*, b. Sept. 3, 1705, m. Sarah Gunn, and d. in Leverett; *Samuel*, b. 1707; *Martha*, b. 1712; *Sarah*, d. 1715; *Sarah*, b. 1717; *Hannah*, b. 1719.

COATS, Reuben. Child—*Son*, b. Feb. 26, 1777.

1. COLEMAN, Thomas, doubtless came from Evesham, Eng., Wethersfield 1639, rep. 1652 and 1656, rem. to Had., where he was a first settler, freeman 1661, and buried Oct. 1, 1674. M. Wid. Frances Wells, who d. March, 1678. Children—*John*, b. abt. 1635; *Noah; Esther*,(?) m. Philip Davis; *Sarah*, m. abt. 1661, Richard Treat, Jr.; *Deborah*, m. Daniel Gunn, of Milford, Ct., and d. 1703.

2. John, s. of Thomas, (1) freeman of Conn., 1658, and of Mass., 1672, res. in Hat., where he d. Jan. 21, 1711, ae. 76. M. (1) May 29, 1663, Hannah Porter of Windsor, who was slain Sept. 19, 1677; (2) March 11, 1679, Mehitable Root, who d. Aug. 4, 1689; (3) Mary, wid. of Thomas Stebbins of Spr. She d. Oct. 17, 1725, ae. 84. Children—*Thomas*, b. March 3, 1664, d. unm.; *Hannah*, b. Feb. 14, 1667, m. Thomas Nash; *John*, b. April 11, 1669, res. in Wethersfield; *Noah*, b. Dec. 20, 1671; *Sarah*, b. Feb. 15, 1673, m. John Field; *Bethia*, b. Oct. 14, 1676, slain Sept. 21, 1677; *Ebenezer*, b. Aug. 29, 1680, d. in Colchester, 1741; *Nathaniel*, b. Oct. 18, 1684.

3. Noah, s. of Thomas, (1) freeman 1671, d. July 20, 1676. M. Dec. 27, 1666, Mary, dau. of John Crow. She m. (2) Sept. 16, 1680, Peter Montague. Children—*Mary*, b. Aug. 31, 1667, d. Sept. 20, 1668; *Thomas*, b. Dec. 23, 1668, d. young; *Twins*, b. and d. 1670; *Mary*, b. Sept. 15, 1671, d. Sept. 25, 1671; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 25, 1672, m. 1692, Westwood Cook; *Mary*, b. Dec. 27, 1675, d. young.

4. Noah, s. of John, (2) rem. abt. 1705, from Hat. to Colchester, Ct., and d. 1711. M. Hannah. Children—*Hannah*, b. Feb. 16, 1701; *Noah*, b. July 2, 1703; *Joseph*, b. June 28, 1706.

5. Nathaniel, s. of John, (2) Hat., d. April 7, 1755, ae. 70. M. 1705, Mary Ely. Children—*John*, b. Jan. 16, 1707, d. 1725, ae. 18, in East Windsor, Ct.; *Nathaniel*, b. Sept. 21, 1709; *Mary*, b. July 14, 1712, m. John Dickinson; *Elijah*, b. Nov. 17, 1714; *Noah*, b. March 27, 1718, res. in Hat.; *Samuel*, b. Sept. 22, 1720, d. May 17, 1728; *Amos*, per. res. in Middletown; *John*, b. May 14, 1728, d. abt. 1770, in Hartford.

6. Nathaniel, s. of Nathaniel, (5) rem. to Amh. in 1742, and d. March 8, 1792, ae. 82. M. March 24, 1739, Mercy Smith, who d. May 16, 1798, ae. 83. Children—*Seth*, b. March 17, 1740; *Thankful*, b. Nov. 13, 1741; *Azubah*, b. April 18, 1749, m. March 27, 1783, Jonathan Dickinson of Amh.; *Enos*, b. Jan. 26, 1751, d. of croup.

7. Elijah, s. of Nathaniel, (5) Hat., m. Mary. Children—*Elijah*, b. March 10, 1745, m. Tabitha, and d. Jan. 19, 1818, ae. 73; *Mary*, b. July 31, 1747; *Submit*, b. Dec. 5, 1751.

8. Seth, s. of Nathaniel, (6) grad. Y. C., 1765, studied medicine with Dr. L. Hubbard of New Haven, Ct., and established himself in the practice of the same in Amh., where he d. Sept. 9, 1816, ae. 74. M. (1) Oct. 20,

1765, Sarah Beecher, who d. March 3, 1783, ae. 42; (2) Jan. 27, 1785, Eunice, wid. of Oliver Warner of Had., and dau. of Dea. Jonathan Church, of Spr. She d. Aug. 8, 1822, ae. 81. Children—*William*, b. Sept. 7, 1766, a physician in Pittsfield; *Thankful*, b. May 10, 1768, m. Nov. 8, 1798, Dr. Linus Stevens, of Charlemont, N. H.; *Sarah*, b. Feb. 13, 1770, d. Feb. 14, 1776, ae. 6; *Fanny*, b. March 6, 1772, d. Feb. 9, 1776, ae. 3; *Seth*, b. April 4, 1774, m. Elizabeth Doane; *Sarah*, b. Aug. 2, 1777, d. April 11, 1782, ae. 4; *Eliphalet Beecher*, b. Aug. 30, 1779, grad. W. C. 1800, clergyman, d. in Olivet, Mich., 1856, ae. 76; *Fanny*, b. Aug. 3, 1781, m. Hon. Nathaniel W. Howell, of Canandaigua, N. Y.

COLT, Lt. Benjamin, came from Lyme, Ct., and d. Aug. 30, 1781. M. 1761, Lucretia Ely of Lyme. She m. (2) John Walker, and d. March 3, 1826, ae. 83. Children—*Benjamin*, b. Sept. 30, 1762; *Lucretia*, b. Dec. 16, 1763, d. Sept. 12, 1767, ae. 3; *Daniel*, b. July 7, 1767, grad. H. C. 1786, d. 1816 in La.; *Lucretia*, b. June 28, 1769, d. Jan. 7, 1771; *Ethalinda*, b. July 23, 1771, m. Oct. 8, 1790, Joseph Dudley Selden; *Ame*, b. Feb. 7, 1773, m. Aug. 30, 1791, Moses Porter; *Betsey*, b. Sept. 1, 1774; *Lucretia*, b. Nov. 25, 1776; m. 1803, Ebenezer Foot, Esq., of Troy, N. Y.; *Elisha*, b. June 12, 1778, m. Aug. 17, 1800, Rebecca Cook; *Christopher*, b. Aug. 31, 1780, a merchant in Hartford, Ct.

1. COOK, or COOKE, Capt. Aaron, bapt. Feb. 21, 1640, s. of Aaron, of Nh., was representative, 1689, 1691, 1693 and 1697, and d. Sept. 16, 1716, in 76th yr. M. May 30, 1661, Sarah, dau. of William Westwood. She d. March 24, 1730, in 86th yr. Children—*Sarah*, b. Jan. 31, 1662, m. Thomas Hovey; *Aaron*, res. in Hartford; *Joannah*, b. July 10, 1665, m. Feb. 22, 1683, Samuel Porter, Jr., and d. Nov. 13, 1713, ae. 49; *Westwood*, b. March 29, 1670 or 1671; *Samuel*, b. Nov. 16, 1672; *Moses*, b. May 5, 1675; *Elizabeth*, b. Jan. 9, 1677, m. July 19, 1698, Ichabod Smith; *Bridget*, b. March 31, 1683, m. (1) June 13, 1701, John Barnard; (2) Dea. Samuel Dickinson.

2. Westwood, s. of Aaron, (1) d. June 3, 1744, ae. 73. M. 1692, Sarah Coleman, who d. after Feb. 1756. Children—*Mary*, b. March 21, 1693, d. June, 1693; *Noah*, b. April 5, 1694; *William*, b. June 20, 1696, grad. H. C. 1716, ord. as pastor of chh. in East Sudbury, March 20, 1723, m. Jane, dau. of Maj. Stephen Sewall of Salem, and d. June 17, 1760, ae. 66; *Aaron*, b. Jan. 14, 1699; *Bridget*, b. Jan. 26, 1701, m. Rev. William Rand; *Westwood*, b. June 20, 1703; *Mary*, b. April 6, 1711, d. Aug. 23, 1730, ae. 19; *Rebecca*, b. April 14, 1717, prob. m. —— Wyman.

3. Samuel, Lieut., s. of Aaron, (1) d. Sept. 16, 1746, ae. 73. M. June 21, 1698, Ann, dau. of Jonathan Marsh. She d. March 30, 1758. Children—*Ann*, b. June 6, 1700, m. Feb. 26, 1725, Aaron Cook, and d. Dec. 27, 1776, ae. 76; *Sarah*, b. June 7, 1703, m. Dec. 7, 1726, Timothy Eastman, Jr.; *Hannah*, b. April 22, 1706, m. March 20, 1730, William Dickinson, Jr.; *Samuel*, b. Jan. 10, 1709, grad. H. C. 1735, ord. Sept. 12, 1739, over Second chh. in Cambridge, and d. June 4, 1783, ae. 74. M. (1) 1740, Sarah Porter; (2) Anna, dau. of Rev. John Cotton of Newton; (3) ——, dau. of Rev. Nicholas Bowes, of Bedford; *Mehitable*, b. Nov. 10, 1711, m. Jan. 31, 1734, Jonathan Smith; *Jonathan*, b. March 28, 1714, d. April 12, 1714; *Joanna*,

b. May 10, 1715, d. June 13, 1715; *Miriam*, b. Oct. 14, 1716, m. Nov. 17, 1743, Josiah Pierce; *Jonathan*, b. Jan. 17, 1722.

4. Moses, Capt., s. of Aaron, (1) d. March, 1758. M. July 4, 1698, Mary Barnard, who d. 1753. Children—*Mary*, b. March 20, 1700, m. (1) June 18, 1734, Stephen Kellogg; (2) Oct. 30, 1744, Moses Nash of West Hartford, and d. Sept. 21, 1775, ae. 75; *Moses*, b. Aug. 1, 1702, d. April 19, 1725, ae. 22; *Joannah*, b. Oct. 13, 1704, m. March 7, 1723, Westwood Cook; *Aaron*, b. Feb. 21, 1707; *Margaret*, b. March 18, 1711, m. (1) Cotton Partridge; (2) Samuel Gaylord; *Elisha*, b. Feb. 22, 1715; *Martha*, b. May 26, 1717, m. April 15, 1741, John Dickinson; *Hannah*, b. Oct. 16, 1719, m. 1739, Moses Marsh.

5. Noah, s. of Westwood, (2) d. June 17, 1760. M. (1) 1716, Sarah Marsh, who d. Sept. 4 or 5, 1746; (2) 1747, Esther Chapin. Children—*Sarah*, b. Nov. 8, 1717, m. Sept. 8, 1743, Elisha Cook; *Noah*, b. Feb. 24, 1720, d. May 17, 1725, ae. 5; *Coleman*, b. June 12, 1722, d. Aug. 20, 1746, ae. 24; *Joseph*, b. Nov. 24, 1724; *Dorcas*, b. March 28, 1727, m. Aaron Goodrich; *Noah*, b. Feb. 12, 1730.

6. Aaron, s. of Westwood, (2) d. May 3 or 30, 1739, ae. 80. M. Feb. 26, 1725, Ann, dau. of Samuel Cook. She d. Dec. 27, 1776, ae. 76. Children—*John*, b. April 11, 1726; *Aaron*, b. Feb. 21, 1728; *Phinehas*, b. July 16, 1730, d. young; *Phinehas*, b. June 25, 1732, d. young; *Jabez*, b. Oct. 29, 1734, d. unm., Aug. 28, 1803, ae. 68; *Phinehas*, b. Aug. 23, 1741, d. June 25, 1759, ae. 17.

7. Westwood, s. of Westwood, (2) rem. to Amh., and d. abt. 1748. M. March 7, 1723, Joanna, dau. of Moses Cook. She d. abt. 1749. Children—*Jane*, b. Oct. 11, 1724, m. 1749, Joseph Wright of Ware; *Moses*, b. May 26, 1726; *Mary*, b. Dec. 16, 1730, d. young; *Joannah*, b. Oct. 23, 1734, d. abt. 1734; *Mary*, b. June 4, 1743, m. Dec. 5, 1764, John Smith.

8. Jonathan, s. of Samuel, (3) m. Aug. 2, 1744, Ruth Goodman. Children—*Seth*, b. Oct. 4, 1744; *Samuel*, b. Dec. 22, 1746, d. Sept. 12, 1748; *Mary*, b. Aug. 9, 1749, m. June 13, 1771, Dan West; *Hannah*, b. Jan. 24, 1751, m. Jan. 5, 1774, Thomas W. Foster; *Ruth*, b. Jan. 3, 1753, m. Dec. 8, 1774, Maj. John Smith; *Samuel*, b. March 18, 1755, rem. to Worthington, a Judge in Vt.; *Jonathan*, b. 1757, d. Aug. 22, 1758, ae. 1 yr. and 7 mos.; *Jonathan*, b. Oct. 17, 1759, called Doctor, rem. from Had.; *Ann*, b. Nov. 19, 1761, m. April 17, 1788, William Westwood Cook; *Lucretia*, b. June 2, 1764, m. Jan. 15, 1792, Elihu Smith; *David*, b. June 2, 1764, d. June 7, 1764; *Clarissa*, b. Dec. 19, 1768, m. 1792, Eliphalet Baker of Sandisfield.

9. Aaron, s. of Moses, (4) d. March 29, 1795, ae. 88. M. May, 1740, Abigail, dau. of Doct. John Barnard. She d. June 18, 1782, ae. 72. Children—*Samuel*, b. June 7, 1741, rem. to N. H.; m. 1761, Mary Fairfield of Belchertown; *William*, b. June 7, 1743; *Moses*, was in Rev. war, d. unm.; *Thankful*, m. Sept. 2, 1773, Walter Fairfield of Lyme; *Mary*, b. Aug. 29, 1756; *Samuel*, b. Jan. 16, 1763; *Elijah*, b. Nov. 20, 1764.

10. Elisha, Ens., s. of Moses, (4) d. March 7, 1794, ae. 79. M. Sept. 8, 1743, Sarah, dau. of Noah Cook. Children—*Rebecca*, b. June 10, 1744, d. May 23, 1751, ae. 6; *Sarah*, b. Dec. 27, 1745, d. Aug. 23, 1746, ae. 8 mos.;

Coleman, b. Aug. 3, 1747; *Elisha*, b. Sept. 3, 1749; *Waitstill*, b. Feb. 25, 1752, *Perez*, b. Feb. 18, 1754, res. in Gr., and d. July 21, 1844, ae. 90; *Oliver*, b. March 12, 1756, rem. to Vt.; *Gad*, b. Sept. 20, 1758, m. Joanna, dau. of Oliver Smith; *William Westwood*, b. March 3, 1762.

11. JOSEPH, s. of Noah, (5) d. June 14, 1805, ae. 79. M. Abigail, dau. of Luke Smith, Jr., to whom he was pub. March 9, 1751. Children—*Giles*, b. Aug. 23, 1751, d. in Greenfield, April 4, 1834, ae. 82; *David*, b. Nov. 29, 1752; *Joseph*, b. 1754, d. Oct. 2, 1779; *Enos*, b. Dec. 28, 1755, grad. Y. C. 1785, lawyer in Deerfield, whence he rem. to N. Y.; *Sarah*, b. Nov. 18, 1757, d. Oct. 22, 1784; *Irene*, b. May 15, 1759, d. 1759; *Irene*, b. Jan. 21, 1761, d. Jan. 1836; *Caleb*, b. Dec. 10, 1762, d. July 10, 1777; *Lucretia*, b. Sept. 23, 1765, d. 1834; *Louisa*, b. Sept. 23, 1765, d. Jan. 24, 1785.

12. NOAH, Lt., s. of Noah, (5) d. April 8, 1796, ae. 66. M. Oct. 23, 1748, Kezia Parsons of Nh. She d. 1809. Children—*Noah*, b. Oct. 8, 1749, grad. H. C. 1769, minister in Keene, N. H.; *Amasa*, b. April 7, 1751, grad. Bro. Univ., 1776, settled over chh. in Bernardston, Dec. 1783, dis. May 1805, d. 1816, ae. 65; *Elihu*, b. Jan. 16, 1753; *Eleazar*, b. Feb. 11, 1755, rem. to St. Albans, Vt., and d. 1800; *Timothy*, b. Feb. 6, 1757, rem. to Stamford, Vt.; *Josiah*, b. March 29, 1759, d. Jan. 5, 1778, ae. 18; *Parsons*, b. March 8, 1762, d. Dec. 15, 1777, ae. 15; *Solomon*, b. Feb. 11, 1764; *Andrew*, b. Feb. 1, 1766, d. Dec. 21, 1814, ae. 48; *Stephen*, b. Sept. 19, 1768, d. Jan. 1, 1827; *Keziah*, b. Jan. 22, 1773, m. —— Shattuck of Brookfield.

13. JOHN, s. of Aaron, (6) d. Feb. 29, 1805, ae. 74. M. (1) Jan. 24, 1760, Rebecca Smith, who d. May 30, 1762, in 26th yr.; m. (2) Jan. 4, 1770, Elizabeth, wid. of Josiah Smith, and dau. of David Smith. She d. June 20, 1819, ae. 79. Children—*Phinehas*, b. Nov. 15, 1760, d. June 14, 1761; *Silas*, b. Nov. 7, 1770, d. Nov. 1, 1772; *Rebecca*, b. July 31, 1772, m. Feb. 7, 1797, Noah Smith of Winchester, N. H.; *Elizabeth*, b. July 5, 1774, d. Jan. 13, 1776; *John*, b. April 6, 1776, d. April 6, 1856, ae. 80; *Silas*, b. Jan. 9, 1779, d. April 27, 1814, ae. 35; *Phinehas*, b. Oct. 9, 1781, grad. W. C. 1803, clergyman, d. in Amh., April 28, 1853, ae. 71.

14. AARON, s. of Aaron, (6) d. Jan. 24, 1800, ae. 77. M. 1755, Anne Sheldon of Nh., who d. Dec. 29, 1796. Children—*Anne*, b. Aug, 23, 1756, m. April 3, 1794, Samuel Pierce; *Phebe*, b. Dec. 15, 1758, m. Oct. 30, 1798, John Sikes of Ludlow; *Lucy*, b. Nov. 26, 1760, m. March 17, 1782, Daniel Smith; *Persis*, b. Oct. 26, 1762, m. (1) Nov. 7, 1787, William, s. of John Smith; m. (2) —— Bates, and d. Aug. 13, 1848; *Jerusha*, b. Oct. 3, 1764, m. Dec. 15, 1785, Willard Smith, and d. Nov. 28, 1848; *Susannah*, b. Dec. 2, 1766, m. 1798, Nathaniel Bridges; *Dan*, b. July 5, 1770; *Caleb*, b. Jan. 16, 1773, d. Jan. 23, 1838.

15. MOSES, s. of Westwood, (7) Amh., m. July 7, 1748, Hannah Smith Children—*Moses*, bapt. 1751, m. Susanna Henderson and rem. to Vt.' *Preserved*, bapt. Jan. 19, 1755, d. unm., in Ashfield; *Joanna*, bapt. Jan. 29; 1758, m. Nov. 16, 1774, Clark Lawton; *Martin*, bapt. March 14, 1764, m., Jan. 28, 1785, Hannah, dau. of Noah Smith; *Levi*, m. (1) April 27, 1786, Achsah, dau. of Dea. Eleazar Smith, of Amh., and rem. to Ashfield.

16. SETH, s. of Jonathan, (8) d. Nov. 26, 1817. M. March 23, 1775, Elizabeth Stevens, who d. May 4, 1818. Children—*Son*, b. and d. Jan. 1776;

Stephen, b. Feb. 25, 1777; *Betsey*, b. Nov. 5, 1778; *Charlotte*, b. Dec. 15, 1780, d. unm., May. 24, 1854; *Son*, per. Almon, bapt. June 29, 1783, rem. to N. Y.; *Child*, bapt. June 29, 1783; *Winthrop*, b. April 26, 1785; *Child*, b. and d. June, 1787; *Child*, b. and d. July, 1788.

17. WILLIAM, s. of Aaron, (9) d. Oct. 20, 1817. M. April 26, 1770, Martha White, who d. Oct. 14, 1816, ae. 74. Children—*Experience*, b. Nov. 20, 1771, m. 1795, Stephen Cook; *Mary*, b. Nov. 11, 1774, d. unm., Aug. 5, 1806, ae. 31; *Martha*, b. Sept. 18, 1777; *David White*, b. July 26, 1779, m. Nov. 23, 1799, Salome Cady, and d. in Belchertown, Jan. 29, 1854, ae. 74; *William*, b. Aug. 23, 1781, m. —— —— and d. in Hat.

18. COLEMAN, s. of Elisha, (10) m. Jan. 31, 1771, Hannah Smith. She d. Feb. 22, 1824, ae. 80. Children—*David Smith*, b. Nov. 1771; *Sarah*, b. Feb. 14, 1774, m. —— Tyler; *Eliezer*, b. May 4, 1775; *James*, b. Sept. 1777; *Hannah*, b. April 20, 1780, m. —— Rhodes; *Lucinda*, b. April 26, 1783, m. April 19, 1801, Joel Fox; *Coleman*, b. Jan. 25, 1785, rem. to Vt.

19. ELISHA, s. of Elisha, (10) m. Dec. 23, 1774, Martha, wid. of Perez Jones, and dau. of John Dickinson. Children—*Submit*, bapt. May 14, 1775, m. (1) Sept. 12, 1799, Timothy Stockwell; (2) —— Wallis; *Job*, b. Oct. 13, 1775; *Elisha*, b. abt. 1779; *Robert*, bapt. May 20, 1781; *Rebecca*, b. June 21, 1783, m. Aug. 17, 1800, Elisha Colt; *Martha*, b. Dec. 26, 1785, d. unm.; *Margaret*, bapt. May 6, 1787, d. unm.; *Roswell*, b. Jan. 1790, d. in youth.

20. WAITSTILL, s. of Elisha, (10) d. March 7, 1823, ae. 71. M. July 23, 1779, Ruth Ballard, who d. in Nh. Children—*Ruth*, m. —— Edwards of Nh.: *Sylvia; Waitstill; Linda*, b. 1785; *Catharine*, b. Nov. 20, 1786; *Son*, b. Nov. 1788, d. June 22, 1789; *Calvin*, b. April 11, 1790; *Lucius Althea*, b. March, 1792; *Ashbel; Frederick*, d. Feb. 21, 1817.

21. WILLIAM WESTWOOD, s. of Elisha, (10) d. Oct. 28, 1821, [1822?] M. April 17, 1788, Anne, dau. of Jonathan Cook. Children—*Daniel*, b. April 17, 1788; *Sophia*, b. 1793, m. 1814, Allen Clark of Nh.; *Harriet*, m. Feb. 14, 1817, Sylvanus Dickinson; *Louisa*, bapt. June 17, 1798, m. Jacob Edson.

22. ELIHU, s. of Lt. Noah, (12) d. April 5, 1801. M. Cynthia Frink of Spr., to whom he was pub. Dec. 2, 1779. She was b. in Stonington, Ct., July 11, 1758, and d. June 7, 1853, ae. 94. Children—*Dau.* per. *Cynthia*, b. Jan. 17, 1781, m. Jan. 15, 1799, Isaac Daniels of Keene, N. H., and d. Jan. 1849; *Achsah*, b. Oct. 2, 1782, m. (1) Jabez Fairbanks; (2) Caleb Stockbridge, and d. Feb. 1837; *Josiah*, b. Jan. 1, 1785, d. Sept. 10, 1828; *Artemas*, b. April 5, 1787; *Elihu*, b. Jan. 13, 1790; *Eunice*, b. July 26, 1792; *Sophia*, b. July 11, 1795; d. Oct. 19, 1802; *Miriam*, bapt. June 3, 1798; m. James Congdon, and d. July 4, 1850.

23. SOLOMON, s. of Lt. Noah, (12) d. June 21, 1831, ae. 67. M. Jan. 3, 1790, Tryphena Newton, who d. June 10, 1805. Children—*Solomon*, b. Nov. 19, 1790; *Elizabeth*, b. May 4, 1792; *Tryphena*, b. May 1, 1794, d. Dec. 20, 1807, ae. 13; *Sylvester*, b. Feb. 16, 1796; *Noah*, b. May 28, 1798; *Parsons*, b. Feb. 18, 1800, grad. W. C. 1822, pastor of Cong. chh. in Lynn; *Amanda*, b. Feb. 12, 1803.

24. JOHN, s. of John, (13) d. April 6, 1856, ae. 80. M. Jan. 22, 1799, Sarah, dau. of Daniel White. She was b. Jan. 26, 1779. Children—*Maria*,

b. Oct. 19, 1799, m. John Judd Graves; *Zenas*, b. Sept. 1, 1801, m. Lucy Russell; *Ephraim*, b. Sept. 30, 1803, d. Sept. 19, 1804; *Ephraim*, b. June 14, 1805, m. Phebe English; *Roswell Wells*, b. June 7, 1807, m. May 19, 1835, Harriet A. Nash of Greenfield; *Elizabeth Smith*, b. April 28, 1810, m. Norman Hamilton; *Horace*, b. March 8, 1812, d. Oct. 29, 1820; *Sarah Porter*, b. June 17, 1814, d. Sept. 16, 1838, ae. 24; *Silas Wright*, b. Dec. 8, 1816, m. Mary Cook; *John Dudley*, b. Feb. 28, 1821; *Emily White*, b. March 28, 1824, d. Aug. 22, 1831.

25. DAN, s. of Aaron, (14) m. Eunice Smith of Winchester, N. H., pub. July 5, 1795. Children—*Loomis*, b. Dec. 3, 1797, d. Dec. 27, 1802; *Judith*, b. June 26, 1799, d. Aug. 30, 1800; *Aaron*, b. April 21, 1800, d. Oct. 16, 1805, *Julia*; b. Dec. 16, 1802; *Loomis*, b. Sept. 3, 1805; *Charles*, b. March 29, 1807.

26. STEPHEN, s. of Seth, (16) rem. to N. Y., m. Jan. 19, 1799, Polly Dewey, who d. Jan. 8, 1827. Children—*Charles*, b. Dec. 16, 1799; *Jonathan*, b. April 26, 1801; *Mary Ann*, b. Feb. 15, 1805; *Adelia*, b. June 9, 1807; *Clarissa*, b. Sept. 2, 1810; *Betsey*, b. Sept. 2, 1812; *Giles*, b. Sept. 16, 1815; *Eveline*, b. Dec. 4, 1818.

27. ALMON, s. of Seth, (16) d. Sept. 1825. M. Lorinda, dau. of Clement Smith. She d. May 10, 1815. Child—*Lewis*, b. Aug. 25, 1809, d. Sept. 17, 1820.

28. WINTHROP, s. of Seth, (16) d. June 11, 1854, ae. 69. M. (1) ——, dau. of Joel Smith of Amh.; (2) Feb. 3, 1814, Sophia, dau. of Erastus Smith. She d. Sept. 1, 1846. Children—*Chester*, b. Nov. 27, 1814, m. April 24, 1856, Laura Briggs; *Charlotte Smith*, b. Oct. 5. 1816, m. April 21, 1847, Elijah H. Bartlett; *Horace*, b. Oct. 21, 1818, d. March 18, 1819; *Elizabeth S.*, b. Jan. 31, 1820, m. May 26, 1841, Charles E. Lamson; *Sophia L.*, b. March 3, 1822, m. Oct. 1, 1845, Josiah S. Smith; *Horace*, b. April 24, 1824, Representative 1861, m. Dec. 19, 1855, Cornelia Asenath, dau. of Theodore Pasco, and had—Herbert Stanley, b. June 27, 1857, d. Dec. 25, 1860; *Charles*, b. Oct. 30, 1826, d. Nov. 15, 1829; *Mary D.*, b. Feb. 12, 1829; *Charles*, b. Feb. 9, 1831, m. Nov. 20, 1856, Harriet M. Flagg, and has Francis Luther, b. March 18, 1859, and Frederick, b. Oct. 14, 1860.

29. DAVID SMITH, s. of Coleman, (18) m. Aug. 3, 1772, Ruth Rood. Children—*Horace*, b. Oct. 11, 1792; *Pamela*, b. April 3, 1795, d. Oct. 13, 1796, ae. 1.

30. JAMES, s. of Coleman, (18) d. 1861. M. (1) Nov. 26, 1797, Polly, dau. of Simeon Rood. She d. April 5, 1800; (2) June 1, 1801, Ruhamah Deane, b. July 1, 1776. She d. 1861. Children—*Erastus*, b. April 14, 1798, m. and res. in Vt.; *Dau.*, b. March 20, 1800; *Elbridge*, b. May 3, 1802, d. Nov. 20, 1820, ae. 18; *Austin*, b. Sept. 20, 1804, d. Oct. 29, 1820; *James*, b. June 12, 1806, d. Sept. 18, 1807; *James*, b. Dec. 5, 1807; *Maria A.*, b. July 30, 1809, m. Charles Austin Kellogg; *Polly Rood*, b. Aug. 14, 1811, m. William E. Mather of Nh.; *Martha H.*, b. June 21, 1813, m. 1853, Rev. Solomon Knapp of Lockport, Ill.; *Rufus*, b. Jan. 1, 1815; *Enos Foster*, b. Oct. 29, 1816; *Elizabeth Ann*, b. March 10, 1819, d. Nov. 30, 1820; *Elizabeth Ann*, b. Sept. 5, 1821, m. May 27, 1846, Sylvester Keith.

31. Elisha, s. of Elisha, (19) d. Jan. 7, 1846, ae. 67. M. Anne, dau. of Timothy Eastman. She d. Feb. 23, 1841, ae. 59. Children—*Abigail; Mary; Jane, Roswell Dickinson*, b. 1820, d. June 9, 1842, ae. 22, while a member of the Class of 1843, in A. C.; *Henry Martin*, b. abt. 1825, d. April 7, 1842, ae.17.

32. Robert, s. of Elisha, (19) d. Oct. 10, 1813. M. Lucy, dau. of Noadiah Warner. Child—*Albert Hunt*, b. April 28, 1810.

33. Daniel, s. of William Westwood, (21) d. March 25, 1823. M. Sept. 12, 1811, Permelia, dau. of William Smith of Williamstown. She was b. March, 1792, and m. (2) Feb. 11, ——, Lucius Crane. Children—*Nancy Elvira*, b. Sept. 1, 1812, d. Sept. 21, 1828; *William Smith*, b. April 18, 1813; *Martin Franklin*, b. Nov. 18, 1815; *Sarah Ann*, b. May 26, ——; *Sydenham*, b. April 4, 1818; *Daniel*, b. May 23, 1821; *Eliza*, b. Feb. 18, ——.

34. Elihu, s. of Elihu, (22) m. Nov. 4, 1812, Elizabeth Sparhawk, dau. of —— Hull of Walpole, N. H. She was b. March 27, 1793. Children—*Evander*, b. Oct. 21, 1813, d. Dec. 1, 1813; *Abigail Frank*, b. April 10, 1815; *Charlotte Sparhawk*, b. April 28, 1817; *Enos Evander*, b. Nov. 7, 1819; *Sophia*, b. Nov. 20, 1820; *Adaline*, b. Oct. 20, 1822; *Josiah*, b. Nov. 13, 1824; *John Black*, b. June 6, 1827, d. Sept. 25, 1828; *John Elihu*, b. Aug. 25, 1829; *Jane Elizabeth*, b. Jan. 17, 1831; *Eleazar*, b. May 24, 1826.

35. James, s. of James, (30) m. Sept. 26, 1831, Angeline, dau. of Benjamin Kellogg. Children—*Mary Jane*, b. Oct. 10, 1832, d. Oct. 7, 1833; *George Elbridge*, b. Dec. 1, 1834; *Mary Jane*, b. Jan. 5, 1837, d. June 8, 1837; *James Francis*, b. Nov. 5, 1844, d. March 29, 1848; *Juliette Montague*, b. Oct. 15, 1847; *Maria*, b. July, 1852; *Francis James*, b. Jan. 15, 1855.

36. Rufus, s. of James, (30) m. May 10, 1848, Sophia, dau. of Rufus Lyman of Norwich. Children—*Austin Eliot*, b. Oct. 8, 1849; *Rufus Lyman*, b. Dec. 9, 1852.

37. Enos Foster, s. of James, (30) Amherst, m. April 22, 1840, Sarah Jane, dau. of Daniel White. Children—*Henry A.*, b. Dec. 8, 1840; *Child*, b. Feb. 9 and d. Feb. 19, 1844; *Wm. E.*, b. April 18, 1845, d. Aug. 31, 1848; *Child*, b. March 16 and d. March 18, 1847; *Martha Jane*, b. Jan. 16, 1850, d. Dec. 29, 1856; *Mary A.*, b. June 20, 1853, d. Sept. 27, 1853; *William Foster*, b. July 1, 1855; *Frederick Louis*, b. Feb. 18, 1858; *Mary Maria*, b. Feb. 1, 1861.

38. Alfred Hunt, s. of Robert, (32) m. Nov. 20, 1834, Prudence, dau. of Jonathan Lyon. She was b. in Holland, Mass., Dec. 21, 1809, and d. Nov. 26, 1850. Children—*Martha Hunt*, b. Sept. 7, 1835; *Alfred Lyon*, b. Dec. 1, 1836; *Lucy Warner*, b. Sept. 10, 1838; *Ellen Elizabeth*, b. May 7, 1840; *Elmira Fay*, b. Nov. 9, 1841; *Henry Robert*, b. Sept. 10, 1843; *Herbert Jonathan*, b. May 18, 1845; *Lucius Lyon*, b. Nov. 16, 1846, d. Jan. 10, 1849; *Emory Lucius*, b. June 12, 1848.

39. William Smith, s. of Daniel, (33) m. (1) Nov. 28, 1837, Mary E. Phelps of Nh. She d. Feb. 23, 1848; (2) Nov. 30, 1848, Caroline, dau. of Zaccheus Crocker Ingram of Amh. She was b. May 12, 1811, and d. April 27, 1850, ae. 28; (3) Feb. 5, 1851, Catharine, dau. of Asahel Burr of Springfield, Vt. She was b. Jan. 4, 1820. Children—*Horace D.*, b. Dec. 8, 1838, d. Jan. 22, 1839; *Helen N.*, b. Feb. 25, 1840, d. Aug. 28, 1840; *Elizabeth W.*, b. May 15, 1842; *George P.*, b. Nov. 15, 1845; *Nancy D.*, b. Dec. 12, 1847; *Caroline*, b. April 27, 1850, d.

40. Martin Franklin, s. of Daniel, (33) d. June 3, 1856, ae. 39. M. (1) March 31, 1840, Elizabeth E., dau. of Levi Wright. She d. July 17, 1853, ae. 37; (2) Aug. 28, 1855, Sabra, dau. of Stephen Montague. Children—*Abbe Greenwood*, b. Feb. 19, 1846; *Harriet Amelia*, b. Oct. 24, 1847.

41. Sydenham, s. of Daniel, (33) m. May 7, 1845, Elizabeth, dau. of John Shipman. Children—*Alice Georgianna*, b. March 9, 1846, d. Aug. 9, 1846; *Charles Herbert*, b. May 27, 1847, d. July 23, 1848; *Charles Herbert*, b. Feb. 9, 1852; *Emma Louisa*, b. Jan. 18, 1852, d. March 9, 1854; *Edwin Shipman*, b. May 19, 1860.

42. Daniel, s. of Daniel, (33) m. Sept 5, 1844, Aurelia, dau. of Josiah Smith. Children—*Francis Edward*, b. Oct. 17, 1845; *Daniel Westwood*, b. July 12, 1846; *Sarah Ann*, b. Sept. 20, 1850, d. May 28, 1859; *Lucius Crane*, b. Oct. 25, 1852, d. April 3, 1859; *Helen Permelia*, b. Aug. 4, 1855, d. April 6, 1859; *Maria Louisa*, b. May 7, 1857, d. Nov. 7, 1857; *Arthur Lyman*, b. Sept. 1, 1858, d. March 28, 1859.

COOK, Samuel, b. Aug. 7, 1779, d. April 14, 1854. M. Hannah Gates. She was b. July 3, 1779, and d. Oct. 20, 1809. Children—*Miriam*, b. May 16, 1801, m. May 9, 1825, David, s. of Josiah Pierce; *Samuel Pierce*, b. Oct. 7, 1804; *Eliza*, b. April 7, 1807, d. Jan. 31, 1840.

COOLEY, Samuel. Children—*Samuel* and *Tamesin*, bapt. July 28, 1799; *Loi Clark*, (son) bapt. July 20, 1800.

CORKINS, William, m. Oct. 30, 1792, Huldah Peck.

1. COWLES, COWLS, and COLE, John, Farmington, 1652, rem. abt. 1664, to Hat., freeman 1666, d. Sept. 1675. M. Hannah, who made her Will at Hartford, 1680. Children—*John*, b. abt. 1641; *Hannah*, b. abt. 1644, m. Caleb Stanley, and d. 1689; *Sarah*, b. abt. 1647, m. Nathaniel Goodwin, and d. 1676, ae. 29; *Mary*, m. [Nehemiah?] Dickinson; *Elizabeth*, m. Richard Lyman; *Samuel*, m. 1661, Abigail, dau. of Timothy Stanley, res. in Farmington, and d. Apr. 17, 1691; *Esther*, prob., m. 1669, Thomas Bull of Farmington.

2. John, s. of John, (1) Hat., freeman 1690, d. May 12, 1711, ae. 70. M. Nov. 22, 1668, Deborah, dau. of Robert Bartlett of Hartford. Children—*Hannah*, b. Nov. 14, 1668, d. unm. Dec. 25, 1711, ae. 41; *Jonathan*, b. Jan. 26, 1671; *Samuel*, b. May 27, 1673; *John*, b. June 15, 1676, d. June 18, 1690; *Abigail*, b. Feb. 1, 1679, d. Dec. 8, 1690; *Sarah*, b. June 5, 1681, m. Joseph Burt; *Mary*, b. Nov. 3, 1683, d. unm. 1742; *Esther*, b. April 14, 1686, m. May 25, 1713, Nathaniel Dickinson.

3. Jonathan, s. of John, (2) Hat., d. Nov. 13, 1756. M. Jan. 21, 1697, Prudence Frary, who d. July 1, 1756. Children—*Abigail*, b. May 24, 1698; *John*, b. Dec. 27, 1700; *Jonathan*, b. June 30, 1703; *Timothy*, b. April 9, 1706; *Keziah*, b. Sept. 6, 1708, m. Ebenezer Cowles; *Nathaniel*, b. March 21, 1711, m. Anna, dau. of Peter Montague, of S. H., and d. abt. 1761, in Belchertown; *Eleazar*, b. Sept. 18, 1713, m. Dec. 6, 1739, Martha Graves, res. in Hat., d. s. p.; *Elisha*, b. April 19, 1716; *Eunice*, b. Aug. 18, 1719; *Abia*, b. Oct. 27, 1722, d. May 10, 1727.

4. Samuel, s. of John, (2) Hat., d. Aug. 16, 1750, from injuries received by a fall from a cart three days before. M. 1698, Sarah Hubbard. Children—*Mary*, b. March 16, 1698, m. March 23, 1720, John Amsden; *Sarah*, b. abt. Oct. 12, 1703, m. Timothy Cowles; *Samuel*, b. March 12, 1706, m. Abigail, res. in Coventry, Burlington, Harwinton, Simsbury, and Norfolk, Ct., dying in the latter place, 1762; *Elizabeth*, b. June 28, 1708, m. Charles Hoar; *Ebenezer*, b. Dec. 18, 1710, m. Kezia, d. of Jonathan Cowles, and d. in Hat., Oct. 28, 1800; *Son*, b. Jan. 21, 1713, d. ae. 1 week; *Daughter*, b. Jan. 21, 1713, d. ae. 1 day.

5. John, s. of Jonathan, (3) Amh., d. between June and Nov., 1735. M. Mary, who d. in Belchertown, 1795, in 89th yr. Children—*Israel*, b. Sept. 28, 1726, m. Lydia Bardwell, rem. to Belchertown, and d. 1797; *Abia*, b. Dec. 22, 1729, m. March 3, 1752, Gideon Hannum of Belchertown; *John*, b. July 28, 1731, m. Sept. 24, 1757, Hannah Bardwell, and d. in Belchertown; *Martha*, b. Nov. 14, 1734, m. Dec. 12, 1754, Stephen Crowfoot of Belchertown; *Mary*, bapt. Oct. 3, 1742.

6. Jonathan, s. of Jonathan, (3) Amh., d. May 14, 1776, ae. 73. M. June 13, 1732, Sarah Gaylord, who d. Feb. 2, 1790, ae. 81. Children—*Sarah*, b. Dec. 29, 1732, m. Abraham Kellogg, and d. Oct. 26, 1819, ae. 87; *Oliver*, b. July 15, 1735; *Jerusha*, b. May 5, 1737, m. Oliver Barrett of Leverett; *Jonathan*, b. Aug. 2, 1739, d. unm., in Amh., March 14, 1772, ae. 32; *David* b. Aug. 11, 1741; *Josiah*, b. March 20, 1744, m. (1) Christian ——, (2) Wid. Mary Marsh, and res. in Leverett; *Eleazar*, b. Oct. 18, 1746; *Reuben*, b. July 22, 1749; *Enos*, b. May 5, 1752, m. Jan. 28, 1779, Dorcas Goodrich, and d. s. p., in Amh., Jan. 21, 1825, ae. 72; *Simeon*, b. Oct. 24, 1755.

7. Timothy, s. of Jonathan, (3) Hat., d. abt. 1788. M. Sarah, dau. of Samuel Cowles. Children—*Sarah*, b. Sept. 7, 1740, m. Peter Train; *Timothy*, b. Dec. 25, 1741.

8. Elisha, s. of Jonathan, (3) Hat., d. abt. 1770. Children—*Abner*, b. May 26, 1749; *Justin; Lucy*, b. June 4, 1753; *Elijah; Prudence*.

9. Oliver, s. of Jonathan, (6) Amh., d. Jan. 23, 1799, ae. 63. M. Irene, dau. of Nathan Dickinson, of Amh. She d. March 28, 1834, ae. 90. Children—*Levi*, b. April 24, 1764, m. (1) Dec. 25, 1805, Rebecca Hastings; (2) Submit, wid. of Enoch Bangs, and dau. of John Eastman, res. in Amh., and d. Aug. 22, 1829, ae. 65; *Oliver*, b. Oct. 27, 1765, m. (1) Jan. 29, 1792, Lois, dau. of Simeon Clark; (2) Jan. 16, 1806, Ruth Lindsay; (3) 1832, Submit, wid. of his brother Levi. He d. in Amh., April 1, 1850, ae. 85; *Rufus*, b. Dec. 16, 1767, m. (1) Mary Putnam; (2) Sarah, wid. of Solomon Boltwood of Amh., and dau. of Robert Benney. He grad. D. C. 1792, and was a physician in New Salem and Amh., and d. in Amh. Nov. 22, 1837, ae. 70; *Chester*, b. Aug. 14, 1770, a physician, m. (1) March 3, 1796, Abigail, dau. of Levi Dickinson of Granby; (2) April 25, 1811, Sally Wade of Chicopee. He d. in Amh., Feb. 25, 1842, ae. 71; *Jonathan*, b. Oct. 24, 1755, d. Sept. 19, 1777.

10. David, s. of Jonathan, (6) Amh., d. Nov. 18, 1817, ae. 76. M. Sarah, dau. of Joseph Eastman of Amh. She d. Aug. 14, 1815, ae. 71. Children—*David*, b. Dec. 20, 1773, m. Sally Wheelock of Leverett, and d. s. p. May 23, 1814, ae. 40; *Sally*, b. July 23, 1775, m. Dec. 6, 1778, Rev. Ichabod Draper of Amh., and d. in Mich., Aug. 3, 1848, ae. 73; *Joseph*, b. May 29,

1777, m. Sept. 1801, Beulah Walkup, and d. in Amh.; *Silas*, b. Nov. 4, 1779, m. Dec. 22, 1805, Zilpha Shumway, and d. in Hadley; *Jonathan*, b. Dec. 2, 1781, m. April 16, 1807, Esther, dau. of Elias Graves of Sunderland, and res. in Amh.

11. Eleazar, s. of Jonathan, (6) Amh., d. July 19, 1795, ae. 48. M. Dec. 5, 1771, Hannah, dau. of Azariah Dickinson. She d. Oct. 5, 1821, ae. 70. Children—*Hannah*, b. Nov. 10, 1772, m. Jan. 5, 1797, Israel Scott of Whately, and d. in Hadley, April 20, 1827. ae. 55; *Eunice*, b. Oct. 1, 1775, d. Sept. 5, 1777; *Irene*, b. May 8, 1777, m. Jan. 8, 1801, Israel Thayer, and d.; *John*, b. Dec. 20, 1779, m. Nov. 24, 1799, Deborah Warner, and d. in New Haven; *Eunice*, b. April 22, 1782, m. —— Day; *Eleazar*, b. July 25, 1784, m. Sept. 5, 1810, Sybil Montague, and d. in Amh. 1849; *Stoughton*, b. Jan. 3, 1788, m. —— Osborn, and res. in Parishville, N. Y.

12. Reuben, (6) Amh., d. March 13, 1824, ae. 74. M. Nov. 26, 1778, Betsey Rice. Children—*Elizabeth*, bapt. Jan. 7, 1780, m. Samuel Church; *Reuben*, bapt. Jan. 6, 1782, d. young; *Lavina*, bapt. June 6, 1784, m. Nov. 23, 1812, Zebina Cowls; *William*, bapt. Oct. 14, 1787; *Ferua*, bapt. Feb. 26, 1792, m. John Randolph; *Reuben*, bapt. July 27, 1794; *Sylvester*, bapt. April 23, 1797, m. Sophronia Mason of Cummington; *Solomon*, bapt. Sept. 15, 1799; *Wealthy*, bapt. Sept. 12, 1802, m. —— Trumbull.

13. Simeon, s. of Jonathan, (6) Amh., d. July 8, 1831, ae. 75. M. Feb. 12, 1778, Sarah, dau. of Reuben Dickinson of Amh. She d. April 21, 1814, ae. 57. Children—*Simeon*, b. Jan. 11, 1779, m. Nov. 10, 1805, Charlotte, dau. of Gideon Stetson, and d. in Goshen; *Child*, b. Oct. 26, 1780, d. in infancy; *Jerusha*, b. March 4, 1782, m. Noah Smith; *Orinda*, b. Jan. 21, 1784, m. Chester Marshall; *Azubah*, b. April 12, 1786, m. Timothy Baker, and d. in Springfield, May 28, 1828, ae. 42; *Zebina*, b. April 10, 1789, m. Nov. 23, 1812, Lavina Cowls, and rem. to New Haven, Vt., and Lincoln, Vt.; *Moses*, b. July 10, 1791, m. Nov. 10, 1814, Chloe, dau. of Ebenezer Dickinson of Amh. and res. in Amh.; *Aaron*, b. Oct. 23, 1793, m. Ruth Saunders, and res. in Springfield; *Sally*, b. Oct. 14, 1796, m. Nov. 26, 1829, Joseph Spear of Sunderland; *Eli*, b. Jan. 1, 1800, m. Melinda Ball of Holden, and d. Jan. 1844, ae. 44.

COLE, Stephen, Amherst, m. Persis. Children—*Persis*, b. Nov. 5, 1772; *Elizabeth*, b. Aug. 28, 1774; *Polly*, b. Aug. 19, 1778; *Stephen*, b. Sept. 9, 1780; *Ebenezer*, b. July 8. 1782; *Persis*, b. June 23, 1784; *Sally*, b. June 23, 1786.

1. CRAFT, Thomas, Had. 1678, d. Feb. 27, 1692. M. Dec. 6, 1683, Abigail Dickinson. She m. (2) Nov. 30, 1704, Samuel Crowfoot, and d. 1714. Children—*John*, b. Nov. 22, 1685; *Mary*, b. Feb. 3, 1687, m. Thomas Hovey, Jr.; *Abigail*, b. Sept. 29, 1688, m. Feb. 3, 1709, Joseph White; *Thomas*, b. Feb. 27, 1690, d. April 12, 1714; *Elizabeth*, b. April 17, 1691, m. May 2, 1734, Benjamin Smith; *Benoni*, b. Oct. 22, 1692, d. May 20, 1722.

2. John, s. of Thomas, (1) Hat., d. May 2, 1730, ae. 44. M. Martha Graves. Children—*Thomas*, b. Aug. 16, 1717, m. Sarah Graves, and d. in Whately, 1803; *Moses*, b. Oct. 23, 1719; *Rebecca*, b. Oct. 12, 1721; *Benoni*, b. Nov. 17, 1725; *Gaius*, b. Dec. 22, 1727.

CRAFTS, Joseph, m. May 20, 1779, Roxelany White. Child—*Mary Parsons*, b. April, 1780.

1. CROW, John, came to New England in 1635, was an early settler of Hartford, and one of the first settlers of Hadley, freeman 1666. He returned as early as 1676 to Hartford, where he d. Jan. 16, 1686. M. Elizabeth, only child of William Goodwin. Children—*John*, a merchant in Fairfield, d. at sea, s. p., 1667; *Samuel; Nathaniel*, who prob. resided in Hartford, and was buried July 2, 1695. He m. Anna —— who after his death m. Andrew Warner of Windham, and d. 1697; *Daniel*, b. about 1656, prob. res. in Hartford, and was buried Aug. 13, 1693, ae. 37; *Esther*, m. Giles Hamlin, Esq., of Middletown; *Sarah*, b. March 1, 1647, m. Nov. 1, 1661, Daniel White, of Hat., and d. June 29, 1719, ae. 72; *Hannah*, b. July 13, 1649, m. March 7, 1668, Thomas Dickinson; *Elizabeth*, b. 1650, m. William Warren; *Mehitable*, b. abt. 1652, m. Sept. 24, 1668, Samuel Partridge, Esq., and d. Dec. 8, 1730, ae. 78; *Mary*, m. (1) Dec. 27, 1666, Noah Coleman of Hat., (2) Sept. 16, 1680, Peter Montague, and d. Oct. 12, 1720; *Ruth*, m. (1) Dec. 21, 1671, William Gaylord, m. (2) John Haley.

2. Samuel, s. of John, (1) was slain at Falls fight, May 18, 1676. He m. May 17, 1671, Hannah, dau. of Capt. William Lewis of Farmington. She m. (2) 1676, Daniel Marsh. Children—*Mary*, b. Feb. 5, 1672, m. April 9, 1690, Luke Smith, and d. June 19, 1761, ae. 89; *Hannah*, b. Dec. 6, 1673; *Samuel*, b. Feb. 11, 1675.

3. Samuel, s. of Samuel, (2) d. Feb. 13, 1761, ae. 86. M. Jan. 11, 1710, Rebecca Smith, who d. Feb. 26, 1715. Children—*Rebecca*, b. May 22, 1712, m. June 4, 1761, Daniel Noble of Westfield, and d. 1802; *Mary*, b. Feb. 12, 1715, m. May 30, 1735, Samuel Catlin.

CROWFOOT, Daniel, b. abt. 1721, S. H., came from Middletown, Ct. M. Margaret Hillyer. Children—*Margaret*, b. Oct. 4, 1750; *Abial*, b. Oct. 4, 1750; *Abigail*, b. Feb. 3, 1753; *Joseph*, b. March 26, 1755; *Charles*, b. May 15, 1758.

CROWFOOT, Samuel, perhaps s. of Joseph of Springfield, d. Feb. 10, 1733, ae. 71. M. Mary, prob. dau. of Isaac Warner. She d. April 9, 1702; (2) Nov. 30, 1704, Abigail, wid. of John Croft, and dau. of John Dickinson. She d. 1714. Children—*Samuel*, b. Jan. 21, 1694; *Stephen*, b. April 13, 1695; *Mary*, b. April 6, 1697, m. 1719, Peter Domo; *Joseph*, b. July 3, 1699; *Daniel*, b. June 5, 1700; *Ebenezer*, b. April 3, 1702; *Sarah*, b. May 25, 1706.

CUTLER, Robert, s. of Rev. Robert, was b. in Epping, N. H., Oct. 2, 1748. He was a physician in Pelham and Amherst, and d. March 10, 1835, ae. 84. M. Dec. 22, 1773, Esther, wid. of Isaac Guernsey of Northampton, and dau. of Elisha Pomeroy. She d. Dec. 11, 1822, ae. 77. Children—*Esther*, b. June 11, 1775, m. Jan. 28, 1806, Wright Warner, and d. in Steubenville, Jan. 22, 1818, ae. 42; *Susan*, b. April 9, 1777, m. May 4, 1808, Jason Mixter of Hardwick, and d. 1861, ae. 84; *Robert*, b. Dec. 1778, d. Nov. 4, 1781; *Elihu Pomeroy*, b. Oct. 18, 1780, grad. W. C. 1798, m. July, 1811, Betsey Delano, was a promising lawyer in Hardwick and North Yarmouth, Me., and d. Aug. 29, 1813, ae. 32; *Isaac Guernsey*, b. Nov. 18, 1782,

grad. W. C. 1801, m. Dec. 24, 1807, Nancy Hastings, was a physician in Amherst, where he d. Nov. 29, 1834, ae. 52; *Robert*, b. Sept. 14, 1784, was a physician in Sheldon, Vt., and St. Albans, Miss., and d. Nov. 22, 1817, ae. 33.

DALE, Mrs. Mehitable. Children—*Samuel; Jeremiah; Green.*

DANA, Amariah, s. of Samuel of Pomfret, Ct., was b. May 20, 1738, and rem. abt. 1773 to Amherst, where he d. Oct. 29, 1830, ae. 92. M. (1) June 30, 1763, Dorothy May, who d. Dec. 9, 1779; (2) Oct. 5, 1780, Ruth Williams, who d. April 16, 1822. Children—*Ezra*, b. May 1, 1764, d. Jan. 7, 1776; *Lucinda*, b. Nov. 3, 1765, m. Nathan Sprout; *Eleazer*, b. Aug. 6, 1767, rem. to Weybridge, Vt.; *Dorothy*, b. Sept. 22, 1769; m. —— Marsh; *Lucretia*, b. Nov. 3, 1771, killed by being run over by the wagon while her parents were removing from Conn., March 9, 1773, ae. 1; *Lucretia*, b. Oct. 9, 1773, m. Nathaniel Goddard of Boston; *Mary*, b. April 17, 1775, m. —— Cowan; *Freedom*, b. May 2, 1777; *Son*, b. June 14, 1783; *Ruth*, b. June 8, 1784, m. —— Terry, of Hardwick; *Hannah*, b. Oct. 27, 1786, m. David Dickinson, of Amh.; *Amariah*, b. Nov. 14, 1787, settled in Minerva, N. Y.; *Samuel*, b. March 26, 1790, m. Julia Moody; *Sarah*, b. Dec. 14, 1791, m. Elijah Church of Amherst; *Sylvia*, b. June 1, 1793, d. unm., in Amherst; *Joseph*, b. March 15, 1795.

DAVIS, Hermon, m. June 19, 1781, Mehitable Dean. Child, bapt. Oct. 1782.

DAVIS, Sarah, d. Aug. 31, 1789.

DEAN, Faxon, m. Mehitable. Children — *Samuel; Mehitable; Sarah; Olive*, b. Jan. 6, 1766; *Orange*, b. Sept. 19, 1767.

1. DICKINSON, Jonathan, from Wethersfield, d. May 28, 1791, ae. 63.

2. Levi, s. of Jonathan, (1) rem. to Had., abt. 1786, d. Jan. 28, 1843, ae. 88. M. Bethiah Fuller, who d. Feb. 6, 1845, ae 84. Children—*Harvey*, b. 1785; *Levi*, b. Dec. 11, 1786; *Jonathan*, b. Feb. 1789; *Bethiah*, b. May, 1790, m. John Shipman; *Luther*, b. Nov. 7, 1792; *Son*, b. Sept. 1794; *Simeon*, b. Sept. 4, 1796; *Samuel*, b. abt. 1797, d. March 6, 1813, ae. 16; *Fuller*.

3. Simeon, Deacon, s. of Levi, (2) m. Aug. 17, 1818, Martha, dau. of Enos Nash. Children—*Henry Kirk White*, b. June 8, 1819, res. in West Spr.; *Edwin*, b. July 13, 1826, m. Aug. 14, 1849, Paulina, dau. of Rev. Joseph Bent, of Amh., res. in West Spr.; *Sidney*, b. Feb. 6, 1835; *Simeon*, b. Dec. 10, 1837; *Martha Elizabeth*, b. Dec. 19, 1842.

1. DICKINSON, Nathaniel, Wethersfield, 1637, town clerk, 1645, representative 1646-56, rem. to Had. 1659, freeman 1661, deacon, and first Recorder, resided for a few years in Hat., but died in Had., June 16, 1676. M. Anne. Children—*Samuel*, b. July, 1638; *Obadiah*, b. April 15, 1641; *Nathaniel*, b. Aug. 1643; *Nehemiah*, b. abt. 1644; *Hezekiah*, b. Feb. 1645; *Azariah*, b. Oct. 4, 1648, slain in Swamp fight, Aug. 25, 1675, m. Dorcas, who m. (2) 1676, Jonathan Marsh; *Thomas; Joseph; John; Anna*, or *Hannah*, m. (1) Jan. or June 16, 1670, John Clary; (2) Enos Kingsley of Nh.

2. Samuel, s. of Nathaniel, (1) Hat., freeman 1690, d. Nov. 30, 1711, ae. 73. M. Jan. 4, 1668, Martha, dau. of James Bridgman of Spr. and Nh. She was b. Nov. 20, 1649, and d. July 16, 1711, ae. 61. Children—*Samuel*, b. Aug. 17, 1669; *Child*, b. Dec. 12, 1671; *Nathaniel*, b. Feb. 10, 1672; *Sarah*, b. Nov. 5, 1675, d. unm., abt. 1750; *Azariah*, b. Dec. 4, 1678; *Ebenezer*, b. Feb. 2, 1681; *Ann*, b. Dec. 17, 1683; *Joseph*, b. Aug. 3, 1686, d. in Sund., Sept. 2, 1755, ae. 69, leaving neither wife or child; *Hannah*, b. April 4, 1689, m. Thomas Hovey of Sund.

3. Obadiah, s. of Nathaniel, (1.) His house was burnt, and he and child carried in 1677 to Canada. He returned the next year, and rem. from Hat. to Wethersfield, where he d. June 10, 1698, ae. 57. M. (1) Jan. 8, 1669, Sarah Beardsley; (2) Mehitable, prob. dau. of Samuel Hinsdale. Children—*Sarah*, b. Aug. 20, 1669; *Obadiah*, b. Jan. 29, 1672; *Daniel*, b. April 26, 1674; *Eliphalet; Sarah; Noadiah*, b. 1694; *Mehitable*, b. 1696.

4. Nathaniel, s. of Nathaniel, (1) Hat., freeman 1690, d. Oct. 11, 1710. M. (1) Hannah, who d. Feb. 23, 1679; (2) 1680, Wid. Elizabeth Gillett; (3) 1684, Elizabeth, wid. of Samuel Wright, of Nh. Children—*Nathaniel*, b. May 1, 1663; *Hannah*, b. Jan. 18, 1666, m. Samuel Kellogg of Colchester, Ct., and prob. d. Aug. 3, 1745, ae. 79; *John*, b. Nov. 1, 1667; *Mary*, b. Feb. 2, 1673, m. Nathaniel Smith; *Daniel*, b. March 3, 1675; *Rebecca*, b. March, 1677, m. 1713, Thomas Allen.

5. Nehemiah, s. of Nathaniel, (1) freeman, 1690, d. Sept. 9, 1723, in 79th yr. M. Mary, prob. Cowles, dau. of John. Children—*Nehemiah*, b. June 5, 1672; *William*, b. May 18, 1675; *John*, b. Feb. 14, 1676, d. Feb. 16, 1676; *Mary*, b. Jan. 4, 1678, m. Aug. 6, 1702, Samuel Gaylord; *John*, (twin,) b. Jan. 4, 1678; *Sarah*, b. April 19, 1680, m. July 4, 1709, Samuel Mighill; *Samuel*, b. Aug. 16, 1682; *Hannah*, b. Sept. 6, 1684, m. Sept. 23, 1714, Benjamin Church; *Esther*, b. March 3, 1687; *Nathaniel*, b. Aug. 23, 1689; *Israel*, b. March 16, 1691; *Abigail*, b. Jan. 14, 1693; *Ebenezer*, b. Sept. 17, 1696; *Rebecca*, b. April 2, 1699, m. Dec. 16, 1725, Jonathan Smith.

6. Hezekiah, s. of Nathaniel, (1) a merchant, res. in Hat., Had., and Spr., where he d. June 14, 1707. M. Dec. 4, 1679, Abigail, dau. of Samuel Blackman of Stratford. She m. (2) Jan. 1708, Thomas Ingersol, of Westfield and Spr., and d. 1717. Children—*Joanna*, b. Feb. 2, 1684; *Jonathan*, b. April 22, 1688, grad. Y. C., 1706, pastor of 1st Pres. chh. in Newark, N. J., and first President of New Jersey College. He d. Oct. 7, 1747, ae. 59; *Abigail*, b. Dec. 8, 1690; *Elizabeth*, b. March 9, 1693; *Moses*, b. Dec. 12, 1695, grad. Y. C., 1717, settled as clergyman in Maidenhead, N. J., and installed in 1727 over church in Norwalk, Ct. He d. May 1, 1778, ae. 82; *Adam*, b. Feb. 5, 1702.

7. Thomas, s. of Nathaniel, (1) freeman of Conn., 1657, and of Mass. 1661, a first settler of Had. Having sold out at the latter place in 1679, he removed to Wethersfield, and there d. 1716. M. March 7, 1667, Hannah, dau. of John Crow. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. Dec. 6, 1668, m. —— Adams; *Hannah*, b. May 20, 1670, m. —— Leffingwell; *Thomas*, b. Feb. 15, 1672; *Esther*, b. Jan. 22, 1674, m. (1) Nathaniel Smith of Hartford; (2) Hezekiah Porter, of Hartford; *Mehitable*, b. Oct. 20, 1675; *Nathaniel*, b. Nov. 15, 1677, was buried Jan. 26, 1678; *Elihu; Ebenezer.*

8. Joseph, s. of Nathaniel, (1) freeman of Conn., 1657, res. in Nh., from 1664 to 1674, and then rem. to Northfield. He was slain with Capt. Beers, Sept. 4, 1675. M. Phebe Bracy, dau. of Mrs. Martin. Children—*Samuel*, b. May 24, 1666, d. in Hat., in 1690 or 1691; *Joseph*, b. April 27, 1668; *Nathaniel*, b. May 20, 1670; *John*, b. May 2, 1672; *Azariah*, b. May 15, 1674, prob. m. (1) Mary, and (2) Elizabeth, and settled abt. 1704, in Haddam, Ct.

9. John, s. of Nathaniel, (1) Had., 1659, d. 1676. M. Frances, dau. of Nathaniel Foote of Wethersfield. She m. (2) Francis Barnard. Children—*Hannah*, b. Dec. 6, 1648, m. (1) Sept. 23, 1668, Samuel Gillet. (2) May 15, 1677, Stephen Jennings; *Mary*, m. Samuel Northam, of Hat., Deerfield, and Colchester, Ct.; *John*, m. Susanna, dau. of Joseph Smith of Hartford, Ct. and rem. to Ct.; *Jonathan*, d. before March, 1678; *Sarah*, m. (1) Dec. 11, 1677, Samuel Lane; (2) Feb. 27, 1691, Martin Kellogg; *Rebecca*, b. abt. 1658, m. Feb. 11, 1681, Joseph Smith, and d. Feb. 16, 1731, ae. 73; *Elizabeth*, d. before March, 1678; *Abigail*, m. (1) Dec. 6, 1683, Thomas Croft, (2) Nov. 30, 1704, Samuel Crofoot; *Mercy*, b. abt. 1668, m. June 8, 1688, Joseph Chamberlain, of Hat., and Colchester, Ct., and d. June 30, 1735, ae. 67; *Mehitable*, m. June 26, 1689, John Ingram.

10. Samuel, s. of Samuel, (2) Hat. M. (1) Sarah, dau. of Samuel Billings, (2) 1706, Rebecca, wid. of Abner Wright. Children—*John*, b. Sept. 1, 1699; *Samuel*, perhaps; *Elisha*, b. Dec. 15, 1708; *Moses*, b. Sept. 28, 1711; *Benoni; Martha.*

11. Nathaniel, s. of Samuel, (2) Hat., d. Nov. 29, 1741. M. May 25, 1713, Esther Cole, who d. 1750. Children—*Eunice*, b. July 17, 1714, m. Thomas Baker; *Gideon*, b. April 27, 1716; *Joseph*, b. Aug. 30, 1719, m. Submit, and d. 1747; *Meriam*, m. Simeon Morton.

12. Azariah, s. of Samuel, (2) Hat., m. Jan. 23, 1707, Sarah Gunn. Child—*Azariah*, b. June 5, 1709, grad. Y. C. 1730, and d. March, 1737, in Branford, Ct.

13. Ebenezer, s. of Samuel, (2) Hat., d. March 16, 1730. M. June 27, 1706, Hannah Frary. Children—*Editha*, b. Aug. 23, 1707, m. John Field; *Elizabeth*, b. Aug. 2, 1709, m. —— Gunn; *Nathan*, b. May 30, 1712; *Hannah*, b. Feb. 17, 1715, m. Remembrance Bardwell; *Reuben*, b. Aug. 2, 1717; *Samuel*, b. Oct. 14, 1718; *Mary*, b. Oct. 14, 1718, d. unm., 1754; *Abner*, b. Jan. 5, 1724, m. Sarah, res. in Wh., and d. Sept. 28, 1799, ae. 75.

14. Nathaniel, s. of Nathaniel, (4) Hat. made his Will 1743, which was approved 1757. M. (1) Hepzibah Gibbs, who d. 1713, (2) Lydia, wid. of Samuel Wright, of Nh. Children—*Nathaniel*, b. Feb. 25, 1685, slain 1698; *Samuel*, b. Dec. 30, 1687, res. in Deer., and d. abt. 1761; *Ebenezer*, b. Oct. 7, 1690, res. in Hat.; *Daniel*, b. Nov. 13, 1693; *Hepzibah*, b. Aug. 7, 1696, m. 1720, Jonathan Belding; *Nathaniel*, b. Nov. 27, 1698, res. in Northfield, and d. before 1758; *Benjamin*, b. Sept. 11, 1702; *Thankful*, b. Sept. 11, 1702, m. 1726, Japhet Chapin of Spr.; *Catharine*, b. Jan. 8, 1706, m. 1726, Caleb Chapin of Spr.

15. John, s. of Nathaniel, (4) Hat., d. Dec. 21, 1761, ae. 94. M. (1) 1688, Sarah, who d. 1707, (2) Hepzibah, prob. dau. of Lt. Thomas Wells of Deer. Children—*Sarah*, b. April 15, 1689, m. Feb. 15, 1709, John Leonard

of Spr.; *Jerusha*, b. March 20, 1693, m. Daniel Russell; *Lydia*, m. Jan. 12, 1714, Joseph Churchill of Wethersfield; *Eunice*, b. 1697, m. Noah Clark of Nh.; *Hannah*, m. Feb. 20, 1723, William Murray; *Ruth*, m. abt. 1727, Samuel Wells; *John*, b. April 2, 1707; *Thomas*, b. April 6, 1718; *David*, b. Oct. 5, 1720, d. 1726; *Mary*, b. June 20, 1722, d. Dec. 10, 1726; *Salmon; Abigail*, m. Jonathan Wells of Belchertown; *Dorothy*, prob.

16. NEHEMIAH, s. of Nehemiah, (5) d. Oct. 1, 1715, ae. 43. M. Mehitable Church, who d. in S. H., Sept. 25, 1748, in 81st yr. Children—*Mary*, b. June 12, 1701; *Nehemiah*, b. Nov. 6, 1702; *Mehitable*, b. July, 1704, m. Jan. 12, 1727, Richard Church; *Hannah*, b. June 30, 1706, m. Luke Montague; *Sarah*, b. April 13, 1708, m. June 24, 1733, John Moody; *Daniel*, b. Sept. 8, 1710, m. Rachel Goodman, and d. s. p. in Amh., abt. 1793; *John*, b. May 14, 1713.

17. WILLIAM, s. of Nehemiah, (5) d. June 24, 1742, ae. 67. M. Mary, dau. of Jonathan Marsh. Children—*Mary*, b. Feb. 23, 1704; m. April 6, 1727, John Smith, s. of Ebenezer; *William*, b. April 26, 1706; *Dorcas*, b. March 21, 1709, m. May 10, 1728, Hezekiah Smith; *John*, b. Nov. 27, 1715; *Josiah*, b. Aug. 8, 1724; *Elisha*, b. May 18, 1729.

18. SAMUEL, s. of Nehemiah, (5) deacon, removed to Shutesbury, where he d. abt. 1747. M. (1) Oct. 17, 1711, Hannah Marsh, who d. June 10, 1729, ae. 39. (2) 1730, Wid. Bridget Barnard, who d. Aug. 31, 1762. Children—*Samuel*, b. Oct. 16, 1712; *Jonathan*, b. Jan. 16, 1715; *Azariah*, b. July 10, 1717; *Nathaniel*, b. Sept. 3, 1721; *Hannah*, b. March 6, 1723; *Nehemiah*, b. June 15, 1726.

19. NATHANIEL, s. of Nehemiah, (5) rem. to Sund., and d. 1719. M. Dec. 3, 1713, Hannah, dau. of Luke Smith. Children—*Esther*, b. 1716, m. Nov. 12, 1741, John Dickinson of Amh., and d. Jan. 11, 1803, in 88th yr.; *Moses*, b. 1718.

20. ISRAEL, s. of Nehemiah, (5) d. April, 1733. M. (1) Jan. 28, 1719, Mary, dau. of Dea. Nathaniel White. (2) Feb. 13, 1724, Ruth, dau. of Luke Smith. Children—*Ruth*, b. Dec. 5, 1724; *David*, b. March 18, 1726, m. 1753, Hannah Smith; *Ruth*, b. Sept. 27, 1728, d. March 19, 1745; *Rebecca*, b. Dec. 1732, m. June 16, 1762, Moses Clark of Sund., being his fourth wife.

21. EBENEZER, s. of Nehemiah, (5) deacon, rem. abt. 1731 to Amh., where he d. abt. 1780. M. (1) May 26, 1720, Sarah, dau. of Nathaniel Kellogg, who d. March 22, 1743, ae. 42; (2) Wid. —— Hamilton of Brookfield. Children—*Gideon*, b. Dec. 1, 1720; *Ebenezer; Reuben; Joseph*, b. abt. 1731; *Abigail*, m. Oct. 21, 1740, Samuel Ingram of Amh.; *Sarah*, m. Jan. 18, 1753, Asa Adams; *Mary*, b. abt. 1737, m. April 27, 1757, Noah Dickinson of Amh.; *Jerusha*, m. (1) Jan. or Feb. 1763, David Blodgett of Amh.; (2) March 19, 1804, Nathan Dickinson of Amh., and d. Oct. 27, 1818; *Experience*, bapt. June 28, 1741, d. unm. in Had., March 7, 1770, in 29th yr.

22. NATHANIEL, s. of Joseph, (8) deacon, Hat., d. 1745. M. Hannah, dau. of Daniel White, of Hat. Children—*Jonathan*, b. Nov. 7, 1699; *Martha*, b. Dec. 25, 1701, m. March 2, 1727, Elnathan Graves; *Obadiah*, b. July 28, 1704; *Nathan*, b. April, 1707, d. May 10, 1707; *Joshua*, b. Feb. 7, 1709; *Elijah*, b. Feb. 24, 1712, d. June 8, 1714; *Elijah*, b. Sept. 20, 1714, d. May 28, 1715; *Joel*, b. March 23, 1716; *Lucy*, b. Sept. 9, 1718, d. Dec. 24, 1718.

23. Moses, s. of Samuel, (10) Hat., d. abt. 1787. M. Oct. 24, 1737, Anna, dau. of Joseph Smith. Children—*Samuel*, res. in Wh.; *Rebecca; Martha*, m. William Mather; *Miriam*, m. Silas Billings; *Anna*, m. John Bullard.

24. Benoni, s. of Samuel, (10) Hat., d. abt. 1723. M. Ruth. Children—*Ruth*, m. Elisha Belding; *Ann*, m. Nathaniel Coleman; *Mehitable; Martha.*

25. Gideon, s. of Nathaniel, (11) Hat., d. abt. 1781. M. Rebecca. Children—*Lois*, b. June 7, 1743, m. Daniel Dickinson, and d. in Hat., Aug. 31, 1834, ae. 91; *Gideon*, b. Dec. 29, 1744; *Joseph*, b. May 9, 1747; *Beulah*, b. May 25, 1754, m. Elijah Stebbins, and removed to Vt.

26. Nathan, s. of Ebenezer, (13) rem. in 1742, from Hat. to Amh., where he d. Aug. 7, 1796, ae. 84. M. (1) Thankful Warner; (2) Joanna Leonard of Spr.; (3) Judith Hosmer. Children by first wife—*Nathan*, b. Oct. 19, 1735; *Ebenezer*, b. Jan. 3, 1741; *Irene*, b. July 13, 1743, m. Oct. 27, 1762, Oliver Cowls of Amh., and d. March 28, 1834, ae. 90; *Enos*, b. March 28, 1746. Children by second wife—*Azariah*, b. March 6, 1752, m. and res. in Boston, where he d. abt. 1826; *Elihu*, b. Oct. 14, 1753; *Shelah*, b. Sept. 20, 1755, served in Rev. war, and d. April 30, 1777, ae. 21; *Thankful*, b. March 15, 1758, m. Oct. 7, 1802, Eli Smith of S. H.; *Lois*, bapt. Aug. 5, 1759; *Asa*, bapt. May 10, 1761; *Levi; Joanna*, bapt. April 6, 1766, m. July 15, 1817, John Conkey, of Pelham, and d. Nov. 17, 1825, ae. 60. Children by third wife—*Stephen*, bapt. July 6, 1770; *Judith*, m. Daniel Heath.

27. Daniel, s. of Nathaniel, (14) Hat., d. Oct. 16, 1768. M. (1) Lydia, dau. of Ichabod Allis. She d. Oct. 16, 1737, ae. 35, (2) 1744, Ruth Bagg, who d. Dec. 19, 1791, in 83d yr. Children—*Daniel*, b. June 3, 1745; *Lydia*, b. Nov. 21, 1746, m. Gideon Dickinson; *Aaron*, b. Oct. 9, 1749, rem. to West Brookfield; *Roger*, b. Feb. 23, 1752.

28. Benjamin, s. of Nathaniel, (14) was a teacher and occasionally preached. He d. May 18, 1778. M. Sarah Scott. Children—*Azariah*, b. Sept. 18, 1735; *John; Benjamin*, was a physician in Sund. and Wh., but d. in Hudson, N. Y.; *Asenath; William*, b. Feb, 4, 1746, d. 1749.

29. John, s. of John, (15) Hat., a colonel. He d. Feb. 21, 1799, in 92d yr. M. abt. 1734, Mary Coleman. Children — *John; Lemuel; Mary*, m. —— Graves; *Sarah*, m. —— Belding.

30. Thomas, s. of John, (15) rem. abt. 1753, from Hat. to Deerfield. M. Prudence Smith. Children—*David*, b. Feb. 3, 1745, d. Aug. 22, 1746; *David*, b. Aug. 31, 1747; *Eliphalet*, b. Aug. 22, 1749; *Thomas Wells*, b. June 14, 1751; *Hepzibah*, b. 1753; *Honor*, b. 1755; *Prudence*, b. 1758; *Consider*, b. 1761.

31. Salmon, s. of John, (15) Hat., d. abt. 1782. Children—*Salmon; John; Mary*, m. Feb. 8, 1774, Samuel Dickinson, Jr.; *Hannah*, m. Aug. 31, 1773, Seth Bardwell; *Olive.*

32. Nehemiah, s. of Nehemiah, (16) Gr., d. March 20, 1776, ae. 73. M. June 4, 1730, Mary Moody, who d. Nov. 15, 1787. Children—*Nehemiah*, b. Aug. 10, 1731, d. Oct. 25, 1799; *Mary*, b. Oct. 19, 1732, d. 1752; *Joseph*, b. Sept. 13, 1734, d. March 28, 1736; *Azubah*, b. Sept. 7, 1736, m. 1757, Josiah Snow, Jr.; *Joseph*, b. Dec. 15, 1738, m. Susanna, dau. of Samuel

Church, and d. Nov. 2, 1817, ae. 78; *Editha*, b. Feb. 21, 1742; *Mehitable*, b. Jan. 13, 1745, d. Aug. 25, 1748; *Mehitable*, b. Oct. 28, 1749.

33. JOHN, s. of Nehemiah, (16) Amh., d. abt. 1791. M. Nov. 12, 1741, Esther, dau. of Nathaniel Dickinson of Sund. She d. in Gr., Jan. 11, 1803, in 88th yr. Children—*Nathaniel*, b. Aug. 13, 1742; m. Theoda, dau. of Dea. David Smith, and d. abt. 1795; *Israel*, b. May 15, 1746; *Waitstill*, b. April 17, 1750.

34. WILLIAM, s. of William, (17) S. H., d. Dec. 30, 1740, ae. 35. M. March 30, 1730, Hannah Cook. She d. Oct. 29, 1745, ae. 39. Children—*Hannah*, b. Feb. 5, 1731, d. April 11, 1731; *Son*, b. and d. Dec. 10, 1732; *Silence*, b. Feb. 25, 1734, d. March 26, 1734; *Son*, b. Feb. 25, 1734, d. Feb. 26, 1734; *Waitstill*, b. Feb. 14, 1736; *William*, b. Jan. 9, 1741.

35. JOHN, s. of William, (17) d. Sept. 25, 1753, ae. 37. M. April 15, 1741, Martha, dau. of Moses Cook. She m. (2) June 25, 1761, David Bagg of Blandford, and d. June 29, [30?] 1762. Children—*Mary*, b. Jan. 12, 1742, d. May 12, 1743; *William*, b. Oct. 4, 1743, d. Aug. 30, 1746; *Martha*, b. Sept. 7, 1745, m. (1) Perez Jones; (2) Dec. 23, 1744, Elisha Cook, Jr.; *Marah*, b. Oct. 15, 1747, d. Oct. 17, 1747; *John*, b. Oct. 30, 1748; *Mary*, b. Jan. 20, 1751, m. Nov. 15, 1770, Enos Smith, and d. Feb. 7, 1815, ae. 64; *William*, d. Nov. 24, 1757, ae. 4.

36. JOSIAH, s. of William, (17) d. Oct. 29, 1772, ae. 48. M. Nov. 24, 1748, Sibil Partridge, who d. Oct. 19, 1819, ae. 87. Children—*Josiah*, m. Wealthy Shepard of Hartford, Ct., and d. in Nh., Jan. 17, 1812, ae. 62; *Elisha*, b. July 27, 1752; *Cotton*, b. Nov. 1754; *Elihu*, rem. to Charlestown, N. H.; *Sibil*, m. Dec. 9, 1779, Daniel Dickinson; *Maria*, m. May 10, 1787, Maj. John Smith, and d. May 21, [29?] 1808, ae. 46; *William*, b. June, 1765, m. Nov. 15, 1795.

37. SAMUEL, s. of Samuel, (18) Gr., d. Feb. 10, 1750, ae. 38. M. Esther, dau. of Nathaniel White. Children—*Hannah*, b. Dec. 3, 1743, m. Waitstill Dickinson; *Christian*, b. Oct. 5, 1745, m. —— Barton; *Samuel*, b. May 15, 1747, m. Naomi; *Eli*, b. Nov. 10, 1749.

38. JONATHAN, s. of Samuel, (18) res. in Shutesbury and Amh. M. Sept. 26, 1745, Dorothy, dau. of John Stoughton, of Windsor, Ct. She was b. March 18, 1715. Children—*Lucy*, b. Nov. 9, 1746, m. Zaccheus Crocker of Sunderland; *Dorothy*, b. March 14, 1748, m. April 10, 1788, Joseph Dickinson of Amh., and d. Feb. 27, 1808, ae. 60; *Jonathan*, b. Sept. 5, 1749; *Joel*, b. May 29, 1751, m. Eunice; *Samuel*, b. May 5, 1753, rem. to Brattleboro', Vt.; *Stoughton*, b. Feb. 17, 1755; *Daniel*, b. Oct. 10, 1756.

39. AZARIAH, s. of Samuel, (18) Shutesbury and Amh., d. Nov. 12, 1799, ae. 82. M. Sept. 16, 1747, Eunice, dau. of John Stoughton of Windsor, Ct. She was b. Feb. 19, 1717. Children—*Eunice*, b. April 10, 1749, m. Feb. 6, 1771, Joseph Eastman, of Amh., and d. Aug. 16, 1838, ae. 89; *Hannah*, b. Dec. 24, 1750, m. Dec. 5, 1771, Eleazar Cowles of Amh., and d. Oct 5, 1821, ae. 70; *Azariah*, b. April 13, 1753; *Oliver*, b. March 27, 1757, m. (1) Hannah Strickland, (2) Nov. 20, 1831, Dorothy Whiting, and d. in Amh., s. p., May 12, 1843, ae. 86.

40. NATHANIEL, s. of Samuel, (18) Shutesbury and Amh., d. July 10, 1806, ae. 84. M. (1) Thankful ——, who d. March 9, 1783, ae. 60; (2)

Jan. 18, 1787, Wid. Jemima Wales. Children—*Mary*, b. Dec. 29, 1746, m. Nov. 12, 1772, Ebenezer Eastman, of Amh., and d. March 16, 1825, ae. 78; *Nathaniel*, b. Sept. 1, 1750; *Josiah*, b. Oct. 15, 1753, d. May, 1762; *Elijah*, b. Dec. 26, 1756, d. March, 1762; *Rachel*, b. Oct. 19, 1759; *Elijah*, b. April 1, 1762, d. Nov. 30, 1765; *Rebecca*, b. May 24, 1764, d. young; *Salome*, b. April 1, 1766, d. young; *Salome*, b. Nov. 13, 1768, d. young.

40½. Nehemiah, s. of Samuel, (18) Shutesbury and Amh., d. Jan. 23, 1779, ae. 52. M. Nov. 14, 1749, Amy, dau. of John Stoughton of Windsor, Ct. She d. Jan. 27, 1784, ae. 64. Children—*Nehemiah*, b. April 23, 1756, insane, d. unm. May 7, 1794; *John*, b. Oct. 27, 1757; *Simeon*, b. Oct. 9, 1759, m. Sally McClare, rem. to Weybridge, Vt., and d. Jan. 20, 1800, ae. 40.

41. Moses, s. of Nathaniel, (19) Amh., d. April 9, 1803, ae. 85. M. Thankful, dau. of Chileab Smith. She d. Oct. 18, 1802, ae. 80. Children—*Moses*, bapt. April 27, 1746, d. Jan. 30, 1748; *Hannah*, b. Oct. 7, 1747, m. (1) Aaron Warner, Jr., of Amh., (2) Aaron Moody; *Moses*, b. Sept. 8, 1749; *Lois*, b. May 14, 1751, m. Feb. 20, 1772, Enos Dickinson, of Amh., and d. Sept. 21, 1820; *Aaron*, b. June 24, 1753; *Medad*, b. June 9, 1755; *Mercy*, b. Nov. 21, 1757, d. March 6, 1777, ae. 19; *Elijah*, b. April 20, 1760; *Eli*, b. Oct. 1, 1762, d. Sept. 28, 1767, ae. 5; *Judah*, b. Feb. 12, 1765.

42. Gideon, s. of Ebenezer, (21) Amh. M. Aug. 19, 1745, Hannah, dau. of Nathaniel Edwards, of Amh. Children—*Gideon*, bapt. Dec. 1, 1745; *Elisha*, bapt. March 22, 1747; *Hannah*, bapt. Jan. 22, 1749, m. Jonathan Smith of Whately; *Abigail*, bapt. Jan. 20, 1751, d. unm., prob. in April, 1822; *Sarah*, bapt. Oct. 28, 1753, m. Simeon Dickinson, Jr.; *Martha*, bapt. Jan. 23, 1757, m. William Clapp of Amh.; *Naomi*, b. abt. 1761, m. May, 1782, Seth Dickinson of Amh.; *Samuel*, bapt. May 13, 1764, d. ae. abt. 21.

43. Ebenezer, s. of Ebenezer, (21) Amh., d. Sept. 12, 1798. M. Chloe Holton, b. abt. 1734, who d. Feb. 18, 1826, ae. 92. Children—*Ebenezer*, b. Feb. 6, 1761; *Chloe*, bapt. March 20, 1763, m. Simeon Dickinson, Jr.; *Experience*, bapt. May 20, 1770, prob. d. young; *Roswell*, b. abt. 1772; *Luther*, bapt. Dec. 4, 1774; *Zimri; Joseph.*

44. Reuben, s. of Ebenezer, (21) commanded a company from Amh. and vicinity in the Revolutionary war, and after the close of the war rem. to Thetford, Vt. He d. in Amh., Nov. 12, 1803, at the house of his sister Mrs. Jerusha Blodgett, while there on a visit. Children—*Reuben*, bapt. 1755, m. — Kellogg; *Sarah*, bapt. Feb. 12, 1757, m. Feb. 12, 1778, Simeon Cowls, and d. April 20, 1814; *Esther*, bapt. Feb. 11, 1759, m. Amos Ayres of Amh., and d. May 17, 1831; Ruth, b. abt. 1763, m. Perez Dickinson of Amh., and d. March 25, 1798, ae. 35; *Josiah*, bapt. Oct. 2, 1768; *Solomon; Elijah; Josiah; Rachel.*

45. Joseph, s. of Ebenezer, (21) Amh., d. July 25, 1804, ae. 73. M. (1) Martha, dau. of Jonathan Dickinson, son of Samuel; (2) April 10, 1788, Martha, dau. of Jonathan Dickinson, s. of Nathaniel. Children—*Joseph*, b. Sept. 18, 1768; *Martha*, b. Aug. 2, 1769, m. Luke Blodgett; *Ira*, b. Aug. 14, 1789, m. Dec. 12, 1810, Dolly W. Fairbanks.

46. Jonathan, s. of Nathaniel, (22) rem. from Hat. to School Meadows in Had. and thence abt. 1748 to Amh., where he d. Dec. 31, 1787, ae. 88. M. April 2, 1724, Mary, dau. of Nathaniel Smith of Hat. She d. April 10, 1763. Children—*Simeon*, b. abt. 1726; *Noah*, b. abt. 1729; *Jonathan; Mary*,

m. April 16, 1752, Hezekiah Belding of Amh.; *Martha*, m. Joseph Dickinson of Amh., and d. Aug. 12, 1779.

47. OBADIAH, s. of Nathaniel, (22) Hat., d. June 24, 1788, ae. 84. M. (1) May 26, 1726, Mary, dau. of John Belding of Hat.; (2) Martha ——. Children—*Elijah*, b. July 31, 1727, prob. d. young; *Elihu*, b. Oct. 11, 1729, per. d. young; *Lucy*, b. Nov. 20, 1731, m. —— Allis; *Israel*, m. Nov. 20, 1764, Mercy, dau. of Oliver Partridge; *Hannah*, m. Nov. 14, 1755, Julius Allis; *Submit*, m. 1766, Samuel Gaylord of Hat.; *Lois*, m. 1770, John C. Williams, and d. Sept. 7, 1787, in 42d yr.; *Elijah*, b. abt. 1733, d. in Hat., Jan. 26, 1813, ae. 80; *Elihu; Obadiah; Mary*, m. Jan. 27, 1774, Elisha Allis, Jr.; *Martha*.

48. JOSHUA, s. of Nathaniel, (22) d. in Belchertown, March 2, 1793, ae. 89. Child—*Violet*, b. Nov. 15, 1738, m. Rev. Justus Forward of Belchertown, and d. March 27, 1834, ae. 95.

49. NATHAN, s. of Nathan, (26) Amh., d. Aug. 3, 1825, ae. 90. M. (1) Jan. 15, 1761, Esther Fowler, who d. March 15, 1803, ae. 63; (2) March 19, 1804, Wid. Jerusha Blodgett, who d. Oct. 27, 1818. Children—*Timothy*, b. June 25, 1761; *Perez*, b. March 26, 1763; *Ezekiel*, b. May 25, 1765, m. Jan. 19, 1797, Perly Gunn of Montague; *Esther*, b. March 3, 1767, m. Maj. Medad Dickinson; *Esther*, b. Dec. 14, 1768, m. (1) Judah Dickinson; (2) March 28, 1805, Daniel Moody; *Irene*, b. Dec. 30, 1770, m. Nov. 15, 1798, Luke Montague of Amh., and d. 1849; *Samuel Fowler*, b. Oct. 9, 1775; *Anna*, b. April 15, 1780, m. Oliver Smith of Had.

50. EBENEZER, s. of Nathan, (26) Amh. M. Oct. 30, 1765, Ruth Eastman, who d. Jan. 3, 1833. Children—*William*, b. Feb. 6, 1767, m. Sept. 28, 1789, Tirzah Warner, and d. Nov. 4, 1824; *Lucinda*, b. Nov. 17, 1769, m. May 11, 1800, David Watson of Amh., and d. Jan. 16, 1842; *Editha*, b. Dec. 16, 1773, d. Feb. 15, 1774; *Sylvanus*, b. Dec. 2, 1776, m. Deborah Parker, and rem. to Reedsboro', Vt.; *Ebenezer*, b. April 7, 1779, m. Abigail Barrows, and rem. to Cincinnati, O.; *Abijah*, b. Dec. 7, 1781, m. Oct. 26, 1806, Mary Stetson, and d. in Amh., April 11, 1824.

51. ENOS, s. of Nathan, (26) Amh., d. Dec. 31, 1821, ae. 72. M. Lois, dau. of Moses Dickinson of Amh. She d. Sept. 21, 1820. Children—*Azubah*, b. July 6, 1773, m. Jan. 22, 1795, Enoch Bangs of Amh., and d. Feb. 23, 1799; *Eli*, b. Aug. 11, 1775, m. Nov. 12, 1798, Lovisa Mattoon; *David*, b. April 27, 1778, m. March 6, 1800, Mary, dau. of Moses Warner of Amh., and rem. to Petersham; *Lois*, b. Oct. 7, 1783, m. April 27, 1809, Lt. Enos Dickinson of Amh.; *Philomela*, b. Feb. 16, 1786, m. Jan. 21, 1808, Ebenezer Williams of Amh.; *Enos*, b. March 27, 1788, m. (1) Jan. 27, 1814, Joanna Nash; (2) Jan. 7, 1819, Thankful, dau. of Oliver Cowls, of Amh.; *Lucius*, b. Jan. 23, 1790, m. July 1, 1813, Betsey Shumway; *Mary*, b. Oct. 20, 1792, d. Jan. 15, 1812; *Horace*, b. Jan. 25, 1797, m. Sept. 11, 1822, Sophia Stetson of Amh., and res. in Palmer.

52. ELIHU, s. of Nathan, (26) Amh., d. June 5, 1811. M. Sept. 28, 1791, Susanna, dau. of Noadiah Lewis of Amh. Children—*Joel L.*, bapt. March 9, 1794, d. 1794; *Rufus Leonard*, b. April 19, 1795, m. Electa Perry, and d. abt. 1837, in New Ashford; *Fidelia*, b. May 17, 1796, m. June 2, 1817, James Kellogg of Amh.; *Austin Lyman*, bapt. May 26, 1799, m. (1) March 26, 1820,

Sarah E., dau. of Rev. Ichabod Draper, of Amh., and d. abt. 1835; *Fanny*, bapt. May 10, 1801, m. March 5, 1821, Learned Scott, of Lanesboro', and d. in L., abt. 1840.

53. Asa, s. of Nathan, (26) Amh., d. Feb. 1, 1824. M. June 9, 1805, Salome, dau. of Thomas Hastings, of Amh. Children—*Friend*, b. April 6, 1806, m. (1) May 28, 1827, Betsey Packard, (2) Betsey Hayes, and d. in Higganum, Ct., Nov. 1851; *Noble*, b. Dec. 14, 1807, res. in Amh.; *Asa*, b. Feb. 24, 1809, m. Jan. 20, 1841, Louisa Sprout.

54. Levi, s. of Nathan, (26) Amh., m. Margaret Peebles. She m. (2) Andrew Hyde, and (3) —— ——, at the West. Children—*Sarah*, b. May 15, 1783; *Irene*, b. April 21, 1785, m. s. of Simeon Pomeroy; *Elizabeth*, b. June 3, 1787; *Patrick Peebles*, b. Oct. 29, 1789.

55. Stephen, s. of Nathan, (26) Amh., d. July 25, 1827, ae. 57. M. (1) Dec. 1, 1793, Mary Eastman. (2) Wid. —— Currier. Children—*Adolphus*, b. Oct. 11, 1794, m. Oct. 16, 1817, Lydia, dau. of Andrew Hyde; *Judith*, m. April 11, 1816, Samuel Thayer of Belchertown; *Asa*, m. May 12, 1812, Sophia Hastings; *Joseph E.; Polly*, m. April 15, 1824, Erastus Smith, Jr., of Had.; *Osman*, d. young; *Orin R.*, bapt. Dec. 21, 1806, m. Jan. 19, 1830, Mary Hyde; *Salome*, bapt. May 6, 1810, m. Oct. 21, 1831, Elisha Clark, Jr.; *Elihu E.*, bapt. Oct. 18, 1812, m. April 2, 1835, Susan D. Pettengill; *George*, bapt. Nov. 10, 1816, d. Jan. 11, 1824; *Maria*, bapt. Nov. 15, 1818; *Hosmer*, m. Roxanna Goodale. She m. (2) Wright D. Kellogg, of Amh.

56. Azariah, s. of Benjamin, (28) m. Sarah. Children—*Sarah*, bapt. Nov. 8, 1767; *William*, bapt. Nov. 8, 1767; *John*, bapt. May 27, 1770; *John*, bapt. June 14, 1772; *Samuel Steward*, b. Sept. 1, 1774, d. March 13, 1776; *Son*, b. Oct. 28, 1777, d. Nov. 1777; *child*, b. and d. Nov. 1778; *Lucretia* (or *Asenath*) *Scott*, b. April 29, 1782.

57. Israel, s. of John, (33) Amh. M. (1) Sarah, dau. of William Boltwood, of Amh.; (2) Nov. 16, 1786, Abigail Lyon. Children—*Israel*, d. July 25, 1801; *Mary*, m. William Champney, of Pownal, Vt.; *Esther*, bapt. April 8, 1781, m. Jan. 25, 1810, Chester Billings of Amh.

58. Waitstill, s. of John, (33) Amh., d. abt. 1792. M. (1) Lucretia Montague of Gr. She m. (2) Benjamin Wilson, and had *Lucretia*, b. Aug. 12, 1801, and d. Oct. 6, 1837, ae. 79. Children—*Chester*, b. July 12, 1780, non compos; *David*, b. Aug. 14, 1785, m. Nov. 29, 1810, Hannah Dana, and d. in Amh., Nov. 19, 1833, ae. 48; *Oliver*, b. June 27, 1789, m. (1) Nov. 17, 1811, Elizabeth, dau. of Moses Billings of Amh.; (2) Clarissa, dau. of Moses Billings; (3) March 9, 1847, Lucy Montague, and d. Sept. 2, 1860, ae. 71.

59. Waitstill, s. of William, (34) Gr. M. Phebe. Children—*Hannah*, b. Nov. 1, 1760; *Irene*, b. Sept. 28, 1762; *Waitstill*, b. 1765; *Phebe*, b. Oct. 18, 1766.

60. William, s. of William, (34) Gr. M. Esther, prob. dau. of Hezekiah Smith. Children—*Dorcas*, b. Sept. 9, 1764; *William*, b. Nov. 23, 1766.

61. John, s. of John, (35) d. Dec. 2, 1830, ae. 82. M. 1773, Abigail Alexander. She d. Dec. 30, 1832, ae. 84. Children—*Betsey*, b. Oct. 1, 1774, m. Oct. 2, 1798, Lemuel Brown; (2) Sept. 21, 1808, Maj. John Smith, and d. June 22, 1832, ae. 57; *Abigail*, b. Oct. 2, 1776, m. July 21, 1794, Francis Newton; *Martha*, b. Dec. 1778, m. Thomas Reynolds; *John*, b. Dec. 14,

1781; *Elijah*, b. Oct. 10, 1783; *William*, b. 1785; *Polly*, b. Nov. 19, 1787, m. 1813, Thomas Reynolds; *Theodocia*, b. Jan. 1790, d. Feb. 18, 1791, ae. 1.

62. Elisha, s. of Josiah, (36) d. Sept. 25, 1811, ae. 59. M. Hannah Billings of Conway. She was b. Feb. 24, 1754, and d. April 6, 1829, ae. 75. Children—*Polly*, b. June 4, 1783, m. Enos Smith, Jr.; *Hannah*, b. March 4, 1786, m. Elisha Ely of Rochester, N. Y.; *Elisha*, b. April 15, 1788, m. Azubah Hammond of Winchester, N. H.; *Ruth*, b. Oct. 30, 1790, m. Henry Smith; *Charles*, b. June 25, 1793, m. and res. at the West.

63. Cotton, s. of Josiah, (36) res. in Claremont, N. H., Had., and Nh., and d. in Nh., Jan. 21, 1826, ae. 72. M. Olive, dau. of Seth Field of Northfield. She d. Sept. 10, 1844, ae. 89. Children—*Fanny*, b. Sept. 27, 1780; *Olive*, b. July 23, 1782; *Josiah*, b. Sept. 9, 1784; *Cotton*, b. July 11, 1786; *Susannah*, b. Nov. 11, 1789; *Lucy*, b. Sept. 11, 1791; *Melinda*, b. May 22, 1794.

64. William, s. of Josiah, (36) deacon, d. March 15, 1849, ae. 83. M. Nov. 15, 1795, Dorothy, dau. of William Warner. Children—*Maria Partridge*, b. Oct. 15, 1797, m. Rev. Lewis Sabin, D. D. of Templeton; *William*, b. Dec. 17, 1799, d. Dec. 10, 1817; *Roswell*, b. March 11, 1802, d. June 13, 1803; *Dorothy*, b. July 13, 1804, d. Sept. 27, 1810; *Roswell*, b. Dec. 29, 1806, d. Sept. 18, 1807; *Elizabeth*, b. Aug. 20, 1808, m. Horace Goodrich of Ware; *Caroline*, b. March 19, 1811; *Dorothy*, b. March 6, 1813, m. Leonard B. Shearer of Boston; *George*, b. Aug. 24, 1815; *Harriet Newell*, b. March 5, 1818, m. Rev. Ebenezer W. Bullard; *William Phelps*, b. Oct. 17, 1820, m. Feb. 2, 1848, Emeline, dau. of Rev. John Woodbridge, D. D., and res. in Chicago, Ill.

65. Jonathan, s. of Jonathan, (38) Amh., d. June 2, 1836, ae. 86. M. March 27, 1783, Azubah, dau. of Nathaniel Coleman of Amh. Children—*Nathaniel Coleman*, b. Feb. 4, 1784, m. (1) Jan. 27, 1807, Submit Smith; (2) June 2, 1841, Sybil Strickland; *Enos*, b. Oct. 23, 1785, m. April 27, 1809, Lois Dickinson; *Achsah*, b. Dec. 25, 1786, m. Jan. 20, 1807, Jonathan C. Warner; *Ansel*, b. Oct. 23, 1788, d. 1807; *Jeremy*, b. Aug. 22, 1791, d. Nov. 12, 1809, ae. 18; *Anna*, b. Jan. 25, 1801.

66. Stoughton, s. of Jonathan, (38) Amh. M. Dec. 16, 1784, Abigail, dau. of Jonathan Nash, of Amh. Children—*Gardner; Luther; Clarissa; Polly; Joshua*, d. Aug. 1796, ae. 4; *Horace*, d. Aug. 1796, ae. 2; *Joshua; Horace.*

67. Daniel, s. of Jonathan, (38.) M. Dec. 9, 1779, Sybil, dau. of Josiah Dickinson. Children—*Sophia*, b. Sept. 4, 1780, m. Doct. Josiah Goodhue; *Henry*, b. Feb. 3, 1783, d. unm., 1804; *Charlotte*, b. Feb. 15, 1785, m. (1) John Dickinson, (2) Thomas Cutler, of Bernardston; *Samuel*, b. July 30, 1787, m. Abigail Stockbridge; *Sylvanus*, b. Dec. 6, 1789; *Elihu*, b. April 12, 1791, unm.; *Lucy*, bapt. April 30, 1797, d. ae. 10; *Daniel*, b. 1799, m. Mary Ann Williston, was master of a vessel, and d. in 1832, in St. Jago; *Edward*, bapt. Feb. 1801, m. Catharine Jones, physician in Peoria, Ill.

68. Azariah, s. of Azariah, (39) Amh., d. Aug. 31, 1813. M. Dec. 22, 1785, Mary, dau. of Joseph Eastman of Amh. Children—*Sarah I.*, b, June 17, 1787, d. Sept. 1, 1788; *Ransom*, b. May 8, 1789, m. Nov. 17, 1808, Betsey, dau. of Aaron Dickinson, and res. in Sunderland; *Austin*, b. Feb. 15,

1791, grad. D. C. 1813, was a clergyman, m. 1836, Laura W. Camp, and d. Aug. 15, 1849; *Daniel*, b. June 18, 1793, m. (1) Feb. 17, 1819, Louisa Adams; (2) June 25, 1829, Tamer Eastman, and res. in Amh.; *Baxter*, b. April 14, 1795, grad. Y. C. 1817, a clergyman, m. June 4, 1823, Martha, dau. of Col. Jotham Bush and Mary Taylor of Boylston, d. Dec. 7, 1875. She (mother) was b. Feb. 10, 1798, d. Aug. 15, 1892; *Hannah*, b. June 3, 1797, m. Austin Loomis of Amh.

69. NATHANIEL, Esq., s. of Nathaniel, (39) grad. H. C. 1771, Amh., d. Nov. 10, 1802, ae. 51. M. Dec. 9, 1779, Sarah, dau. of Ebenezer Marsh of Had. She d. Dec. 9, 1801, ae. 47. Children—*Susanna*, b. Sept. 6, 1781, m. May 29, 1803, Chester, s. of John Dickinson, and d. Oct. 8, 1836, ae. 55; *Walter*, b. May 2, 1784, m. Nov. 7, 1806, Lydia, dau. of John Dickinson, and d. in Amh., April 9, 1851, ae. 66.

70. JOHN, s. of Nehemiah, (39) Amh., d. Jan. 4, 1850, ae. 92. M. (1) June 8, 1778, Lydia, dau. of Joseph Eastman of Amh.; (2) Nov. 6, 1836, Wid. Susanna Wilder. Children—*Zebina*, b. Sept. 30, 1778, m. 1808, Mary Watson, and d. in Amh., June 2, 1837; *Chester*, b. April 26, 1780, m. May 29, 1803, Susanna, dau. of Nathaniel Dickinson, and d. in Amh., May 10, 1850; *John*, b. Feb. 25, 1782, grad. W. C. 1800, lawyer and Judge of Probate at Machias, Me., returned abt. 1837 to Amh. He m. (1) Oct. 12, 1807, Rebecca Ellis; (2) Jan. 5, 1848, Olive S., wid. of Rev. Samuel Shepard, D. D., of Lenox; *Nehemiah*, b. Feb. 16, 1784, m. Jan. 18, 1826, Wid. Wealthy Cowles, and d. in Amh., March 15, 1837; *Bissel*, b. Sept. 1, 1787, d. Dec. 19, 1789; *Bela*, b. July 6, 1789, d. May 2, 1790; *Lydia*, b. July 9, 1791, m. Nov. 6, 1806, Walter Dickinson, and d. in Amh., March 21, 1827, ae. 35; *Ame Stoughton*, b. April 6, 1796, m. (1) Sept. 19, 1816, Jonathan Dickinson; (2) May 6, 1847, John Kellogg, Esq., of Benson, Vt., and d. 1860, ae. 64.

71. MOSES, s. of Moses, (41) Amh., d. Sept. 18, 1775. M. Mary, dau. of Solomon Boltwood of Amh. She m. (2) Oct. 5, 1780, Daniel Cooley, Esq., of Amh., and d. Jan. 10, 1795. Child—*Mary*, m. Nov. 30, 1797, Joseph Blair, Jr., of Amh.

72. AARON, s. of Moses, (41) Amh., d. April 24, 1802. M. June 8, 1780, Eleanor Morton. Children—*Charles*, b. Sept. 8, 1782, d. unm., at the West; *Aaron*, bapt. April 25, 1784, d. young; *Lucy*, b. June 15, 1785, m. Aaron M. Chandler of Amh.; *Lucinda*, b. Aug. 5, 1786, m. (1) Luke Tuttle; (2) Thomas B. Strong of Pittsfield; *Salmon Morton*, b. Aug. 2, 1788, m. May 10, 1820, Lucretia Smith of Had., and res. in Amh.; *Elizabeth*, b. June 11, 1790, m. Nov. 17, 1808, Ransom, s. of Azariah Dickinson, and d. May 29, 1849, ae. 58.

73. MEDAD, s. of Moses, (41) m. (1) Sally Smith; (2) Eleanor Morton; (3) Esther, dau. of Nathan Dickinson. Children—*Sally Smith*, b. Oct. 7, 1786; *Hannah*, b. March 10, 1788, m. Lorenzo Smith of Had.; *Thankful*, b. June 25, 1789; *Olive*, b. Oct. 9, 1793; *Moses Billings*, b. Sept. 6, 1795, m. Ruth Osburn; *Pliny*, b. March 5, 1797, m. Aurelia Burt, rem. to Syracuse, N. Y.; *Olive*, b. Sept. 25, 1798, m. Doct. Geo. Hill of Ann Arbor, Mich.; *Esther*, b. Aug. 15, 1800; *Aaron*, b. July 5, 1802, res. in Heath; *Eleanor M.*, b. Aug. 3, 1804, m. Obadiah Dickinson; *Medad*, b. May 25, 1806; *Julia*, b. May 3, 1809.

74. ELIJAH, s. of Moses, (41) a Colonel, Amh., d. Feb. 1, 1820. M. June 13, 1780, Jerusha, dau. of Jonathan Smith. She d. April 6, 1853, ae. 89. Children—*Moses*, b. June 15, 1781, grad. W. C. 1800, and d. unm. in Amh.,

Aug. 4, 1841, ae. 60; *Silas*, b. Sept. 24, 1783, d. May 30, 1804; *Lucretia*, b. Jan. 19, 1791, d. Feb. 6, 1792; *J. Smith*, b. Oct. 8, 1793; *Fanny*, b. Aug. 5, 1798, d. June 7, 1802; *Jonathan Smith*, b. Aug. 6, 1803, m. Minerva Bartlett of Leverett, and d. in Amh., June 2, 1836, ae. 32; *Fanny*, b. April 26, 1805, m. (1) Artemas Thompson; (2) Caleb Benjamin; (3) Calvin Merrill.

75. JUDAH, s. of Moses, (41) Amh., d. Aug. 4, 1800, ae. 35. M. (1) Olive ——; (2) Nov. 10, 1791, Thankful Dickinson. Children—*Judah*, b. Aug. 20, 1797, d. July 30, 1803, ae. 5; *Henry*, b. May 11, 1799, d. Aug. 5, 1803, ae. 4; *Thankful*, b. Jan. 9, 1801, m. Doct. John Hubbard.

76. GIDEON, s. of Gideon, (42) rem. after 1787 from Amh. to Washington, Vt. M. (1) Abigail, dau. of John Field; (2) Lydia, dau. of Simeon Dickinson. Children—*Jerusha*, bapt. June 2, 1771; *Rosalinda*, b. March 19, 1775; *Abigail*, b. July 25, 1779; *Gideon*, bapt. Sept. 16, 1781; *Abi*, bapt. Nov. 23, 1783; *Joshua*, bapt. May 29, 1785; *Irene*, bapt. Aug. 12, 1787.

77. ELISHA, s. of Gideon, (42) Amh., d. May 12, 1819, ae. 72. M. Martha, dau. of Simeon Dickinson. She d. March 17, 1848, ae. 92. Children —*Elisha*, b. Aug. 2, 177–, d. ae. 18 mos.; *Martha*, b. Jan. 16, 1778, m. March 19, 1797, Zebina Hawley of Amh., and d. 1852, ae. 74; *Elisha*, b. Jan. 30, 1781, m. (1) Feb. 1807, Lois Marsh; *Roxana*, b. April 3, 1783, m. Philip Hawley; *Susan*, b. Aug. 12, 1785, m. Aug. 1, 1833, Benoni Rust; *Wealthy*, b. Dec. 5, 1787, m. (1) Josiah Cowls; (2) Jan. 18, 1826, Nehemiah Dickinson; *Samuel*, b. Oct. 28, 1789, m. Jan. 1, 1816, Wealthy Cushman; *Elijah*, b. March 9, 1792, m. Oct. 23, 1823, Sarah Belding; *Harrison*, b. April 21, 1794, d. March 4, 1804, ae. 9; *Jerusha*, b. July 29, 1796, d. unm., Sept. 8, 1840, ae. 44.

78. EBENEZER, s. of Ebenezer, (43) Amh., d. Aug. 15, 1818. M. Nov. 17, 1782, Abigail Belding, dau. of Hezekiah. She d. in a fit, June 25, 1839, ae. 76. Children—*Electa*, b. Feb. 8, 1783, d. Jan. 21, 1785; *Rufus*, b. Feb. 20, 1786, m. Aug. 1811, Almira Church, and res. in South Deerfield; *Luther*, b. Aug. 26, 1788, d. Aug. 20, 1789; *Hezekiah*, b. Sept. 26, 1790, d. Dec. 27, 1791; *Chloe*, b. Jan. 26, 1793, m. Nov. 10, 1814, Moses Cowls; *Electa*, b. Feb. 10, 1795, m. May 25, 1825, Lyman, s. of Jonathan Smith, and d. in Amh., April 25, 1859; *Abigail*, b. April 13, 1797, d. unm., Dec. 29, 1851; *Martha*, b. Dec. 26, 1799, d. Feb. 3, 1802; *Hezekiah*, b. March 14, 1802, m. Nov. 22, 1832, Electa Marshall; *Orra*, b. April 14, 1804, m. June 25, 1833, John Milton Smith of Goshen; *Speedy*, b. July 19, 1807, d. Feb. 19, 1808.

79. ROSWELL, s. of Ebenezer, (43) Amh., d. March 4, 1848, ae. 76. M. Rachel, dau. of John Hunt of Belchertown. Children—*Nancy*, b. Sept. 14, 1800, m. Nathaniel Adams Wilder of Chesterfield; *Charlotte*, b. Jan. 14, 1801, unm.; *Rebecca*, b. July 5, 1803, m. Samuel, s. of Eli Parker; *Lovina*, b. April 26, 1805; *Caleb Dexter*, b. May 23, 1807, m. (1) Tryphena Russell; (2) Louisa Billings, res. in North Hadley; *Maria*, b. May, 1808, m. Rev. Eli W. Harrington of Lunenburgh, and d. Aug. 29, 1838, ae. 30; *Charles Holton*, b. Jan. 1810, m. Maria Brainard.

80. ZIMRI, s. of Ebenezer, (43) Amh., d. May 31, 1802. M. Lucy. Children—*Salina; Hiram; daughter.*

81. JOSEPH, s. of Joseph, (45) Amh., d. March 3, 1841, ae. 72. M. Jan. 29, 1795, Sarah, dau. of John Hunt of Belchertown. She was b. in Braintree, May 22, 1776. Children—*Martha*, b. June 9, 1796, d. Dec. 3, 1796;

Harriet, b. Nov. 2, 1798; *Mary Ann*, b. Feb. 2, 1801, m. June 8, 1837, Parker Hastings of Amh.; *Martha*, b. Nov. 26, 1802, m. Oct. 3, 1850, Lucius Church; *Dorothy*, b. May 30, 1807, m. Nov. 9, 1837, Marcus Lyon Goodale of Belchertown; *Sarah Hunt*, b. Jan. 13, 1809, m. Nov. 29, 1832, David Blodgett; *Joseph*, b. Oct. 20, 1810, m. (1) May 8, 1839, Jane Elizabeth Pease of Gr.; (2) June 2, 1841, Fidelia Alvord of Wilmington, Vt.; *Daniel Baxter*, b. May 18, 1813, d. Sept. 10, 1813; *Emily*, b. Jan. 4, 1817, m. Wm. Morton Graves of South Hadley.

82. Simeon, s. of Jonathan, (46) Amh., d. May 23, 1806, in 81st yr. M. Sept. 15, 1750, Martha, dau. of Aaron Graves of Hat. Children—*Lucy*, b. Sept. 28, 1751, d. unm., Aug. 20, 1823; *Lydia*, b. May 25, 1753, m. March 18, 1810, Gideon Dickinson, Jr. of Washington, Vt., and d. 1854; *Martha*, b. July 17, 1755, m. Elisha Dickinson and d. March 17, 1848, ae. 92; *Simeon*, b. Aug. 28, 1757; *Seth*, b. Oct. 6, 1759; *Gad*, b. Nov. 29, 1761, m. July 11, 1793, Mary Franklin, and d. s. p. in Amh., Dec. 26, 1848, ae. 87; *Eunice*, b. Feb. 6, 1764, m. March 13, 1800, Nathaniel Edwards of Amh., and d. Mch. 2, 1862, ae. 98; *Martin*, b. Oct. 29, 1765, d. unm., May 4, 1818, ae. 52; *Jemima*, b. Nov. 28, 1767, d. unm., June 20, 1820, ae. 52; *Jerusha*, b. March 24, 1770, m. Nov. 29, 1797, Nathan Franklin of Amh., and d. Feb. 21, 1849, ae. 79; *Obed*, b. April 11, 1772, d. Oct. 15, 1775; *William*, b. Jan. 26, 1775, d. unm., Nov. 1824, ae. 49.

83. Noah, s. of Jonathan, (46) Amh., d. March 28, 1815, ae. 86. M. (1) April 27, 1757, Mary, dau. of Dea. Ebenezer Dickinson, she d. June 1, 1791, ae. 54; (2) March 22, 1792, Susan Ward. Children—*Mary*, b. abt. 1758, m. July 7, 1779, Hon. Ebenezer Mattoon of Amh., and d. July 30, 1835, ae. 77; *Jonathan*, bapt. June 7, 1795, m. Sept. 19, 1816, Ame S., dau. of John Dickinson, and d. Oct. 2, 1840.

84. Jonathan, s. of Jonathan, (46) Amh., d. in Pittsfield, Sept. 7, 1798. M. (1) Dec. 27, 1759, Mary Hamilton, who d. Dec. 6, 1770, ae. 27; (2) Mary Matthews of New Braintree; (3) Mary Warner. Children—*Salome*, bapt. Aug. 16, 1762, m. March, 1782, Eli Parker, and d. June 16, 1801; *Mary*, bapt. Aug. 10, 1766, d. young; *Silas*, bapt. Nov. 19, 1769, m. Oct. 22, 1789, Eunice, dau. of Jonathan Moody; *Lois*, m. April 5, 1787, John Blodgett, and rem. to Claremont, N. H.; *Polly*, bapt. 1772; *Nancy*, bapt. June 24, 1787, d. unm., in Oct. or Nov. 1833; *Lucy*, bapt. March 14, 1790, m. Jude Hamilton, and rem. to Vt.

85. Rev. Timothy, s. of Nathan, (49) grad. D. C. 1785, ord. as pastor of (Cong.) church in Holliston, Feb. 18, 1789, where he d. July 6, 1813, ae. 52. M. Nov. 26, 1789, Margaret, dau. of Rev. Joshua Prentiss of Holliston. She d. Feb. 16, 1839, ae. 79. Children—*Nancy*, b. Oct. 14, 1790, d. Feb. 2, 1806, ae. 15; *Joshua Prentiss*, b. Aug. 2, 1792, grad. Brown Univ. 1811, was a physician in Bangor, Me., where he d. Nov. 17, 1856, ae. 64; *Thomas*, b. June 24, 1794, m. (1) Nov. 27, 1817, Rhoda Adams; (2) March, 1835, Miranda Pond; (3) Sept. 20, 1836, Susan Grout, and d. in Hol., Nov. 2, 1844, ae. 50; *Edwards*, b. April 22, 1796, grad. H. C. 1818, practiced medicine in Waterford, N. Y., m. April 2, 1824, Susan Henry, and d. in Hol., Feb. 28, 1831, ae. 34; *Irene*, b. Dec. 28, 1797, m. Sept. 10, 1840, Harding P. Woods of Barre; *John*, b. Feb. 11, 1801, d. March, 1801, ae. 4 weeks; *Esther*, b. Oct. 2, 1803, res. in Barre.

86. Perez, s. of Nathan, (49) Amh., d. Aug. 20, 1815, ae. 50. M. (1) June 28, 1787, Ruth, dau. of Reuben Dickinson. She d. March 25, 1798, ae. 35; (2) Lucinda Foster, who d. in Knoxville, Tenn. Children—*Betsey; Electa*, m. Oct. 31, 1815, Horace Gates of Belchertown; *Fanny*, m. Seneca Holland of Belchertown and Amh.; *Ruth*, d. unm., Jan. 9, 1843, ae. 49; *Nancy*, bapt. May 11, 1806; *Appleton*, bapt. March 27, 1808, grad. A. C. 1825; *Lucinda*, bapt. June 2, 1811; *Perez*, bapt. April 25, 1813.

87. Hon. Samuel Fowler, (49) Amh., grad. D. C. 1795, was an eminent lawyer in Amh., Representative and Senator in General Court of Mass., rem. 1833 to Cincinnati, O., and thence to Hudson in the same State, where he d. April 22, 1838, ae. 62. M. March 31, 1802, Lucretia Gunn of Montague, who d. in Enfield, May 11, 1840, ae. 64. Children—*Edward*, b. Jan. 1, 1803, grad. Y. C. 1823, a lawyer in Amh., Representative, Senator, Counsellor, and Representative in Congress, m. May 6, 1828, Emily, dau. of Joel Norcross of Monson; *William*, b. Oct. 7, 1804, m. (1) Eliza Hawley; (2) Mary L. Whittier, both of Andover, and res. in Worcester; *Lucretia*, b. Dec. 16, 1806, m. Rev. Asa Bullard of Cambridge; *Mary*, b Feb. 10, 1809, m. Mark H. Newman, and d. March 31, 1852; *Samuel Fowler*, b. Aug. 16, 1811, res. in Macon, Ga.; *Catharine*, b. Feb. 17, 1814, m. Joseph A. Sweetser of New York; *Timothy*, b. March 11, 1816, m. Jan. 10, 1838, Hannah, dau. of Ezekiel Dickinson, and d.; *Frederick*, b. Aug. 3, 1819, grad. A. C. 1837, m. Feb. 17, 1846, Mary Richardson of Billerica, and res. in B.; *Elizabeth*, b. May 29, 1823.

88. John, s. of John, (61) d. Sept. 29, 1787. M. Jan. 6, 1808, Charlotte, dau. of Daniel Dickinson. She m. —— Cutter of Bernardston, and d. Jan. 12, 1861, ae. 76. Children—*Lucy; Charlotte.*

89. Elijah, s. of John, (61) d. March 22, 1848. M. April 4, 1815, Clarine, dau. of Samuel White of So. Hadley. She was b. April 3, 1789. Children—*Elijah Walden*, b. Feb. 29, 1816, m. Nov. 12, 1839, Mary A. Crossett; *Jerusha*, b. Feb. 15, 1819, m. Nov. 25, 1847, Warren S. Judd; *Alphonzo*, b. Nov. 3, 1821, m. Jan. 20, 1853; *Samuel Collins*, b. Dec. 11, 1824, m. May 16, 1846, Rachel S. Parsons; *Emeline*, b. Nov. 5, 1826, d. Sept. 1, 1847; *Luther White*, b. Nov. 30, 1830.

90. George, s. of Dea. William, (64) m. Aug. 19, 1844, Maria, dau. of Cotton Dickinson of St. Johnsbury, Vt. Children—*William C.*, b. Oct. 18, 1846; *Lewis S.*, b. Jan. 27, 1849; *George*, b. May 2, 1851; *Albert*, b. Sept. 23, 1853; *Arthur E.*, b. Jan. 20, 1859.

91. Sylvanus, s. of Daniel, (67) m. Feb. 14, 1817, Harriet, dau. of William Westwood Cook. Children — *James P.*, b. Jan. 10, 1818; *Horace Stoughton*, b. Dec. 11, 1819, d. Sept. 18, 1838; *William Westwood*, b. Jan. 21, 1822; *Harriet Sophia*, b. Jan. 1, 1824; *Daniel Henry*, b. Dec. 16, 1825; *Frances Cordelia*, b. Jan. 23, 1828, d. June 27, 1855; *Elisha B.*, b. Dec. 1, 1832; *Horace Stoughton*, b. March 29, 1839.

DOMO, or DOMER, Peter, d. in S. H., Jan. 1, 1763, ae. 78. M. Feb. 20, 1719, Mary Crowfoot, who d. Dec. 17, 1759, ae. 62. Children—*Mary*, b. Nov. 13, 1719; *Martha*, b. May 28, 1721; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 23, 1723, m. Henry Gilbert of Ware; *Martin*, b. July 20, 1730; *Comfort*, (dau.) d. unm., in Gr., March 17, 1798.

1. EASTMAN, Roger, b. abt. 1611, sailed from Southampton, Eng., for New England, April, 1638, in the ship Confidence of London, John Jobson, master, settled in Salisbury, where he d. Dec. 16, 1694, ae. 83. M. Sarah, who d. March 11, 1698. Children—*John*, b. April 9, 1640, m. Nov. 5, 1670; *Nathaniel*, b. May 18, 1643; *Philip*, b. Dec. 20, 1644; *Thomas*, b. Nov. 11, 1646; *Timothy*, b. Nov. 29, 1648; *Joseph*, b. Jan. 8, 1651; *Benjamin*, b. Feb. 12, 1653, m. April, 1678, Anna Joy; *Sarah*, b. Sept. 25, 1655, m. (1) June 13, 1678, Joseph French, Jr., of Salisbury; (2) Aug. 4, 1684, Solomon Shepard of S. and d. Dec. 1, 1748, ae. 93; *Samuel*, b. Nov. 20, 1657, m. (1) 1686, Elizabeth Severance, (2) Shuah, and d. Feb. 27, 1725, ae. 67; *Ruth*, b. April 22, 1662.

2. Timothy, s. of Roger, (1) rem. to Suffield, and thence abt. 1690, to Had., where he d. April 1, 1733, ae. 85. M. May 16, 1682, Lydia, dau. of William Markham. Children—*William*, b. April 9, 1684, d. April 22, 1705, ae. 21; *Lydia*, b. May 2, 1691, d. unm., Oct. 5, 1746, ae. 55; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 11, 1694, m. Jan. 24, 1716, William Montague, and d. Sept. 29, 1747, ae. 52; *Timothy*, b. Jan. 10, 1697.

3. Joseph, s. of Roger, (1) rem. as early as 1682, from Salisbury to Had., where he d. April 4, (14?) 1692. M. Mary, dau. of Hon. Peter Tilton of Had. She m. (2) Feb. 17, 1693, James Guernsey. Children—*Joseph*, b. Aug. 2, 1683; *Mary*, b. Dec. 11, 1684, d. April 10, 1685; *Peter*, b. Jan. 20, 1686, prob. m. Nov. 28, 1708, Mehitable Root, and rem. to Whipanung, N. J.

4. Timothy, s. of Timothy, (2) d. March 25, 1733, ae. 36. M. Dec. 7, 1726, Sarah Cook. She d. March 10, 1793. Children—*Sarah*, b. June 16, 1728, m. Dec. 4, 1746, Ebenezer Marsh; *Joanna*, b. Jan. 2, 1731, m. April 5, 1750, Phinehas Lyman; *Elizabeth*, b. Jan. 31, 1733, m. June 2, 1757, Oliver Smith, and d. Aug. 13, 1811, ae. 78.

5. Joseph, s. of Joseph, (3) deacon, was in 1704 taken captive at Deerfield, by French and Indians, and after his return settled in Had., on the place of his grandfather, Hon. Peter Tilton, where he d. Sept. 29, 1769, ae. 86. M. Nov. 22, 1711, Mercy Smith, who d. Jan. 10, 1784, in 90th yr. Children—*Mary*, b. Oct. 11, 1712, m. Nov. 27, 1735, Fellows Billings of Conway; *Joseph*, b. Feb. 1, 1715; *William*, b. Aug. 25, 1718; *John*, b. March 20, 1721; *Mercy*, b. Sept. 5, 1723, m. Experience Smith of Gr.; *Rachel*, b. Jan. 2, 1725, m. Nov. 23, 1749, John Clary of Sunderland; *Benjamin*, b. Jan. 2, 1725; *Abigail*, b. May 28, 1728, m. Dec. 26, 1751, Josiah Smith of Granby; *Ruth*, b. Nov. 13, 1731, d. March 13, 1740; *Kezia*, b. Nov. 5, 1733, m. Dec. 28, 1763, Jonathan Belding of Northfield; *Timothy*, b. Sept. 9, 1739.

6. Joseph, s. of Joseph, (5) Amh., d. Oct. 29, 1790, ae. 75. M. May 17, 1746, Sarah Ingram. She d. Aug. 30, 1811, ae. 86. Children—*Sarah*, b. Jan. 28, 1744, m. David Cowles of Amh., and d. Aug. 14, 1815, ae. 71; *Ruth*, b. Aug. 10, 1745, m. Oct. 30, 1765, Ebenezer Dickinson of Amh., and d. Jan. 3, 1833, ae. 87; *Joseph*, b. March 21, 1747, m. Feb. 6, 1771, Eunice, dau. of Azariah Dickinson of Amh., and d. s. p. in Amh., March 26, 1826, ae. 79; *Ebenezer*, b. May 31, 1749; *John*, b. May 7, 1751; *Mercy*, b. Oct. 14, 1754, m. Dec. 15, 1778, Daniel Kellogg of Amh., and d. Jan. 12, 1823, ae. 68; *Lydia*, b. Jan. 13, 1757, m. June 8, 1778, John Dickinson of Amh., and d.

May 10, 1834, ae. 77; *Mary*, b. Aug. 2, 1761, m. Dec. 22, 1785, Azariah Dickinson of Amh., and d. Nov. 20, 1836, ae. 75; *Hannah*, b. Feb. 21, 1766, m. April 3, 1786, David Billings, and d. June 18, 1786, ae. 20; *Tilton*, b. April 28, 1769, d. Aug. 17, 1773, ae. 4.

7. William, s. of Joseph, (5) Gr., deacon, d. July 20, 1793, ae. 74. M. (1) Dec. 11, 1744, Mary, dau. of Dea. Joseph White of S. H. She was b. June 25, 1727, and d. Nov. 19, 1752, ae. 25; (2) Elizabeth Moseley of Glastenbury, Ct. Children—*Mary*, b. Sept. 12, 1745, m. Joel Lyman; *Mercy*, b. Dec. 31, 1746, d. Jan. 22, 1747; *Mercy*, b. Feb. 17, 1748, d. Dec. 31, 1752; *William*, b. Nov. 10, 1749, d. 1759; *Joseph*, b. July 14, 1751, d. Feb. 26, 1752; *Joseph*, b. Nov. 13, 1754; *Elizabeth*, b. Dec. 1, 1756; *Rachel*, b. Dec. 15, 1759, m. —— Dickinson; *Lois*, b. July 8, 1761, m. —— Kellogg; *William*, b. Nov. 20, 1763; *Abigail*, d. Jan. 26, 1767; *Abigail; Ruth.*

8. John, s. of Joseph, (5) d. March 28, 1790, ae. 69. M. Dec. 3, 1763, Submit, wid. of David Keyes of Western (Warren) and dau. of Jonathan Belding of Northfield. She d. in East Hartford, Ct., May 23, 1816, ae. 84. Children—*Lois*, b. Sept. 27, 1764, m. Dec. 9, 1788, William Porter, and d. Dec. 12, 1792, ae. 28; *Anne*, b. April 22, 1766, d. Aug. 22, 1767, ae. 1; *John*, b. May 18, 1768, d. Aug. 29, 1769, grad. Y. C. 1788, a physician in Flushing, L. I., where he d. unm.; *Joseph*, b. Feb. 22, 1772, d. Aug. 21, 1775, ae. 3; *David*, b. Aug. 31, 1774, left home at the age of 21 for the West, and has never since been heard from; *Submit*, b. Aug. 24, 1776, d. Aug. 24, 1778.

9. Benjamin, s. of Joseph, (5) Gr., d. Nov. 28, 1792, ae. 67. M. 1758, Eunice Day of Spr. Children—*Benjamin*, b. May 23, 1760; *John*, b. April 24, 1762, d. 1762; *Eunice*, b. Nov. 8, 1763, m. Samuel White of Gr.; *John*, b. Dec. 23, 1765, grad. Y. C. 1795, a clergyman, d. 1834; *Mercy*, b. April 14, 1768, m. James Smith of Gr.; *Kezia*, m. Oct. 21, 1792, Asa Nash of Gr., and d. July 29, 1806.

10. Timothy, s. of Joseph, (5) d. Aug. 19, 1818, ae. 78. M. (1) Nov. 15, 1770, Anna, dau. of Jonathan Smith. She d. Dec. 7, 1777; (2) 1780, Ruth, dau. of Timothy Sheldon of Suffield, Ct. She d. Feb. 7, 1830, ae. 76. Children—*Anna*, bapt. April 25, 1773; *Timothy*, b. Sept. 1, 1775, d. Sept. 15, 1775; *Anna*, b. May 22, 1781, m. Dec. 30, 1807, Elisha Cook, and d. Feb. 23, 1841, ae. 59; *Lucinda*, b. July 12, 1783; *Samuel*, b. Sept. 27, 1785; *Joseph*, b. April 8, 1788; *Ruth*, b. March 21, 1791, m. Jan. 1, 1834, Eleazar Wright of Nh., and d. Jan. 1, 1834, ae. 32; *Grace*, b. Nov. 5, 1793, m. Nov. 7, 1815, Dea. Aaron Breck of Nh.; *Timothy*, b. Sept. 15, 1796.

11. Ebenezer, s. of Joseph, (6) Amh., d. Nov. 7, 1820, ae. 71. M. Nov. 12, 1772, Mary, dau. of Nathaniel Dickinson, of Amh. She d. March 16, 1825, ae. 78. Children—*Tilton*, b. Aug. 15, 1773, grad. D. C. 1796, Cong. clergyman in Randolph, Vt., where he d. July 8, 1842. M. Speedy Smith; *Polly*, b. Nov. 8, 1775, m. Dec. 11, 1794, Stephen Dickinson of Amh., and d. May 25, 1822; *Elijah*, b. March 13, 1777, m. Oct. 24, 1802, Rebecca Hall, and d. March 26, 1820; *Zebina*, b. Sept. 28, 1778, d. unm. in Carlisle, Nov. 6, 1855, ae. 77; *Salome*, b. Oct. 25, 1780, m. (1) April, 1803, Silas Adams of Shutesbury; (2) David Putnam; *Samuel*, b. March 18, 1783, grad. D. C. 1802, res. in Amh., m. Sally Pynchon; *Clarissa*, b. Nov. 9, 1784, m. Nov. 27, 1801, Asa Adams of Shutesbury; *Achsah*, b. Oct. 19, 1786, m.

April 15, 1805, Josiah Warner, Jr.; *Theodore*, b. Dec. 17, 1788, m. Jan. 3, 1811, Susanna Scott, and d. May 27, 1816; *Ebenezer*, b. Nov. 22, 1790, enlisted in U. S. Army, in war of 1812, and died.

12. JOHN, s. of Joseph, (6) Amh., d. Aug. 6, 1829, ae. 78. M. Dec. 22, 1779, Hepzibah, dau. of John Keyes. She d. 1837. Children—*Submit*, b. Oct. 20, 1780, m. (1) Nov. 19, 1801, Enoch Bangs of Amh.; (2) Levi Cowls of Amh.; (3) 1832, Oliver Cowls of Amh.; *Emelia*, b. March 7, 1782, m. Jan. 25, 1814, John Hawks of Deerfield; *Joseph*, b. Nov. 4, 1783; *Beulah*, b. and d. June 1, 1785; *Hannah*, b. June 22, 1786, d. unm., Sept. 14, 1818; *Solomon Keyes*, b. July 12, 1788, m. Nov. 10, 1819, Almira Richardson, res. in Amh.; *Jonathan*, b. March 21, 1790, grad. Y. C. 1811, a lawyer, d. unm. in New York City, Sept. 7, 1830, ae. 40; *Ornan*, b. March 30, 1793, d. Dec. 28, 1793; *Lois*, b. Aug. 17, 1794, m. Aug. 26, 1824, Lewis Whittemore; *Ornan*, b. March 26, 1796; grad. Y. C. 1821, a Secretary of the American Tract Society in New York City, m. Nov. 1832, Mary Reed; *Anna*, b. Sept. 14, 1797, m. Oct. 31, 1821, Archimedes Ferry, and res. in Amh.; *John*, b. May 3, 1799, d. Nov. 1799; *Hepzibah*, b. Jan. 8, 1802, m. (1) Aug. 31, 1826, Henry Clary; (2) Nov. 25, 1835, Matthew O. Halsted of Orange, N. J.; *John*, b. July 19, 1803, m. (1) Prudence Dale; (2) Prudence Hathaway; *David*, b. June 16, 1806, grad. A. C. 1835, minister in Leverett, m. (1) Sarah Smith, (2) Emily Pomeroy.

13. SAMUEL, s. of Timothy, (10) d. May, 1837. M. Nov. 21, 1815, Abigail Smith of Chester. She d. Oct. 1837. Children—*Samuel Sheldon*, b. Nov. 2, 1816, res. in Greenfield, and is editor of the Gazette & Courier; *Charles Baxter*, b. March 12, 1819, res. in Chicopee; *William Smith*, b. Feb. 7, 1821, d. April 28, 1821; *Child*, b. May 20, 1822, d. May 23, 1822; *Harriet Sophia*, b. May 4, 1824, d. Jan. 25, 1853; *William Merrick*, b. July 10, 1827, res. in Macon, Ga.; *Lucy Ann Smith*, b. July 27, 1831, res. in Springfield; *Sarah Maria*, b. Nov. 1, 1834, res. in Springfield.

14. JOSEPH, s. of Timothy, (10) d. Jan. 13, 1860, ae. 71. M. Nov. 1819, Susan, dau. of Oliver Sheldon of Suffield, Ct. She was b. 1786, and d. Jan. 13, 1853, ae. 67. Children—*Timothy Phelps*, b. Nov. 27, 1820, m. April 24, 1860, Susan Phelps, dau. of Milton Woodville of Chicopee; *Henry B.*, b. Aug. 2, 1823, d. June 29, 1850, ae. 27.

15. JOSEPH, s. of John, (12) rem. in 1814 to State of New York, and now (1861) res. in Bleeker, N. Y. M. (1) July 24, 1806, Lois Root of Montague. She was b. Sept. 19, 1786, and d. Feb. 14, 1810; (2) Dec. 30, 1810, Eunice Parker of Whately. She was b. April 11, 1785. Children—*Rilus*, b. Nov. 23, 1807; *Lucius Root*, b. Sept. 15, 1809; *Martin*, b. Jan. 20, 1812.

16. RILUS, s. of Joseph, (15) res. in Bleeker, N. Y. M. May 5, 1831, Catharine Maria Jipson, b. Oct. 12, 1812. Children—*Lois Root*, b. Feb. 27, 1832; *Ornan*, b. Sept. 20, 1833, d. July 19, 1857, ae. 23; *Catherine Lucinda*, b. May 17, 1835; *Elizabeth Jane*, b. May 25, 1837; *Rilus*, b. Oct. 24, 1839; *Joseph*, b. Jan. 29, 1842; *David*, b. May 24, 1844; *Sarah Ann*, b. Sept. 27, 1846; *Aloney*, b. May 23, 1849; *Lucius Root*, b. Dec. 8, 1851; *Lena Harriet*, b. Feb. 28, 1857.

17. Lucius Root, s. of Joseph, (15) grad. A. C. 1833, Andover Theo. Sem. 1836, has been pastor of Cong. church in Sharon, but now (1862) resides in Amherst. M. Dec. 20, 1837, Sarah Ann, dau. of Aaron Belden of Amh. She was b. July 20, 1817. Children—*Lucius Root*, b. Jan. 25, 1839, grad. A. C. 1857, and Andover Theo. Sem. 1861; *Mary Louisa*, b. March 27, 1841; *Sarah Hibbard*, b. Nov. 5, 1850.

EDWARDS, Jonathan, Amh., s. of Nathaniel, was b. in Northampton, Dec. 1722. M. Sept. 6, 1748, Rebecca, dau. of Samuel Smith of Sunderland. Children—*Jonathan*, bapt. Aug. 20, 1749, d. young; *Jonathan*, bapt. Sept. 8, 1751, d. Dec. 6, 1831, ae. 80; *Rebecca*, bapt. March 17, 1754, m. Zechariah Hawley of Amh., and d. Jan. 17, 1832, ae. 78; *Nathaniel*, b. April 25, 1756, m. (1) Jan. 16, 1794, Mary, dau. of Simeon Pomeroy; (2) Eunice, dau. of Simeon Dickinson, and d. July 22, 1830; *Lydia*, bapt. March 26, 1758, m. April, 1780, Reuben Nash of Amh., and d. May 20, 1823; *Philip*, bapt. Feb. 10, 1760, m. Jan. 23, 1783, Jerusha Pomeroy; *Sarah; Mary*, bapt. Feb. 23, 1766, m. May 1, 1791, Gideon Ingram; *Hannah; Martha*, bapt. April 17, 1768, m. March 5, 1793, Samuel Marsh of Montague.

EVENS, John, Hatfield, rem. abt. 1685 to Deerfield. M. (1) Mary; (2) July, 1677, Mercy or Mary, wid. of Ephraim Hinsdale, and dau. of —— Hawks. Children—*Peter*, b. in Roxbury, June 21, 1674; *Elenor*, b. Jan. 8, 1678; *Jonathan*, b. March 10, 1679.

FELLOWS, Richard, Hartford, 1643, rem. 1659, to Springfield, thence to Nh., and in 1661 to Hat., where he d. 1663. M. Ursula, who d. Sept. 21, 1690. Children—*Richard*, slain Aug. 25, 1675, at Swamp fight above Hatfield; *Samuel*, d. unm.; *Sarah*, m. (1) abt. 1661, Samuel Billings of Hat.; (2) Oct. 9, 1678, Samuel Belding, Jr., of Hat., and d. Feb. 5, 1713; *John*, bapt. Nov. 1, 1646; *Mary*, bapt. Feb. 9, 1650, m. March 24, 1671, Joseph Leonard of Spr.

1. FERRY, Noah, s. of Charles, Jr. of Springfield, d. in Gr., Nov. 4, 1798, ae. 86. M. 1736, Experience Allis of Hat. She d. Nov. 4, 1794. Children—*Noah*, m. Hannah, and res. in Gr.; *Charles*, b. Jan. 7, 1739; *Daniel*, b. Feb. 15, 1743; *Rebecca*, b. April 9, 1745.

2. Charles, s. of Noah, (1) Gr., d. Oct. 19, 1804, ae. 65. M. Mary, who d. Nov. 22, 1789. Children—*Charles*, b. 1763; *Mary*, b. 1766; *Experience*, b. 1769; *Luther*, b. 1773; *Rhoda*, b. 1776, d. 1777; *Asa*, b. 1779; *Chester*, b. 1782.

1. FIELD, Zachariah, Hartford, 1639, rem. abt. 1659, to Nh., and as early as 1663, to Hat., where he was buried June 30, 1666. M. Mary. Children—*Mary*, m. Oct. 2, 1663, Joshua Porter of Nh.; *Zechariah*, m. Dec. 17, 1668, Sarah, dau. of John Webb, res. in Nh. and Deerfield, and d. 1674; *John; Samuel; Joseph.*

2. John, s. of Zechariah, (1) Hat., freeman, 1690, d. June 26, 1717. M. Dec. 17, 1670, Mary, dau. of Alexander Edwards of Nh. Children—*John*, b. May 11, 1672; *Mary*, b. Feb. 2, 1674; *Zechariah*, b. Aug. 1676; *Benjamin*, b. Feb. 14, 1679; *Mary*, b. Feb. 20, 1681, m. March 6, 1701, Dr. Thomas Hastings of Hat.; *Bethia*, b. abt. 1684, m. John Allis; *Sarah*, b. Feb. 2,

1687, m. 1709, Nathaniel Peck of Swanzey, N. H.; *Abilene*, d. May 6, 1689; *Ebenezer*, b. July 2, 1690, prob. slain by Indians, in Deerfield, Oct. 26, 1708. *Abilene*, b. July 2, 1690, m. —— Nash.

3. Samuel, s. of Zechariah, (1) Hat., slain by Indians June 24, 1697. M. Aug. 9, 1676, Sarah, dau. of Thomas Gilbert of Springfield. Children—*Samuel*, b. Sept. 27, 1678; *Thomas*, b. June 30, 1680; *Sarah*, b. June 30, 1683, m. Nov. 18, 1702, Samuel Warner of Springfield; *Zechariah*, b. Aug. 29, 1685; *Ebenezer*, b. March 17, 1688; *Mary*, b. July 23, 1690, m. June 26, 1712, Jonathan Hoyt; *Josiah*, b. Nov. 5, 1692, rem. to Somers, Ct.; *Joshua*, b. April 9, 1695, rem. to Springfield and Bolton.

4. Joseph, s. of Zechariah, (1) res. until about 1714 in Hat., when he rem. to Sunderland, where he d. Feb. 15, 1736, in 78th yr. M. (1) June 28, 1683, Joanna, dau. of John Wyatt of Hartford. She d. March 23, 1722; (2) Jan. 2, 1723, Wid. Mary Belding. Children—*Mary*, b. July 18, 1684; *Joanna*, b. Dec. 9, 1686, d. Aug. 30, 1689; *Joseph*, b. June 9, 1689; *Daughter*, b. March 15, 1691, d. April 19, 1691; *Joannah*, b. Jan. 9, 1693, m. June 11, 1713, Thomas French; *Lydia*, b. June 26, 1695, m. 1724, John Bliss of Springfield; *Jonathan*, b. Oct. 13, 1697, and d. 1781. He m. (1) March 30, 1721, Mary Billings; (2) July 25, 1739, Esther Smith; *Martha*, b. Oct. 19, 1699; *Abigail*, b. Sept. 4, 1702, d. in Sunderland, Jan. 10, 1721; *Israel*, b. June 29, 1705, d. July 16, 1705; *Thankful*, b. Sept. 19, 1707, d. Oct. 11, 1707.

5. John, s. of John, (2) Hat., d. May 28, 1747, ae. 75. M. Sarah, dau. of John Coleman of Hat. Children — *John*, b. Sept. 14, 1700; *Sarah*, m. Joshua Belding; *Hannah*, b. July 8, 1704, m. Dec. 24, 1729, Samuel Dickinson of Deerfield; *Amos*, b. June 24, 1708; *Eliakim*, b. Nov. 27, 1711; *Mary*, b. June 18, 1715.

6. Zechariah, s. of John, (2) an early settler of Amh., where he d. abt. Jan. 1738. M. May 25, 1705, Sarah, dau. of Dea. John Clark of Nh. Children—*Ebenezer*, b. Aug. 8, 1709, prob. imbecile; *Rebecca*, b. abt. 1711, m. Jan. 13, 1737, Joseph Hawley of Amh.; *Sarah*, b. March 18, 1714, m. abt. 1736, Samuel Hawley of Amh.; *Mary*, b. Jan. 21, 1716, m. May 18, 1738, Moses Warner of Amh.; *John*, b. Jan. 12, 1718.

7. Samuel, s. of Samuel, (3) rem. as early as 1720 from Hat. to Deerfield, and d. 1762. M. 1706, Mary Hoyt, who d. 1747. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. April 16, 1707; *Samuel*, b. Feb. 20, 1709, d. 1726; *Eunice*, b. May 29, 1714, m. Joseph Smead; *David*, b. Jan. 4, 1712, d. in Deerfield, 1792; *Ebenezer*, b. 1723.

8. Thomas, s. of Samuel, (3) rem. after 1728 to Longmeadow. M. 1713, Abigail, dau. of Hezekiah Dickinson. Children—*Abigail*, b. Oct. 5, 1714, m. Abial Abbot of Windsor, Ct.; *Samuel*, b. May 10, 1718, d. Aug. 10, 1721; *Moses*, b. Feb. 16, 1722; *Simeon*, a physician in Enfield; *Samuel*, b. Oct. 10, 1725, physician in Saybrook, Ct.; *Sarah*, b. Nov. 28, 1728.

9. Zechariah, s. of Samuel, (3) rem. first to Deerfield, and thence to Northfield, and d. 1746. M. Sarah Mattoon. Children — *Seth*, b. 1712; *Catharine*, b. 1715, m. —— Willard of Winchester, N. H.; *Gaius*, b. 1716; *Ebenezer*, b. 1717; *Samuel*, b. 1719; *Paul*, b. 1721.

10. Ebenezer, s. of Samuel, (3) Northfield, d. Sept. 12, 1723. M. Elizabeth, who m. (2) Azariah Wright. Children — *Ebenezer*, b. 1715;

Joanna, b. 1717, m. Phinehas Wright; *Moses*, b. 1719; *Aaron*, b. 1722; *Elizabeth*, b. 1723.

11. Joseph, s. of Joseph, (4) deacon, Sunderland, d. 1754. M. Sept. 13, 1716, Mary Smith. Children—*Elisha*, b. 1717; *Mary*, b. 1719, m. Daniel Clark; *Abigail*, b. 1721, m. 1745, Samuel Field; *Joseph*, b. 1723, d. 1798; *Thankful*, b. 1726; *Martha*, b. 1729; *Experience*, b. 1732, m. Elijah Clark; *Sarah*, b. 1735, m. Simeon Lyman; *Jonathan*, b. 1737; *Israel*, b. 1741.

12. John, s. of John, (5) Hat., d. May 26, 1762, ae. 61. M. (1) Editha Dickinson, who d. 1740; (2) Ann Bagg. Children—*Medad*, b. Aug. 8, 1734; *Editha*, b. June 15, 1737, m. —— Fitch of Ct.; *Hannah*, b. Oct. 5, 1740, m. Silas Graves.

13. Amos, s. of John, (5) Hat., perhaps d. Oct. 10, 1759. M. Aug. 30, 1739, Mehitable, dau. of Thomas Day of Hartford. Child — *Zechariah*, b. Jan. 6, 1744.

14. Eliakim, s. of John, (5) Hat., d. Feb. 8, 1786, ae. 75. M. 1752, Esther Graves of Whately. Children—*Zenas*, b. Aug. 10, 1753; *Sarah*, b. April 22, 1755, m. D. Scott; *Zilpah*, b. Nov. 13, 1756, m. Abner Loomis; *Rhoda*, b. Oct. 26, 1758, m. Elisha Wait; *John*, b. Aug. 25, 1760, rem. to Conway; *Abigail*, b. July 21, 1762, m. Roger Dickinson; *David*, b. April 11, 1764, rem. to Conway; *Esther*, b. April 4, 1767, an invalid, d. unm.; *Hannah*, b. June 21, 1769, m. (1) —— Grimes; (2) —— Cooley.

15. John, s. of Zechariah, (6) Lt., Amh. M. July 10, 1739, Hannah, dau. of Samuel Boltwood of Amh. Children—*John*, bapt. May 18, 1740, m. (1) Jan. 15, 1767, Elizabeth Henderson; (2) Wid. —— Wells; *Abigail*, bapt. July 11, 1742; *Martha Boltwood*, bapt. Oct. 2, 1743, m. (1) Col. Nathan Allen; (2) Thomas Bascom; *Mary*, bapt. July 27, 1746, m. Joel Billings of Amh., and d. Aug. 18, 1813; *Abigail*, bapt. June 5, 1748, m. Gideon Dickinson, Jr. of Amh.; *Sarah*, bapt. May 27, 1750, m. Timothy Clapp of Amh., and d. abt. Feb. 1799; *Ebenezer*, bapt. March 22, 1752, m. Oct. 1, 1782, Sarah Gould; *Samuel*, bapt. Jan. 20, 1754, m. June 15, 1779, Miriam Nash; *Jemima*, bapt. May 25, 1755, m. Jan. 15, 1778, Oliver Bridgman; *Jonathan*, bapt Dec. 9, 1759, m. (1) Jan. 2, 1780, Sally Smith; (2) —— Johnson; *Zechariah*.

FOOTE, Nathaniel, b. Jan. 10, 1648, s. of Nathaniel of Wethersfield, Ct., rem. abt. 1674 from Hat. to Springfield and thence abt. 1681 to Wethersfield. He d. Jan. 12, 1703, ae. 55. M. May 2, 1672, Margaret, dau. of Nathaniel Bliss of Springfield. She d. in Colchester, Ct., April 3, 1745, ae. 95. Children—*Sarah*, b. Feb. 25, 1673, m. Nov. 1691, Thomas Olcott of Hartford, Ct., and d. July 24, 1756, ae. 84; *Margaret*, b. Dec. 1, 1674; *Elizabeth*, b. June 23, 1677, m. June, 1701, Robert Turner of Coventry, Ct.; *Mary*, b. Nov. 24, 1679, m. May 14, 1706, Daniel Rose, Jr. of Coventry, Ct.; *Nathaniel*, b. Sept. 9, 1682, m. (1) July 4, 1711, Ann Clark; (2) Sept. 13, 1727, Wid. Hannah Coleman, resided in Colchester, and d. Aug. 20, 1774, ae. 91; *Ephraim*, b. Feb. 13, 1685, m. June, 1708, Sarah Chamberlain, and d. in Colchester, June 10, 1765, ae. 79; *Josiah*, b. Sept. 27, 1688, m. Sarah Welles, res. in Colchester, and d. Dec. 1778, ae. 90; *Joseph*, b. Dec. 28, 1690, m. (1) Dec. 12, 1719, Ann Clothier; (2) Sept. 2, 1740, Wid. Hannah Northam, and d. in Colchester, April 21, 1756, ae. 55; *Eunice*, b. May 10, 1694, m. Dec. 3, 1712, Michael Taintor, Jr., of Colchester.

1. FOOTE, SAMUEL, b. May 1, 1649, s. of Nathaniel of Wethersfield, settled in Hat., and d. Sept. 7, 1689, ae. 40. M. 1671, Mary, dau. of Thomas Merrick of Springfield. She d. Oct. 3, 1690. Children—*Nathaniel; Mary*, b. July 9, 1674, slain in Canada; *Samuel*, slain by Indians at Deerfield, Feb. 29, 1704; *Mary*, b. Feb. 28, 1680, m. Feb. 13, 1707, Samuel Sykes of Springfield, and d. Feb. 18, 1752, in 72d yr.; *Sarah*, b. Feb. 26, 1682, m. June 21, 1706, William Scott of Springfield and Kingston, (Palmer;) *Eliezer*, b. Sept. 5, 1684; *Thomas*, b. 1687; *Daniel*, b. 1688.

2. NATHANIEL, s. of Samuel, (1) Hat., m. Nov. 5, 1707, Mary Ward. Children—*Dinah*, b. Oct. 5, 1708; *Ezra*, b. June 28, 1713; *Benoni*, b. June 28, 1713, d. July 2, 1713.

3. ELIEZER, s. of Samuel, (1) res. in Springfield, until abt. 1730, when he rem. to Brimfield, where he d. Nov. 17, 1758, ae. 73. M. (1) May 24, 1717, Lydia Bidwell, who d. Feb. 9, 1719; (2) Sarah, who d. Dec. 17, 1773. Children—*Eliezer*, b. Feb. 8, 1719, d. in infancy; *Lydia*, b. Feb. 8, 1719.

4. THOMAS, s. of Samuel, (1) res. in Springfield, Brimfield and Monson, and d. in M. abt. 1766. Children—*Samuel*, b. Nov. 12, 1728, res. in Norfolk, Ct., Spencertown, N. Y., and New Haven, Vt., dying in the latter place, Dec. 16, 1790, ae. 62; *Joseph*, res. in Monson, and Spencertown, N. Y., and d. 1795, ae. 65. M. (1) Roselle, dau. of David Chapin of Enfield, Ct.; (2) Thankful Parcy; (3) Wid. Sawyer.

5. DANIEL, s. of Samuel, (1) res. in Hartford and Simsbury, Ct., and d. in S., July 15, 1740, ae. 51, from injuries received by being run over by a cart. M. Nov. 19, 1718, Mary, dau. of Joseph Collier of Hartford, Ct. She d. June, 1769, ae. 71. Children—*Samuel*, b. Oct. 4, 1719, res. in Simsbury, Ct., and d. Sept. 18, 1775, ae. 55. M. Nov. 24, 1743, Lois Loomis; *Mary*, b. Nov. 20, 1721, m. (1) 1737, Joel Gillett of Wintonbury Society, (Windsor,) Ct., and Nine Partners, N. Y.; (2) —— Fillemore; *Daniel*, b. April 27, 1724, res. in Simsbury, Ct., Washington and Dalton, Mass., Middlebury, Vt., and Canton, N. Y., and d. in C., May 10, 1801, ae. 77. M. Jan. 14, 1748. Martha, dau. of Dea. John Stillman of Wethersfield, Ct.; *Joseph*, b. Feb. 17, 1727, res. in Simsbury, Ct., and d. Sept. 16, 1779, ae. 52. M. Dec. 8, 1757, Azubah, dau. of Nathaniel Griswold of Windsor, Ct.; *John*, b. 1729, res. in Simsbury, Ct., and d. Sept. 15, 1813, ae. 82. M. (1) 1753, Rosanna, dau. of Jonathan Humphrey of Simsbury, Ct.; (2) Mary Fowler of Salem, Ct.; *Rachel*, b. 1731, d. Jan. 21, 1737; *Sarah*, b. 1732, m. June 9, 1762, Daniel Boardman of Wethersfield, Ct.; *Rachel*, b. March, 1736, m. June 5, 1760. Timothy Phelps of Simsbury, Ct.

1. FOX, ABRAHAM. Children—*Abraham; Joseph Kneeland*, b. June 25, 1782; *Son*, b. and d. June, 1785; *Patience*, b. Sept. 22, 1786.

2. ABRAHAM, s. of Abraham, (1.) Child—*Jesse Anson*, b. March 30, 1803.

FOX, JOEL. Children—*Cynthia*, b. Nov. 14, 1801; *Eliza*, b. July 19, 1804. See page 165.

FOX, NATHANIEL, m. Martha. Children—*Mary*, b. July 7, 1740; *Nathaniel*, b. June 7, 1742; *Martha*, b. Sept. 20, 1744; *Ebenezer*, b. Sept. 1, 1746; *Eunice*, b. March 20, 1748; *Moses*, b. March 1, 1752, d. April 15, 1752; *Catharine*, b. March 14, 1753.

FRANKLIN, Henry Johnson, came in 1766 from Pomfret, Ct., to Amh., where he d. Aug. 3, 1800, ae. 59. M. Mary Williams of Pomfret. Children—*Mary*, b. Nov. 13, 1765, m. July 11, 1793, Gad Dickinson of Amh., and d. Sept. 23, 1851, ae. 85; *Nathan*, b. July 27, 1767, m. Jerusha, dau. of Simeon Dickinson, res. in Amh., and d. March 11, 1832, ae. 64; *Persis*, b. Dec. 25, 1768, m. Edward Stanley, and d. March 26, 1803, ae. 34; *Francis*, b. Sept. 26, 1772, m. John Thayer of Belchertown, and d. Feb. 25, 1843, ae. 70; *Elizabeth*, b. Dec. 16, 1775, m. Dea. Eliab Thomas, and d. Sept. 23, 1837, ae. 61; *Sophia*, b. Nov. 30, 1778, d. Nov. 2, 1802, ae. 23.

1. FRARY, Eliezer, prob. son of John of Dedham and Medfield, freeman 1680, Hat., d. Dec. 19, 1709. M. Jan. 28, 1666, Mary, dau. of Isaac Graves. Children—*Eliezer*, b. July 7, 1669, d. Aug. 5, 1669; *Samuel*, b. April 15, 1674; *Prudence*, b. May 7, 1677, m. Jonathan Cowls of Hat.; *Eliezer*, b. May 12, 1680, res. in 1750 in Hat.; *Hannah*, b. March 23, 1683, m. Ebenezer Dickinson; *Isaac*, b. March 2, 1686; *Jonathan*, b. Nov. 13, 1689.

2. Samuel, s. of Eliezer, (1) rem. to Middletown, Ct. M. Sarah. Children—*Joseph*, b. 1696; *Sarah*, b. 1698.

3. Isaac, s. of Eliezer, (1) Hat., d. abt. 1760. M. Dec. 8, 1715, Lydia, dau. of Jonathan Parsons of Nh. Children—*Eleazar*, b. Dec. 19, 1716; *Phineas*, b. April 29, 1718; *Moses; Lydia*, m. Thomas Hastings; *Hannah; Martha; Elisha*, b. Aug. 18, 1729; *Mary*, m. Jonathan Morton.

4. Jonathan, s. of Eliezer, (1) Hat., d. May 18, 1728. M. July 23, 1719, Mary, dau. of John Graves, 2d. She m. (2) Oct. 30, 1729, Eliakim King of Nh. Children—*Jonathan*, b. Oct. 27, 1721; *John*, b. Dec. 7, 1726.

5. Eleazar, s. of Isaac, (3) Hat., d. 1801. M. (1) 1745, Deborah Chapin of Springfield; (2) Margaret. Children—*Nathaniel*, b. abt. 1754, d. 1832, ae. 78; *Eleazar; Seth*, b. 1758, d. Feb. 24, 1847, ae. 88; *Mary*, m. John Wait; *Esther*, m. David Scott of Whately; *Sarah*, m. Jacob Cooper.

6. Moses, s. of Isaac, (3) rem. from Hat. to Whately, and thence as early as 1773, to Ashfield. M. Abigail Fairfield. Children—*Submit*, b. Nov. 21, 1744; *David*, b. Sept. 12, 1747; *Moses*, b. Feb. 8, 1750; *Jerusha*, b. Aug. 13, 1752; *Julius*, b. July 27, 1755; *Abigail*, b. July 3, 1759; *Mercy*, b. July 7, 1762; *Moses*, b. 1764.

7. Jonathan, s. of Jonathan, (4) Hat., m. Eunice Cowles. Children—*Prudence*, b. Oct. 28, 1743; *Asa*, b. Sept. 17, 1745; *Eunice*, b. March 11, 1752.

1. FRARY, Sampson, prob. s. of John of Dedham and Medfield, settled in Hat., whence he rem. in 1673 to Deerfield, where he was slain by French and Indians, Feb. 29, 1704. M. Mary, who was slain 1704. Children—*Mary*, m. 1681, Jacob Root of Nh.; *Mehitable*, m. 1682, Hezekiah Root of Nh.; *Susanna*, b. March 4, 1668, d. March 28, 1668; *John*, b. Sept. 17, 1669; *Nathaniel*, b. Nov. 29, 1675.

2. Nathaniel, s. of Sampson, (1) res. in Deerfield, where he d. April 30, 1727. M. Mehitable. Children—*Obadiah; Nathan; Eunice; Amos*, d. before 1729.

GARDNER, Jacob, Hat. M. Hannah. Child—*Jacob*, b. 1676.

GARDNER, Joseph, Hat. M. Mary. Child—*Mehitable*, b. May 20, 1679.

GARDNER, Samuel, Hartford or Wethersfield, 1641, rem. 1663 to Had. where he d. Nov. 22, 1696, ae. abt. 81. M. Elizabeth, who d. June 21, 1676. She may have been his second wife, for at settlement of Samuel Gardner, Jr.'s estate in 1677, Joanna and Sarah are called his only sisters. Children—*Samuel*, d. without family, Jan. 12, 1677; *John*, m. 1681, Wid. Mehitable Hinsdale, and d. leaving no children, Nov. 26, 1684; *Joannah*, m. Feb. 3, 1681, Nathaniel Warner; *Sarah*, m. March 25, 1678, John Preston; *Hannah*, m. 1675, Nathaniel Bancroft; *Elizabeth*, m. Nov. 21, 1664, John Ingram; *Abigail*, m. 1673, Isaac Morgan; *Mary*, d. June 6, 1662; *Martha*, b. Jan. 8, 1664, d. Feb. 15, 1664; *Nathaniel*, d. Dec. 8, 1676.

1. GAYLORD, William, b. in Windsor, Ct., Feb. 25, 1651, settled in Had., and d. 1680. He was s. of William and Ann (Porter) Gaylord, and grandson of Dea. William Gaylord of W., who prob. came over from old England in 1630, in the Mary and John, and was one of the first deacons of the Dorchester Church. M. Dec. 21, 1671, Ruth, dau. of John Crow. She m. (2) John Haley. Children—*Ruth*, b. April 1, 1673; *Child*, b. Oct. 23, 1674; *Samuel*, b. Oct. 19, 1676; *William*, b. Oct. 1, 1678.

2. Samuel, s. of William, (1) d. 1734. M. 1702, Mary Dickinson, who was living in 1751. Children—*Ruth*, b. April 6, 1703, d. June 20, 1703; *William*, b. Oct. 4, 1704; *Mary*, b. Jan. 27, 1707, prob. m. Sept. 18, 1746, Charles Chauncey; *Sarah*, b. Feb. 1, 1709, m. Jan. 13, 1732, Jonathan Cowles of Amh., and d. Feb. 2, 1790, ae. 81; *Samuel*, b. May 5, 1711; *John*, b. Sept. 27, 1713; *Nehemiah*, b. Nov. 30, 1715; *Nathaniel*, b. Sept. 8, 1718; *Ruth*, b. Feb. 16, 1721, m. Sept. 10, 1751, John Strickland.

3. William, s. of William, (1) Deacon, rem. to West Hartford, Ct., where he d. Dec. 19, 1770, ae. 92. M. 1702, Hope, dau. of Thomas Butler of Hartford. She d. June 16, 1763, in 83d yr. Children—*William*, b. Jan. 13, 1703, d. Oct. 21, 1703; *Ruth*, b. Oct. 18, 1704; *Twins*, b. and d. Aug. 1706; *William*, b. Nov. 24, 170[9?]; *Samuel*, b. Dec. 10, 1711; *Sarah*, b. May, 1714.

4. William, s. of Samuel, (2) rem. from Had. to S. H., and d. Aug. 20, 1798. M. 1733, Elizabeth Scovill. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. Aug. 31, 1734; *Mary*, b. Jan. 7, 1735; *Catharine*, b. Nov. 8, 1737, m. Dec. 22, 1762, Ezekiel Day of West Springfield, and d. Sept. 28, 1824, ae. 86; *William; Oliver*, b. Dec. 7, 1740; *Nathaniel*, b. Sept. 8, 1742; *Eliphalet*, b. Oct. 28, 1744; *Meribah*, b. July 3, 1746, m.—— Ashley; *Ebenezer*, b. Sept. 12, 1749.

5. Samuel, s. of Samuel, (2) bought the homestead of Josiah Chauncy, Esq., Nov. 23, 1749, his former house at the upper end of the street having been washed away by the river. He d. Sept. 3, 1785, ae. 74. M. (1) 1736, Margaret, wid. of Cotton Partridge. She d. March 15, 1756; (2) 1758, Elizabeth Worthington of Springfield. Children—*Cotton*, b. Oct. 2, 1737, d. in a fit; *Margaret*, b. April 11, 1740, m. Dec. 17, 1761, Edmund Hubbard, Jr.; *Samuel*, b. Oct. 20, 1742; *Martha*, b. July 3, 1747, m. Nov. 27, 1771, Enos Nash, and d. Sept. 25, 1788, ae. 41; *Child*, b. March 10, 1756, d. March 11, 1756.

6. John, s. of Samuel, (2) res. in S. H., d. abt. 1799. He m. (1) 1746, Abigail Miller of Springfield, who d. 1775, in 53d yr.; (2) abt. 1775, Dolly Taylor. Children by second wife—*Abigail; John; Moses; Josiah.*

7. NEHEMIAH, s. of Samuel, (2) d. June 21, 1796, ae. 80. M. ———, who d. Oct. 20, 1783, ae. 61. Child—*Nehemiah.*

8. OLIVER, s. of William, (4) S. H. M. Betty. Children—*Lois*, b. May 13, 1773, m. Martin Wait; *William*, b. March 1, 1775; *Benjamin Evens*, b. Sept. 10, 1777; *Keturah*, b. Aug. 6, 1779, m. (1) Ferry Parsons of Easthampton; (2) Seth Phelps of Chester.

9. SAMUEL, s. of Samuel, (5) d. June 10, 1816, ae. 73. M. (1) 1766, Submit, dau. of Obadiah Dickinson of Hat. She d. Oct. 25, 1766, in 24th yr.; (2) Nov. 15, 1770, Penelope Williams. She d. April 10, 1815, ae. 70. Children—*Samuel*, b. Oct. 25, 1771, and d. Feb. 7, 1797, ae. 25. He m. Dec. 31, 1795, Lucretia, dau. of Chileab Smith. She m. (2) Jan. 6, 1799, Samuel Dexter Ward; *Submit Dickinson*, b. Aug. 24, 1773, d. Dec. 7, 1775; *Submit Dickinson*, b. Jan. 8, 1776, m. 1793, Eliakim Smith; *Chester Williams*, b. Dec. 25, 1777, d. Sept. 10, 1779; *Penelope*, b. Oct. 15, 1780, m. June 4, 1804, Erastus Nash, and d. 1861, ae. 80; *Chester*, b. Sept. 3, 1782; *Elizabeth*, b. July 3, 1784, d. unm.; *Israel*, b. Aug. 4, 1788.

10. NEHEMIAH, s. of Nehemiah, (7) m. Sept. 4, 1766, Rebecca, dau. of Dea. Enos Nash. She d. Aug. 15, 1794. Children—*Joanna*, d. unm.; *Lucinda*, bapt. 1774, m. Richard Osborn; *Moses*, b. June 6, 1776, m. (1) Polly Baker; (2) Clarissa Stockwell; *Rebecca*, b. Jan. 6, 1780, m. Isaac Baker of Amh.; *Nehemiah*, bapt. March 24, 1782, d. April, 1782; *Child*, b. Dec. 1783; *Jerusha*, bapt. Jan. 25, 1784, m. Francis Strickland of Amh.

GILLETT, JOSEPH, b. Nov. 2, 1664, s. of Joseph, of Simsbury, settled in Hat., whence he rem. to West Hartford. M. (1) Nov. 3, 1687, Esther Gull; (2) Mercy Griswold at Hartford. Child—*Elizabeth*, b. 1689.

1. GILLETT, SAMUEL, b. in Windsor, Ct., Jan. 22, 1643, s. of Jonathan, settled in Hat., and was slain in the Falls' fight, May 9, 1676. M. Sept. 23, 1668, Hannah Dickinson. She m. (2) May 15, 1677, Stephen Jennings. Children—*Hannah*, b. Sept. 20, 1669, was burned to death, Feb. 1671; *Mary*, b. Dec. 20, 1671; *Samuel*, b. May 14, 1672; *Hannah*, b. Sept. 5, 1674.

2. SAMUEL, s. of Samuel, (1) Hat., d. abt. 1769. M. Hannah, dau. of Dr. Thomas Hastings of Hat. Children — *Hannah*, b. Jan. 9, 1698, m. —— Benton of Guilford, Ct.; *Margaret*, b. May 1, 1699, m. Joseph Belding; *Samuel*, b. Dec. 26, 1703; *Elizabeth*, b. Dec. 29, 1705, m. —— Bardwell; *Mary*, b. July 31, 1711, m. —— Evetts of Killingsworth, Ct.

3. SAMUEL, s. of Samuel, Jr. (2) Hat., d. abt. 1745. M. April 8, 1730, Sarah Billings. Children—*Sarah*, d. unm.; *Martha*, m. May 16, 1754, Perez Graves; *Hannah*, m. Nov. 10, 1757, Oliver Morton.

GOLDING, MR. PETER, b. abt. 1635, rem. abt. 1690, from Boston to Had., and thence to Sudbury, where he d. Oct. 11, 1703. M. (1) Jane; (2) Sarah. Children—*Mary*, b. Jan. 21, 1666; *Frances*, b. Feb. 22, 1668; *Elizabeth*, b. Oct. 6, 1673; *Windsor*, b. March 3, 1675; *Thomas*, b. Jan. 23, 1678; *Sarah*, b. Aug. 19, 1679, m. (1) April 13, 1704, Daniel Warner; (2) Jan. 6, 1714, Thomas Horton; *Jane*, b. Jan. 1, 1684; *Mercy*, Sept. 8, 1686, m. Dec. 19, 1710, Chileab Smith, and d. Aug. 6 or 7, 1756, ae. 69.

GOODELL, ISAAC, b. abt. 1730, d. in Amherst, Jan. 14, 1808, in 77th yr. M. (1) 1753, Huldah, dau. of Thomas Burt of Nh. She was b. Feb. 9, 1733;

(2) Oct. 24, 1805, Wid. Prudence Billings. Children — *Isaac*, bapt. 1755, m. Jemima, dau. of Daniel Warner of Nh., and rem. to Broome Co., N. Y.; *Mercy*, bapt. July 24, 1757, m. Aug. 6, 1778, Elijah Elmer; *Thomas*, bapt. Oct. 29, 1758, m. Hannah Parker; *David*, bapt. April 20, 1760, m. 1784, Mercy, dau. of Gideon Clark of Nh. She was b. Jan. 6, 1760; *Eleanor*, bapt. Feb. 21, 1762, m. Sept. 26, 1780, Silas Wright of Amh.

1. GOODMAN, Richard, Deacon, Cambridge, 1632, Hartford, 1639, was one of the first settlers of Had. Having been slain by the Indians, he was buried April 3, 1676, ae. abt. 67. M. Dec. 8, 1659, Mary, dau. of Stephen Terry of Windsor. She was b. Dec. 31, 1635, and d. in Deerfield, 1692. Children—*John*, b. Oct. 13, 1661; *Richard*, b. March 23, 1663, res. in Hartford, Ct., and d. May 4, 1730, ae. 67; *Stephen*, b. Feb. 6, 1664; *Mary*, b. Nov. 5, 1665, m. 1684, John Noble of Westfield and New Milford, Ct.; *Thomas*, b. March 20, 1668, d. Aug. 24, 1670, ae. 2; *Elizabeth*, b. Feb. 5, 1671, m. Jacob Warner; *Thomas*, b. Sept. 16, 1673; *Samuel*, b. May 5, 1675.

2. John, s. of Richard, (1) freeman 1690, d. Jan. 17, 1725. M. abt. 1685, Hannah, dau. of Thomas Noble of Westfield. She m. (2) Oct. 12, 1728, Nathaniel Edwards of Nh. She was b. Feb. 24, 1664, and d. abt. 1741, ae. 77. Children—*John*, b. Sept. 29, 1686; *Hannah*, b. May 29, 1689, d. March, 1690; *Hannah*, b. Jan. 15, 1696, d. Feb. 4, 1718, ae. 21; *Stephen*, b. Aug. 17, 1699, d. Feb. 4, 1718, ae. 18; *James*, b. Feb. 7, 1707.

3. Thomas, s. of Richard, (1) d. Oct. 5, 1748, ae. 75. He m. Grace, dau. of Samuel Marsh of Hat. She d. May 28 or 29, 1756. Children—*Mary*, b. Nov. 15, 1699, d. unm., Jan. 3, 1769, ae. 69; *Thomas*, b. Dec. 15, 1701; *Samuel*, b. March 10, 1704, taken captive at Fort Massachusetts, in 1746, and d. in Canada. Perhaps m. Rebecca ——; *Rachel*, b. Oct. 1, 1706, per. m. June 14, 1750, Daniel Dickinson; *Abigail*, b. July 3, 1709, d. unm., Jan. 24, 1795, ae. 84; *Eleazar*, b. Sept. 4, 1711; *Nathan*, b. Dec. 29, 1713.

4. James, s. of John, (2) d. Sept. 8, 1746, ae. 39. He m. (1) 1736, Anna Phelps of Springfield; (2) Sept. 22, 1743, Sarah Sikes of Springfield. Children—*Hannah*, b. April 28, 1740, m. Aug. 8, 1771, Timothy Stockwell; *Stephen*, b. Dec. 26, 1742; *Oliver*, drowned in Springfield, March 26, 1747.

5. Thomas, s. of Thomas, (3) d. Nov. 4, 1761, ae. 59. He m. (1) 1724, Mary Scovill, who d. March, 1736, ae. 33; (2) Rebecca Shepard of Hartford. Children—*Ruth*, b. Jan. 12, 1726; *Mary*, b. 1728, d. 1731; *Miriam*, b. 1731, d. 1732; *Noah*, b. Feb. 9, 1734; *Asa*, b. Aug. 6, 1738, res. in West Hartford, Ct.; *Simeon*, b. Dec. 14, 1739; *Rebecca*, b. July 21, 1743, m. Joel Moody of Amh.; *Susannah*, b. Feb. 2, 1745; *Thomas*, b. July 19, 1746; *Thankful*, b. Dec. 3, 1748, m. Ephraim Smith; *Enos*, b. March 4, 1751, rem. to Masonville, N. Y.; *Elihu*, b. April 5, 1753, rem. to Greenfield; *Ruth*, m. Jonathan Cook.

6. Eleazar, s. of Thomas, (3) res. in S. H., and d. July 27, 1849, ae. 37. He m. Dec. 25, 1746, Hannah Rugg. Children—*Samuel; Eleazar.*

7. Stephen, s. of James, (4) d. June 28, 1802, ae. 59. He m. (1) 1761, Mercy Dewey of Westfield, who d. Dec. 28, 1764; (2) Feb. 28, 1765, Joanna Kellogg, who d. Aug. 31, 1831, ae. 89. Children—*Joanna*, b. Dec. 1, 1765, d. Dec. 3, 1765; *James*, b. May 13, 1767, d. in Mobile, Ala.; *Joanna*, b. Feb. 20, 1769, m. Perez Jones, and rem. to Windsor, Vt.; *Stephen*, b. Nov. 19,

1770, d. at the West; *Mercy*, b. Nov. 17, 1773, d. Sept. 12, 1776; *John Kellogg*, b. June 18, 1776, rem. in 1802, to Jersey City, and d. Oct. 29, 1853, ae. 77; *Sylvester*, b. Nov. 19, 1778; *Spencer*, b. June 5, 1781; *Mercy*, b. Aug. 18, 1783, m. Cotton Smith.

8. Noah, s. of Thomas, (5) res. in S. H. He m. Oct. 25, 1756, Abial Smith. Children—*Ithamar*, b. Feb. 1, 1757; *Titus*, b. Oct. 23, 1763; *Simeon; Abial*, m. Dec. 25, 1798, Ebenezer Bartlett of Williamsburgh; *Mary*, m. Bezaleel Alvord; *Clarissa*, d. ae. abt. 14.

9. Enos, s. of Thomas, (5) rem. to Masonville, N. Y. He m. Esther, dau. of Jonathan White of S. H. Children—*Cynthia*, b. Aug. 25, 1775; *Erastus*, b. Aug. 15, 1777; *Phineas*, b. May 12, 1780; *Enos*, b. July 16, 1782; *Cleopas*, b. Dec. 8, 1784; *Esther*, b. July 23, 1787; *Thomas*, b. Aug. 22, 1789; *Tryphosa*, b. April 15, 1792; *Sophia*, b. Dec. 17, 1794.

10. Samuel, s. of Eleazar, (6) res. in S. H. He m. (1) Joanna Smith; (2) Huldah Montague. Children by second wife—*Calvin*, b. May 12, 1778; *Luther*, b. Jan. 6, 1780.

11. Eleazar, s. of Eleazar, (6) rem. from S. H. to Lake George. He m. Rebecca, dau. of Joseph White. Children—*Justin*, b. Feb. 7, 1771; *Eleazar; Eldad; Nathan; Samuel; Oren.*

GOODRICH, Aaron, d. Jan. 27 or 28, 1769, ae. 48. He m. Dorcas Cook. Children—*Sarah*, b. Oct. 16, 1747, m. Oct. 21, 1773, Nathaniel Montague; *Aaron*, b. Sept. 30, 1749, d. April 14, 1776, ae. 26; *Dorcas*, b. Dec. 16, 1751, m. Jan. 28, 1779, Enos Cowls of Amh., and d. Aug. 11, 1824, ae. 72; *Joanna*, b. Aug. 9, 1754, m. 1775, Jonathan Russell of Chesterfield; *Mary*, b. Oct. 13, 1756, d. Oct. 17; *Rebecca*, b. Aug. 8, 1759.

GOODWIN, Mr. William, sailed from London, in ship Lyon, June 22, 1632, and arrived in New England, Sept. 16, 1632. He was made freeman in Mass. Nov. 6, 1732, and was in May 1634, Deputy from Cambridge to the General Court. He was an early settler of Hartford, Ct., where he was a man of great influence, both in Church and State. Having resided in Hadley about ten years from its first settlement, abt. 1620 he returned to Ct., and d. in Farmington, March 11, 1673. He m. Susanna, who d. in F., May 17, 1676. Child—*Elizabeth*, m. John Crow of Had. and Hartford.

GOULD, Solomon, Amherst. Children—*David*, bapt. April 6, 1760; *Samuel*, bapt. May 8, 1763; *Noah*, bapt. May 8, 1763, m. Jan. 30, 1794, Mary Williams; *Child*, bapt. March 17, 1765; *Miriam*, bapt. Feb. 9, 1766; *Reuben*, bapt. July, 1767; *Bashmotte*, bapt. July 4, 1771.

GRANGER, Holcomb, m. Electa, who d. Sept. 6, 1793. Children—*Electa; Achsah; Lydia; Thaddeus.*

GRANIS, Edward, a shoemaker, came from Hartford to Had., and rem. abt. 1677, to New Haven, Ct. He m. (1) May 3, 1654, Elizabeth Andrews of Hartford; (2) 1662, Hannah, dau. of John Wakefield of New Haven. Children—*Joseph*, b. March 31, 1656, d. young; *Hannah*, m. Jan. 31, 1681, John Hill; *Mabel*, m. March 2, 1684, John Johnson; *Abigail*, m. 1689, John Allen, Jr.; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 20, 1671, m. 1690, Nathaniel Bishop; *John*, b. Dec. 5, 1674; *Joseph*, b. March 12, 1677; *Ann.*

1. GRAVES, THOMAS, Hartford, 1645, rem. to Hat., and d. Nov. 1662. He m. Sarah, who d. Dec. 17, 1666. Children—*Isaac; John; Samuel;* perhaps a *Daughter*, whose name is unknown.

2. ISAAC, s. of Thomas, (1) Hat., was slain by Indians, Sept. 19, 1677. He m. Mary, dau. of Richard Church. She d. 1694 or 1695. Children—*Mary*, b. July 5, 1647, m. Jan. 28, 1665, Eleazar Frary; *Isaac*, b. Aug. 21, 1650, prob. d. young; *Rebecca*, b. July 3, 1652; *Samuel*, b. Oct. 1, 1655; *Sarah*, m. April 27, 1677, Benjamin Barrett; *Elizabeth*, b. March 6, 1662, m. Benjamin Hastings of Hat.; *John*, b. 1664; *Hannah*, b. Jan. 24, 1666, m. William Sacket of Westfield; *Jonathan; Mehitable*, b. Oct. 1, 1671, m. (1) Jan. 29, 1690, Richard Morton; (2) William Worthington.

3. JOHN, s. of Thomas, (1) Hat., slain by Indians, Sept. 19, 1677. He m. (1) Mary, dau. of Lt. Samuel Smith. She prob. d. Dec. 16, 1668; (2) Mary, widow of John Wyatt of Haddam, Ct. Children—*John; Mary*, m. (1) Jan. 15, 1671, Samuel Ball of Springfield, (2) April, 1679, Edward Stebbins; *Isaac; Samuel; Sarah*, m. Edward Stebbins; *Elizabeth*, b. Dec. 9, 1662, m. Thomas Jones; *Daniel*, b. Dec. 7, 1664; *Ebenezer*, b. Nov. 20, 1666; *Bethiah*, b. June 17, 1668, d. Jan. 21, 1669; *Nathaniel*, b. June 10, 1671.

4. SAMUEL, s. of Isaac, (1) Hat., d. Feb. 8, 1692. He m. (1) Oct. 1, 1678, Sarah Colton. She d. July 11, 1689; (2) Jan. 1, 1690, Deliverance ——. She m. (2) Isaac, s. of John Graves. Children—*Rebecca*, b. 1681; *Samuel*, b. March 2, 1685; *Joseph;* perhaps *Sarah*, b. Jan. 1, 1688; *Elizabeth*, b. Oct. 8, 1689; *Thomas*, b. Oct. 21, 1690.

5. JOHN, s. of Isaac, (2) Hat. He m. Sarah. Children—*Isaac*, b. July 10, 1687; *Benjamin*, b. Aug. 12, 1689; *Jemima*, b. April 30, 1693, m. (1) May 5, 1715, John Graves, (2) Eleazar Allis; *Mary*, b. Nov. 9, 1695, m. (1) Jonathan Frary, (2) —— King; *Elnathan*, b. Aug. 20, 1699; *Hannah*, b. June 4, 1701, m. Eleazar King; *Eunice*, b. Sept. 29, 1705; *Aaron*, b. Feb. 2, 1707; *Sarah*, perhaps, b. 1691.

6. JONATHAN, s. of Isaac, (2) tanner, Hat., d. Oct. 12, 1737, ae. 71. He m. (1) Sarah, dau. of John Parsons. She d. March 15, 1711; (2) Mary, wid. of Benjamin King of Nh., and dau. of Abel Janes of Nh. Children—*Moses*, b. Feb. 1, 1700; *Jonathan*, b. March 6, 1702; *Joseph*, b. June 4, 1704; *Perez*, b. Nov. 26, 1707, d. in Belchertown, April 12, 1728, ae. 22; *Mary*, b. Aug. 20, 1722, m. Noah Loomis of Harwinton, Ct.; *Elijah*, b. Dec. 20, 1723, d. 1739; *Sarah*, b. Feb. 9, 1726.

7. JOHN, s. of John, (3) Hat., d. Dec. 2, 1750. He m. Feb. 12, 1678, Sarah, dau. of John White, Jr. Children—*Sarah*, b. Feb. 15, 1679, m. Oct. 27, 1702, Nathaniel Clark of Middletown, Ct.; *John*, b. March 23, 1682; *Mary*, b. Feb. 24, 1683, m. Jeremiah Wait; *Thomas*, b. July 4, 1685, d. Oct. 1689; *Abigail*, b. Oct. 29, 1687, m. —— Wilcox; *Martha*, b. Nov. 4, 1689, m. May 17, 1716, John Crafts; *Daniel*, b. Oct. 13, 1690, d. young; *Thomas*, b. June 5, 1693; *Daniel*, b. Jan. 20, 1698; *Rebecca*, b. May 4, 1700, m. Moses Nash, and d. in West Hartford, Ct., Oct. 6, 1743.

8. ISAAC, s. of John, (3) Hat., d. abt. 1740. He m. (1) April 1, 1679, Sarah Wyatt, who d. June 9, 1695; (2) 1697, Abigail ——, who d. July 13, 1697; (3) Deliverance, wid. of Samuel Graves. Children—*Mary*, b. Oct. 31, 1682, d. Dec. 26, 1684; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 23, 1684, m. Nov. 22, 1705, Daniel Kelsey; *Elizabeth*, b. Oct. 23, 1686, m. —— Hull; *Isaac*, b. Nov. 3, 1688;

Mary, b. Sept. 23, 1690, m. —— Smith; *Lydia*, b. March 11, 1693, m. Jan. 1, 1719, Thomas Graves, and d. in Belchertown, 1777, ae. 85; *Abigail*, b. Aug. 16, 1696, m. March 14, 1717, Stephen Crowfoot.

9. SAMUEL, s. of John, (3) rem. prior to 1718, from Hat. to Sunderland, and d. March 11, 1731. He m. Sarah, who d. Oct. 15, 1734. Children—perhaps *Sarah*, b. Jan. 1, 1688; *Jonathan*, b. Oct. 27, 1689; *Abraham*, b. Dec. 12, 1691, m. May 23, 1717, Thankful Bardwell, and was of Deerfield in 1749; *David*, b. Dec. 9, 1693; *Noah*, b. Dec. 19, 1695; *Mehitable*, b. Dec. 19, 1695, prob. m. John Bardwell; *Samuel*, b. Jan. 30, 1698.

10. NATHANIEL, s. of John, (3) Hat., d. abt. 1757. He m. April 30, 1702, Rebecca Allis. Children—*Rebecca*, b. Oct. 25, 1703; *Mary*, b. Feb. 22, 1706, m. Isaac Graves; *Nathaniel*, b. Nov. 16, 1707; *Ruth*, b. Aug. 16, 1709; *Eleazar*, b. Dec. 12, 1711; *Israel*, b. abt. 1716, rem. to Whately; *Martha*, b. Oct. 29, 1718, m. Eleazar Cowls; *Oliver*, b. abt. 1725, rem. to Whately.

11. JOSEPH, s. of Samuel, (4) Hat., d. April 22, 1728. He m. Bridget, dau. of Edward Scott. She d. 1756. Children—*Sarah*, b. Nov. 13, 1717, m. Thomas Crafts; *Miriam; Elizabeth*, b. May 14, 1721.

12. THOMAS, s. of Samuel, (4) rem. from Hat. to Belchertown, and d. 1784, ae. 92. He m Jan. 1, 1719, Lydia, dau. of Isaac Graves. She d. in Belchertown, 1777. Children—*John*, b. Oct. 16, 1719; *Lydia*, b. June 20, 1726, d. unm., 1779, ae. 53.

12½. BENJAMIN, prob. s. of John, (5) Sunderland, d. Oct. 1, 1756, ae. 67. He m. 1720, Mary Warner. She d. in S. H., April 10, 1779, in 86th yr. Children—*Mary*, b. Dec. 23, 1720, m. June 20, 1745, Jonathan Warner; *Elizabeth*, b. Aug. 17, 1723, m. 1749, Orange Warner of Had.; *Sarah*, b. Sept. 16, 1726, m. Sept. 22, 1748, Moses Montague; *Daniel*, b. Nov. 5, 1728, d. in Sund., Feb. 5, 1793, ae. 64; *Benjamin*, b. Feb. 29, 1734; *Moses*, b. Oct. 10, 1736; *Aaron*, b. Oct. 10, 1736; *Eunice*, b. Jan. 25, 1741, m. Seth Lyman.

13. ELNATHAN, s. of John, (5) Hat., d. Feb. 17, 1785, ae. 85. He m. (1) March 2, 1727, Martha, dau. of Dea. Nathaniel Dickinson of Hat. She d. Jan. 9, 1756, ae. 55; (2) Wid. Dorothy Belding, dau. of —— Morton. She d. May 9, 1800, ae. 80. Children—*Seth*, b. Dec. 27, 1727; *Perez*, b. April 26, 1730; *Silas*, b. Feb. 8, 1732; *Lucy*, b. May 8, 1734, m. Benjamin Wells; *Martha*, b. Feb. 26, 1739, m. John Nash of Williamsburgh.

14. AARON, s. of John, (5) rem. from Hat. to Williamsburgh, and d. 1788, ae. 81. Children—*Jemima*, b. April 11, 1730; *Martha*, b. March 9, 1732, m. July 12, 1752, Simeon Dickinson of Amh., and d. Dec. 3, 1822, ae. 90; *Mary*, b. Oct. 19, 1733, m. May 22, 1754, John Nash, Jr., of Amh.; *Eunice*, m. March 1, 1759, Jonathan Moody, Jr. of Amh., and d. Dec. 15, 1813; *Beulah*, m. Aug. 20, 1761, Asahel Moody of Amh., and prob. d. Dec. 30, 1826; *Lucius; Aaron*, b. abt. 1749, d. in S. H., Nov. 18, 1834, ae. 85.

15. MOSES, s. of Jonathan, (6) Hat. He m. Feb. 24, 1743, Martha Marsh of Had. She d. Feb. 3, 1755, ae. 35; (2) Catharine. Children—*Judith*, b. Dec. 4, 1743, killed by lightning, June 19, 1754; *Elijah*, b. Nov. 14, 1745; *Moses*, b. Feb. 3, 1748; *John*, b. Jan. 13, 1750, d. Aug. 6, 1751; *John*, b. March 13, 1752; *Martha*, b. April 6, 1754; *Jonathan*, b. June 26, 1762; *Judith*, b. Feb. 16, 1764.

16. JONATHAN, s. of Jonathan, (6) rem. to Belchertown, and d. 1787, ae. 84. Children—*Perez*, who in May, 1758, being about to go into the army made his will, which was proved in Oct. following; *Joseph*, bapt. Oct. 5, 1735, d. in Belchertown, 1796; *Penelope*, b. May 8, 17<3, m. (1) 1757, Elihu Dwight; (2) —— Hollister.

17. JOHN, s. of John, (7) Hat., d. Aug. 1716. He m. May 5, 1715, Jemima Graves. Child—*Nathan*, b. March 20, 1716, res. in Whately, where he was deacon in the Church.

18. DANIEL, s. of John, (7) rem. from Hat. to Greenfield, was taken captive by the Indians, Aug. 12, 1756, and slain shortly after. He m. 1724, Thankful, dau. of Ebenezer Smead. Children—*Ebenezer*, b. March 15, 1726; *Jerusha*, b. March 29, 1728, m. Ebenezer Allen; *Thankful*, b. June 8, 1730; *Daniel*, b. July 2, 1732, d. 1755; *Esther*, b. 1734; *Joel*, b. April 27, 1737, d. 1760; *John*, m. Sarah Judd of Nh.

19. ISAAC, s. of Isaac, (8) rem. to Sunderland. He m. 1713, Mary, dau. of Jonathan Parsons of Nh. She was b. July 8, 1688. Children—*Sarah*, b. Dec. 22, 1713; *Jerusha*, b. June 13, 1717; *Simeon*, b. Jan. 20, 1720, d. Dec. 20, 1747; *Phinehas*, b. April 30, 1726; *Submit*, b. Jan. 7, 1731.

20. JONATHAN, s. of Samuel, (9) Sunderland. He m. June 2, 1715, Mrs. Elizabeth Combs. Children—*Jonathan*, who prob. d. young; *Ebenezer*, b. Sept. 10, 1717.

21. DAVID, s. of Samuel, (9) d. in Whately, 1781. He m. June 6, 1720, Abigail, dau. of Robert Bardwell. She d. 1786. Children—*Elijah*, b. July 18, 1720; *Simeon*, b. April 13, 1722; *Martha*, b. March 7, 1731; *David*, b. 1733; *Matthew; Martin; Abigail; Esther; Anna; Hannah.*

21½. NOAH, s. of Samuel, (9) Sunderland, prob. d. March 17, 1773. He m. Rebecca ——, who d. Feb. 8, 1744. Children—*Noah*, b. Jan. 25, ——; *Reuben*, b. Nov. 23, 1724; *Noah*, b. Oct. 21, 1726; *Silas*, b. Sept. 3, 1728, d. Sept. 15, 1728; *Rebecca*, b. Feb. 14, 1731; *Rhoda*, b. Feb. 9, 1734; *Benoni*, b. Feb. 16, 1736; *Martha*, b. Aug. 1, 1739; *Martin*, b. Dec. 5, 1741, d. Dec. 17, 1743.

22. SAMUEL, s. of Samuel, (9) settled in Sunderland, whence he rem. to South Deerfield, where he d. May 6, 1774. He m. Grace. Children—*Azubah*, b. Jan. 1, 1730; *Child*, b. Sept. 1, 1731; *Elizabeth*, b. Feb. 1, 1734; *Bethula*, b. Oct. 8, 1736; *Sarah*, b. May 2, 1739; *Zebadiah*, b. June 15, 1741; *Eunice*, b. March 30, 1745.

23. NATHANIEL, s. of Nathaniel, (10) Sunderland. He m. Hannah. Children—*Mehitable*, b. Oct. 21, 1732; *Hannah*, b. Aug. 27, 1735; *Lydia*, b. Sept. 5, 1738; *Martha*, b. July 8, 1744.

24. ELEAZAR, s. of Nathaniel, (10) Hat. He m. Oct. 1, 1736, Sarah Belding. Children—*Samuel*, b. Oct. 12, 1737; *Mary*, b. Oct. 14, 1739; *Sarah*, b. Feb. 20, 1742; *Lucy*, b. April 10, 1744.

25. BENJAMIN, s. of Benjamin, (12½) Sunderland. He m. Sept. 15, 1757, Thankful Field. Children—*Rufus*, b. Sept. 27, 1758, grad. D. C. 1791; *Benjamin*, b. Oct. 4, 1760, d. in S., March 22, 1832, ae. 71; *Thankful*, b. Oct. 18, 1764; *Timothy*, b. Oct. 18, 1764; *Electa*, b. Feb. 5, 1767.

26. Moses, s. of Benjamin, (12½) Leverett. He m. (1) Sarah. She was b. March 20, 1740, and d. Oct. 23, 1767; (2) Jan. 12, 1768, or Jan. 11, 1769, Experience Oakes. She was b. March 17, 1742. Children—*Enos*, b. May 20, 1763, *Mary*, b. Dec. 20, 1764; *Sarah*, b. March 27, 1767; *Naomi*, b. Nov. 4, 1769; *Achsah*, b. May 4, 1772; *Lucy*, b. Jan. 4, 1774; *Experience*, b. April 9, 1776; *Martha*, b. April 9, 1776; *Moses*, b. April 11, 1778; *Elihu*, b. Oct. 20, 1780.

27. Perez, s. of Elnathan, (13) Hat. He m. (1) May 16, 1754, Martha, dau. of Samuel Gillett; (2) Feb. 19, 1795, Zeruiah, wid. of Elihu White of Hat., and dau. of Ebenezer Cole of Hat. She was b. Nov. 30, 1741, and d. Dec. 13, 1820, ae. 79. Children—*Samuel*, b. May 4, 1755; *Elisha*, b. Sept. 2, 1757; *Martha*, b. April 28, 1759, m. M. Montague; *Perez*, b. Jan. 2, 1761, d. 1848; *Elnathan*, b. Feb. 2, 1763; *William*, b. Feb. 11, 1766; *Solomon*, b. March 2, 1768; *Levi*, b. Jan. 12, 1771; *Timothy*.

28. Joseph, s. of Jonathan, (16) Belchertown, d. 1796, ae. 62. He m. Eunice, dau. of Nathaniel Dwight of Belchertown. She d. 1807, ae. 66. Children—*Perez*, b. 1762; *Margaret*, m. 1785, Benjamin Howe; *Susanna*, m. 1787, Nathan Parsons, Jr., and rem. to Bangor, Me.; *Electa*, m. 1788, Dea. Aaron Lyman; *Josiah Dwight*, b. 1772, rem. in 1828, to Manchester, N. Y.; *Jonathan*, b. 1774; *Elijah*, b. 1779, d. 1799; *Joseph*, b. 1783, rem. in 1828, to Manchester, N. Y.

29. Reuben, s. of Noah, (21½) Sunderland, d. March 11, 1778, ae. 53. He m. Sept. 18, 1748, Hannah Fuller. Children—*Patience*, b. June 20, 1749; *Noah*, b. June 7, 1751; *Gideon*, b. June 4, 1753; *Asa*, b. Nov. 4, 1755; *Selah*, b. March 19, 1758; *Randall*, b. May 31, 1760; *Submit*, b. May 1, 1763; *Martin*, b. Feb. 23, 1766; *Hannah*, b. Aug. 21, 1769.

30. Enos, s. of Moses, (26) Leverett. He m. Oct. 6, 1785, Sybil, dau. of Abraham Kellogg. She was b. Sept. 24, 1761. Children—*Walter*, b. June 13, 1786; *Sally*, b. June 28, 1788; *Fanny*, b. March 6, 1791, d. Aug. 6, 1808; *Kellogg*, b. Aug. 20, 1793; *Nancy*, b. June 3, 1796; *Moses*, b. July 21, 1798; *Enos*, b. Nov. 5, 1800; *Sybil*, b. Aug. 8, 1803.

GREEN, Eliphalet, Gr., d. Feb. 16, 1777. He m. 1754, Mercy, dau. of Jonathan Selden. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. Feb. 10, 1755; *Eliphalet*, b. Jan. 14, 1757; *Jared*, b. July 5, 1759; *Hepzibah*, b. Oct. 7, 1761; *David*, b. April 14, 1766; *Rhoda*, b. June 28, 1768; *Phebe*, b. Sept. 26, 1771.

GREEN, Timothy, b. Jan. 4, 1748, Amherst, d. Sept. 7, 1821, ae. 73. He m. (1) Eunice, dau. of Simeon Clark of Amherst. She d. May 6, 1776, ae. 25; (2) Sybil Peck. Children—*Timothy*, b. March 27, 1771, m. Dec. 25, 1800, Huldah Harris; *Zera*, b. June 18, 1773, m. Eleanor Morton, and d. in Amh., March 28, 1813, ae. 40; *Clark*, b. April 11, 1776, m. April 26, 1798, d. in Amh., Nov. 27, 1848, ae. 72; *Eunice*, b. Nov. 16, 1781, m. (1) Oct. 22, 1807, Josiah Ayres of Amh.; (2) Chester Hawley, and d. Feb. 1862, ae. 80; *Sybil*, b. Aug. 19, 1783, m. Nov. 28, 1805, Elijah Clark, and res. (1862) in Rockford, Ill.; *Joel*, b. Oct. 4, 1785, d. March 19, 1788; *Lucretia*, b. May 21, 1787, d. Nov. 6, 1803; *Joel*, b. Dec. 10, 1788, m. Oct. 30, 1809, Philomela, dau. of Simeon Clark of Amh.; *Rufus*, b. Sept. 8, 1790, m. Jan. 17, 1813, Mary Sheldon, dau. of Wm. Boltwood of Amh., and res. in Frewsburg, Chautauque Co., N. Y.; *Lucina*, b. July 16, 1792, m. Jan. 19, 1817, Chester Rice; *Polly*, b. June 28, 1794, d. Jan. 27, 1813, ae. 18; *Judith*, b. Nov. 19, 1796.

GREY, James, perhaps rem. abt. 1760, to Stockbridge. He m. July 28, 1732, Sarah Marsh, prob. wid. of John Marsh, and dau. of —— Williams. She d. June 1, 1759. Children—*James*, b. Sept. 24, 1752; *John*.

GROVER, Hosea, m. 1797, pub. Feb. 1, Diadema Grover of Glastenbury, Ct. Children—*Josiah*, b. Nov. 8, 1798; *Phineas*, b. July 23, 1800; *Leonard*, b. Sept. 29, 1803; *Leonard*, perhaps same with the last, bapt. Jan. 5, 1806; *Ruth Marilla*, bapt. Aug. 21, 1808.

GULL, William, rem. from Wethersfield, Ct. to Hat., freeman 1673, made will April 12, 1701, which was proved Dec. 18, 1701. He m. Elizabeth, wid. of Nathaniel Foote, Jr., and dau. of Lt. Samuel Smith. Children—*Mary*, m. Nov. 29, 1676, Robert Bardall; *Anna*, m. Jonathan Root; *Esther*, b. Nov. 21, 1665, m. Joseph Gillett; *Mercy*, b. June 27, 1668, m. Jeremiah Alvord.

GUNN, Moses, m. Jan. 18, 1739, Sarah Mighill. Child — *Rufus*, b. 1752.

GUNN, Samuel, s. of Nathaniel of Hartford, settled in Hat., but rem. in 1714 to Sunderland, where he was a deacon in the Church, and d. Aug. 1, 1755, in 93d yr. He m. Jan. 22, 1685, Elizabeth, dau. of John Wyatt. She d. Oct. 2, 1737. Children—*Sarah*, b. April 3, 1686, m. Jan. 23, 1707, Azariah Dickinson; *Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 8, 1689, m. May 4, 1709, Simon Cooley; *Nathaniel*, b. July 30, 1693, res. in Sunderland, m. 1724, Esther Belding; *Samuel*, b. March 22, 1696; *Mary*, b. Aug. 9, 1698, m. Daniel Hubbard; *Abel*, b. July 17, 1700; *Christian*, b. Sept. 5, 1702, m. Isaac Hubbard of Sunderland; *Editha*, b. April 26, 1705, m. Ebenezer Billings, Jr.; *John*, b. Dec. 3, 1707; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 27, 1711, m. 1729, Joseph Clary.

HALE, Thomas, rem. to Enfield, Ct., and d. abt. 1725. He m. Priscilla, dau. of William Markham. Children — *Martha*, b. Oct. 10, 1676; *Thomas*, b. Oct. 8, 1678; *John*, b. Nov. 26, 1680; *Samuel*, b. July 2, 1683, d. Aug. 6, 1689; *Priscilla*, b. Sept. 9, 1685; *William*, b. Feb. 18, 1687; *Son*, b. and d. Jan. 10, 1689; *Joseph*, b. March, 1691; *Samuel*.

HALEY, John, d. abt. 1688. He m. (1) Mrs. Ruth Gaylord, dau. of John Crow; (2) Hannah, dau. of Samuel Bliss. She m. (2) May 1, 1689, Simon Smith.

HAMMOND, Timothy, m. Nov. 16, 1769, Hannah Clark. Children—*Martha*, bapt. Sept. 27, 1772; *Nathaniel*, bapt. Oct. 11, 1772; *Molly*, bapt. April 11, 1775; *Timothy*, b. Sept. 1777; *Hannah*, bapt. Jan. 30, 1780; *Dau.*, bapt. Feb., 1786; *Child*, b. Nov. 13, 1779; *Child*, b. and d. 1782.

HARRISON, Isaac, was slain after the Falls fight, May 19, 1676. He m. Dec. 1, 1671, Martha, dau. of Richard Montague. She m. (2) Henry White. Children—*Abigail*, b. Sept. 11, 1673, m. July 7, 1692, Samuel Church; *Sarah*, m. March 24, 1698, John Selden.

HARWOOD, Benjamin, m. Bridget. Child—*Abigail*, b. Nov. 13, 1753.

HASTINGS, Benjamin, b. in Watertown, Aug. 9, 1659, s. of Thomas, res. in Hat., Nh., Deerfield and Hat., and d. Dec. 18, 1711, ae. 60. He m. (1)

Elizabeth, dau. of Isaac Graves of Hat. She d. abt. 1695; (2) abt. 1697, Mary, prob. wid. of Jonathan Parsons of Nh. Children—*Samuel*, b. March 15, 1684, taken captive by Indians at Deerfield, Feb. 29, 1704, and carried to Canada, whence he never returned; *Elizabeth*, b. March 8, 1693; *Hannah*, d. Feb. 8, 1697; *Benjamin*, b. May, 1699, res. in Greenfield; *Zeruiah*, b. Aug. 30, 1701; *Joseph*, b. Dec. 27, 1703; *Dau.*, b. June 30, 1706, d. July 9, 1706; *Submit*, b. July 16, 1707, m. Sept. 19, 1723, John Wait.

1. HASTINGS, Thomas, b. in Watertown, July 1, 1652, s. of Thomas, physician, settled in Hat., where he d. July 23, 1712, ae. 60. He m. (1) Oct. 10, 1672, Anna, dau. of John Hawkes. She d. Oct. 25, 1705; (2) Feb. 14, 1706, Mary, dau. of David Burt of Nh. She m. (2) May 17, 1703, Samuel Belding, and d. Feb. 14, 1706. Children—*Margaret*, b. July 7, 1674, m. May 7, 1707, Nathaniel Evetts of Guilford, Ct.; *Hannah*, b. Jan. 19, 1677, m. Samuel Gillett; *Thomas*, b. Sept. 24, 1679; *Hepzibah*, b. April 16, 1682, m. April 5, 1705, Jonathan Curtis of Wethersfield; *Mehitable*, b. Jan. 23, 1685, m. Nov. 25, 1714, John Burk; *John*, b. Sept. 17, 1689; *Silence*, b. Feb. 26, 1707, m. Josiah Hadlock of Williamsburgh; *Thankful*, b. May 5, 1711, d. July 15, 1711; *Sylvanus*, b. Sept. 10, 1712, d. Feb. 27, 1713.

2. Thomas, s. of Thomas, (1) a physician in Hat., d. April 14, 1728, ae. 48. He m. March 6, 1701, Mary, dau. of John Field of Hat. Children—*Mary*, b. Dec. 24, 1701, d. Jan. 10, 1702; *Thomas*, b. Nov. 6, 1702, d. Nov. 4, 1703; *Mary*, b. July 26, 1704, m. Nov. 13, 1729, Benjamin Billings; *Anna*, b. Oct. 13, 1706, m. —— White; *Dorothy*, b. July 27, 1709, d. July 29, 1711; *Thomas*, d. Dec. 12, 1713, ae. 9 mos., according to grave stone, but 1½ yrs., accd. to Town Rec.; *Waitstill*, b. Jan. 3, 1714; *Tabitha*, b. Oct. 6, 1715, m. Jan. 4, 1739, John Strickland; *Hopestill*, b. April 13, 1718; *Dorothy*, b. March 20, 1720, d. April 6, 1720; *Thomas*, b. Jan. 28, 1721; *Lucy*, b. Feb. 1, 1723, m. Jonathan Taylor.

3. John, s. of Thomas, (1) res. for some years in Hat., whence he rem. up the Conn. river, and was at Fort Dummer, in 1735. He m. (1) Lydia ——, who d. June 21, 1716; (2) July 4, 1720, Hannah, dau. of Dea. John White of Hat. She was b. March 26, 1695. Children—*Lydia*, b. 1714, d. Dec. 24, 1714; *Lydia*, b. June 8, 1716, d. July 5, 1716; *Sylvanus*, b. March 22, 1721, res. in Charlestown, N. H.; *John*, b. Nov. 14, 1722, res. in Charlestown, N. H.; *Oliver*, b. Nov. 22, 1724; *Lemuel*, b. Feb. 5, 1727, res. in Charlestown, N. H., *Hannah*, b. July 28, 1729; *Lydia*, b. Aug. 19, 1732; *Mehitable*, b. 1735.

4. Waitstill, s. of Dr. Thomas, (2) was a physician in Hat., where he d. April 22, 1748. He m. Oct. 1, 1736, Abigail, dau. of John Marsh of Had. She m. (2) Col. Buckley of Colchester, Ct.; (3) Rev. —— Little of Colchester, and d. as early as 1758. Children—*John*, b. Jan. 10, 1738; *Abigail*, b. Feb. 28, 1739, m. Solomon Woolcott of Williamstown; *Hannah Barnard*, b. March 16, 1742, m. Nathaniel Kellogg of Dalton; *Mary*, b. Jan. 10, 1744; *Samuel*, b. March 14, 1747, d. Feb. 28, 1748.

5. Hopestill, s. of Dr. Thomas, (2) Hat., d. Dec. 24, 1766. He m. Lydia Frary. She m. (2) Windsor Smith. Children—*Abner*, b. July 7, 1742, d. July 10, 1742; *Lydia*, b. July 5, 1743, d. Oct. 5, 1746; *Seth*, b. Dec. 6, 1745; *Lydia*, b. Nov. 21, 1747, d. Oct. 4, 1751; *Tabitha*, b. Oct. 1, 1749, d.

unm., in Amh., in 1795; *Elihu*, b. Aug. 17, 1751, d. unm. in Hat., Feb. 25, 1837, ae. 75; *Elijah*, b. June 6, 1753; *Perez*, b. Dec. 23, 1754; *Hopestill*, b. Oct. 30, 1756, d. Oct. 31, 1756; *Oliver*, b. Aug. 25, 1757, d. in Hammondsport, N. Y.

6. Thomas, s. of Dr. Thomas, (2) rem. abt. 1753, from Hat. to Amh., where he d. Jan. 22, 1787, ae. 66. He m. Mary, dau. of Joseph Belden of Hat. She d. July 31, 1801, ae. 78. Children—*Esther*, b. Feb. 1, 1743, m. Ephraim Kellogg of Amh.; *Sarah*, b. July 13, 1744, m. Jan. 17, 1771, Nathaniel Alexander Smith of Amh., and d. Oct. 7, 1810; *Thomas*, b. May 20, 1746; *Anna*, b. April 22, 1748, m. Jonathan Nash of Amh.; *Waitstill*, b. May 8, 1750; *Samuel*, b. March 1, 1752; *Sybil*, bapt. Oct. 14, 1753, m. (1) Joseph Peck; (2) Timothy Green, Jr. of Amherst; *Moses*, bapt. Aug. 31, 1755; *Mary*, bapt. April 24, 1757, d. April 24, 1757; *Mary*, bapt. Aug. 12, 1759, m. Dec. 30, 1779, Simeon Pomeroy of Amh.; *Elisha*, bapt. April 12, 1761, accidentally killed by his brother with an axe; *Tabitha*, m. Ethan Smith; *Lucy*, bapt. March 31, 1765, d. unm., Feb. 21, 1814.

7. Hon. John, s. of Dr. Waitstill, (4) Hat., was a magistrate 36 yrs. and a Senator or Counsellor of Mass., 28 yrs. He d. Dec. 6, 1811. He m. Content Little, who d. April 9, 1829, in 89th yr. Children—*John*, b. Oct. 1765; *Content*, b. Sept. 14, 1767; *Mary*, b. Jan. 1769, m. Daniel Wait; *Waitstill*, b. May 14, 1771, a physician in Margaretta, O.; *Elizabeth*, b. March 7, 1773, d. unm. in Hat., Nov. 5, 1823; *Abigail*, b. May 7, 1775; *Samuel*, b. April, 1777, rem. to Springfield; *Ephraim*, b. Nov. 17, 1780, rem. to Nashua, N. H.; *Justin*, b. Feb. 14, 1786.

8. Seth, s. of Hopestill, (5) settled as a physician in Washington, Ct., whence in 1797, he rem. to Clinton, Oneida Co., N. Y., and d. April 29, 1830. He m. Nov. 10, 1779, Eunice Parmalee, b. Dec. 30, 1763. She d. May 2, 1821. Children—*Seth*, b. Aug. 23, 1780, a physician in Clinton, N. Y., m. Sept. 12, 1802, Huldah Clark; *Betsey*, b. Aug. 28, 1782, m. April 13, 1802, Elnathan Judd, M. D., of Troy, Mich.; *Thomas*, b. Oct. 15, 1784, a teacher of music in New York City, m. Mary Seymour; *Eunice*, b. Oct. 22, 1786, d. Jan. 10, 1788; *Orlando*, b. March 7, 1789, a lawyer in Rochester, N. Y., m. (1) Nov. 12, 1812, Betsey Clarke; (2) Aug. 31, 1823, his cousin, Mrs. Lydia F. Hamilton, dau. of Elijah Hastings of Amh.; *Eurotas Parmalee*, b. July 20, 1791, a merchant in Detroit, Mich., m. (1) Jan. 26, 1819, Electa Owen; (2) Aug. 23, 1826, Mrs. Philema Moody; (3) Oct. 14, 1835, Theodocia C. Petit; *Charles*, b. Sept. 2, 1793, a tanner in Mich., m. (1) May 21, 1818, Patty Barker; (2) July 8, 1837, Julia Trowbridge; *Polly Sophia*, b. April 14, 1796, d. June 10, 1803; *Truman*, b. Aug. 29, 1798, a lawyer in Genesee, Buffalo and New York, m. (1) Aug. 11, 1828, Elizabeth Vail; (2) April 6, 1837, Mary Williams; *Albert Merwin*, b. July 16, 1804, m. 1827, Frances Barry, and d. Oct. 4, 1828; *Eunice Sophia*, b. Sept. 22, 1809, m. (1) July 24, 1833, Washington Smith, M. D.; (2) Sept. 10, 1840, Levi Trowbridge of Southfield, Mich. She d. Oct. 1, 1849.

9. Elijah, s. of Hopestill, (5) a blacksmith in Amh., d. Oct. 4, 1803, ae. 50. He m. (1) April, 1782, Jerusha, dau. of Dea. John Billings of Amh. She d. July 3, 1798, ae. 34; (2) Rebecca ——, who m. (2) April 25, 1805, Levi Cowls of Amh., and d. Nov., 1826, ae. 63. Children—*Lucinda*, m. April 2, 1809, Calvin Hamilton; *Lydia*, m. (1) May 14, 1810, Chauncey Hamilton;

(2) Aug. 31, 1823, her cousin, Orlando Hastings, Esq., of Rochester, N. Y.; *Nancy*, m. Dec. 24, 1807, Dr. Isaac Guernsey Cutler of Amh., and d. Jan. 28, 1849; *Elijah*.

10. PEREZ, s. of Hopestill, (5) a blacksmith in Hat., where he d. March 11, 1822. He m. Oct. 31, 1787, Elizabeth, dau. of Dea. Salmon and Mary (Wait) White of Whately. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 15, 1788, m. June, 1814, Horace Hastings of Geneva, N. Y., and d. Aug. 15, 1837; *Eurotas*, b. May 15, 1790, m. Eroe Arms, was a banker in Buffalo, N. Y., and d. May 22, 1858; *Electa*, b. Jan. 15, 1792, m. July 4, 1816, Dr. David Field of Geneva, N. Y.; *Perez*, b. May 29, 1794, m. May, 1822, Eunice Hastings, was a merchant in Geneva, N. Y., and d. April 26, 1852.

11. THOMAS, s. of Thomas, (6) Amh., d. Jan. 22, 1827, ae. 81. He m. Hannah, dau. of Dea. John Billings of Amh. She d. Oct. 5, 1823, ae. 74. Children—*Salome*, b. July 22, 1770, m. June 9, 1805, Asa Dickinson of Amh., and d. Sept. 5, 1846, ae. 76; *Jerusha*, b. Aug. 8, 1772, m. Sept. 6, 1792, Luke Rich; *Hannah*, b. Nov. 10, 1774, d. Sept. 15, 1777; *Submit*, b. May 13, 1777, m. April 26, 1798, Clark Green of Amh.; *Hannah*, b. Jan. 15, 1780, m. Oct. 31, 1799, Martin Kellogg of Had.; *Thomas*, b. Feb. 6, 1782, m. Nov. 1, 1803, Eunice Clark, and d. in Amh., Oct. 11, 1858, ae. 76; *Eli*, b. June 1, 1784, m. Sarah Paine, and d. in Ohio, March, 1835, ae. 51; *Judith*, b. Oct. 1, 1786, m. Dec. 21, 1809, George Nutting of Amh.; *Mary*, b. Oct. 27, 1788, m. May 7, 1808, Samuel Smith; *Lucius*, b. Oct. 13, 1791, m. Feb. 8, 1810, Olive, dau. of Joel Smith, and d. in Amh., Sept. 25, 1823; *David*, b. April 15, 1795, d. Aug. 17, 1796.

12. SAMUEL, s. of Thomas, (6) Amh., Oct. 1, 1807. He m. Sept. 15, 1774, Lucy, dau. of Simeon Pomeroy of Amh. She m. (2) Martin Kellogg of Amh., and d. Dec. 23, 1839, ae. 87. Children—*Waitstill*, b. June 15, 1775 d. Jan. 3, 1776; *Waitstill*, b. July 24, 1778, m. (1) Elsy, dau. of David Shaw of East Windsor, Ct.; *Elisha*, b. July 31, 1780, m. Jan. 31, 1813, Abigail, dau. of Benjamin Potwine, and d. July 18, 1856; *Samuel*, b. Nov. 14, 1785, m. Sarah Spear, and rem. to Reedsborough, Vt.; *Daughter*, b. and d. July 19, 1788.

13. MOSES, s. of Thomas, (6) Amh., rem after 1820 to Vt., and d. June 6, 1844. He m. Aug. 29, 1776, Elizabeth, dau. of Eli Parker of Amh. Children —*Twins*, b. Oct. 3, 1776; *Rachel*, b. Nov. 20, 1777, m. Benjamin Cooley of Whately, rem. to Brownhill, O.; *Elizabeth*, b. Aug. 31, 1779, m. Luther Lathrop of Wilmington, Vt.; *Polly*, b. Sept. 12, 1781, m. Nov. 23, 1800, Joseph Cutler of Chicopee; *Otis*, b. July 17, 1783, m. June 13, 1804, Clarissa Kellogg, and d. Oct. 1846; *Pickering*, b. June 28, 1785, d. unm. in Amh., Feb. 15, 1808; *Matilda*, b. June 14, 1787, m. Benoni Rust of Amh., and d. Nov. 30, 1832; *Sarah*, b. Nov. 15, 1789, m. Oct. 16, 1806, Zaccheus Crocker Ingram of Amh., and d. Aug. 30, 1832; *Moses*, b. Jan. 13, 1792, m. March 3, 1814, Anna Smith, and d. in Ia., Jan. 12, 1842; *Aaron*, b. Feb. 7, 1794, d. Sept. 18, 1796; *Parker*, b. July 18, 1796, m. (1) Sept. 21, 1819. Martha Graves, dau. of Seth Dickinson of Amh.; (2) June 8, 1837, Mary A., dau. of Joseph Dickinson of Amh., and res. in Amh.; *Aaron*, b. Sept. 7, 1798, m. Barbara Alvord, and d. Feb. 15, 1846, in Brunswick, N. Y.; *David*, b. Nov. 12, 1800, d. Jan. 8, 1801.

14. JOHN, s. of John, (7) a physician in Hat., d. May 2, 1845. He m. Feb. 1, 1790, Sybil Dickinson. She d. July 29, 1843. Children—*Chester*, b. Dec. 2, 1790, res. in Hat., m. Sept. 20, 1818, Lois Dickinson; *John*, b. Dec. 22, 1791, m. Lucretia Ward of Petersham, rem. to Onondaga Hollow, N. Y.; *Mary* b. 1794, m. Dr. Chester Bardwell of Whately; *Sybil*, b. July 31, 1796, d. young; *Justin*, b. July 23, 1800, m. Dolly Wait of Hat.; *Sophia*, b. Nov. 10, 1802.

1. HAWKES, JOHN, came abt. 1660, from Windsor, Ct., and was buried June 30, 1662. He m. Elizabeth ——. She m. (2) Robert Hinsdale; (3) June 25, 1683, Thomas Dibble of Windsor, Ct. Children—*John*, bapt. Aug. 13, 1643; *Nathaniel*, bapt. Feb. 16, 1645, d. young; *Elizabeth*, bapt. Jan. 10, 1647, m. Nov. 24, 1664, Joseph Gillett; *Anna*, bapt. Oct. 1, 1648, m. (1) Oct. 10, 1672, Thomas Hastings, and d. Oct. 25, 1705; *Isaac*, b. Aug. 11, 1650, drowned in Conn. river, June 22, 1659; *Mary*, b. May 23, 1652, m. (1) Oct. 10, 1672, Experience Hinsdale; (2) July, 1677, John Evans; *Joanna*, b. Feb. 8, 1654, m. William Arms of Deerfield, and d. Nov. 22, 1729; *Eliezer*, b. Dec. 20, 1655; *Sarah*, b. Sept. 29, 1657, m. (1) 1677, Philip Mattoon of Deerfield; (2) Daniel Belden, and d. Dec. 17, 1751; *Gershom*, b. Aug. 12, 1659, d. young.

2. JOHN, s. of John, (1) settled in Hat., whence he rem. to Deerfield, and subsequently to Waterbury, Ct., where he d. He m. (1) Dec. 26, 1667, Martha, (probably Baldwin,) who d. Jan. 7, 1676; (2) Nov. 20, 1696, Alice, wid. of Samuel Allis of Hat. She was slain by French and Indians, Feb. 29, 1704. Children—*John*, b. June 26, 1671, d. young; *John*, m. Thankful ——, and was slain, Feb. 29, 1704; *Hannah*, m. 1694, Jonathan Scott of Waterbury, Ct., and d. April 7, 1744; *Elizabeth*, b. 1697, taken captive in 1704, and was slain on the way to Canada.

3. ELIEZER, s. of John, (1) was deacon in Deerfield, where he d. March 22, 1727. He m. April 30, 1689, Judith, dau. of William Smead of Nh. Children —*Thankful*, b. 1690, m. (1) Thomas Taylor; (2) Daniel Ashley of Westfield; *Eliezer*, b. 1693; *Mary*, b. 1695, m. Jonathan Pattison; *Elizabeth*, b. 1697, m. Hezekiah Stratton; *Nathaniel*, b. 1699; *Sarah*, b. 1701, m. 1726, Thomas Wells; *Hannah*, b. 1703, m. 1727, Samuel Allen; *John*, b. 1707.

1. HAWLEY, SAMUEL, b. Feb. 23, 1686, s. of Joseph of Nh. and grandson of Thomas of Roxbury, settled in Hat., whence he rem. to Amh. He m. Dec. 2, 1708, Mehitable, dau. of Samuel Belding. Children—*Lydia*, b. April 3, 1710, m. Aug. 4, 1730, John Morton of Amh.; *Samuel; Joseph; Moses*, b. April 3, 1718; *John*, probably the man who in 1762 was warned out of Sunderland; *Dorothy*, b. abt. 1723, m. May 1, 1741, Ephraim Kellogg of Amh., and d. July 26, 1812, ae. 89; *Mary*, m. Jonathan Nash of Amh.

2. SAMUEL, s. of Samuel, (1) Amh., d. in the army, Dec. 15, 1750. He m. abt. 1736, Sarah, dau. of Zechariah Field of Amh. Children—*Anne*, perhaps; *Elijah*, d. in the army, Nov. 30, 1756; *Sarah*, m. (1) Benjamin Buckman; (2) —— Hodden; *Zechariah*, bapt. April 10, 1743, d. young; *John*, bapt. Dec. 28, 1746; *Miriam*, bapt. Jan. 1, 1749; *Mehitable*, m. her cousin, David Hawley of Amherst; *Zechariah*, bapt. May 13, 1753, m. Rebecca, dau. of Jonathan Edwards of Amh., was a dea. in Amh., and d. June 1, 1824, ae. 71.

3. Joseph, s. of Samuel, (1) Amh., d. abt. 1756. He m. (1) Jan. 13, 1737, Rebecca, dau. of Zechariah Field of Amh.; (2) 1753, (pub. April 12,) Thankful Alexander. She m. (2) Daniel Kellogg of Amh. Children—*Asenath*, bapt. Dec. 1739, m. 1758, (pub. Sept. 1,) Jonathan Scott of Sunderland; *Joseph*, b. July 1, 1744, d. young; *Joseph*, bapt. Oct. 10, 1748; *Abigail*, d. July 15, 1758; *Rebecca*.

4. Moses, s. of Samuel, (1) Amh., d. July 27, 1802, ae. 84. He m. (1) Jan. 10, 1744, Eunice Houghton; (2) 1750, (pub. April 2,) Rebecca Gould. Children—*Rebecca*, b. abt. 1751, d. unm., Jan. 26, 1846, ae. 88; *Asenath*, b. abt. 1760, d. unm., Dec. 20, 1847, ae. 87; *Eunice*, b. abt. 1763, d. Oct. 20, 1843, ae. 80; *David*, m. his cousin, Mehitable Hawley, and d. in Amh., April 23, 1829; *Noah*, rem. to Natick; *Samuel*, m. Dec. 28, 1803, Fanny Perry.

1. HENDERSON, Gideon, resided for a few years after marriage in Nh., whence abt. 1745 he rem. to Sunderland, and thence to Amh., where he d. Dec. 6, 1791. He m. Aug. 4, 1740, Sarah Baker. She d. Aug. 25, 1803. Children—*Sarah*, b. July, 1741, d. 1742; *Sarah*, b. Sept. 12, 1743, d. Oct. 13, 1760; *Gideon*, b. Aug. 30, 1745, d. Sept. 4, 1745; *Mehitable*, b. July 23, 1746, d. Nov. 24, 1760; *Elizabeth*, b. Jan. 1, 1748, m. Jan. 15, 1767, John Field, and d. April 6, 1783; *Mary*, b. April 24, 1751, d. Oct. 15, 1760; *Gideon*, b. Oct. 9, 1753, m. Abigail, dau. of Joseph Church of Amh., rem. to Claremont, N. H., and d. July 10, 1825, ae. 61; *Timothy*, b. Jan. 18, 1756; *Susanna*, b. March 15, 1758, m. Moses Cook, and d. 1824.

2. Timothy, s. of Gideon, (1) Amh., d. Oct. 14, 1833, ae. 77. He m. Anna Wales. Children—*Ira*, b. Sept. 10, 1781, d. in Orange, O., 1850; *Timothy*, b. March 30, 1784, m. (1) Aug. 26, 1811, Mary Parker; (2) Tryphena, wid. of Charles Kellogg of Amh., and d. in Had., Oct. 28, 1861; *Zebina*, b. June 18, 1786, d. in Hudson, N. Y., Sept., 1812; *Luther*, b. Aug. 5, 1788; *Gideon*, b. Sept. 28, 1790, rem. to Mt. Morris, N. Y.; *Seth Smith*, b. Sept. 6, 1794, m. (1) Lima Farnum; (2) ——, and d. in Euclid, N. Y., in 1844; *Nancy*, b. Jan. 14, 1797, m. March, 1819, Ashley Hubbard of Sunderland; *Horace*, b. March 1, 1801, m. (1) Oct. 28, 1824, Martha Hubbard; (2) May 23, 1832, Caroline Rowe of Sunderland, and res. in Amherst.

HENRY, James, rem. from Had. to S. H., as early as 1763, and d. April, 1767. He m. Elizabeth. Children — *Josiah; Sarah; Margaret*, b. Feb. 17, 1731; *William*, b. July 8, 1732; *Samuel*, b. May 25, 1734; *Elizabeth*.

1. HIBBARD, George, came to Had. from Windham, Ct., abt. 1780, and d. July 15, 1823. At the date of his death, he had had 16 children, 109 grandchildren, and 51 great grandchildren. Children — *John; George; Eliphaz*, b. April 1, 1782; *Son*, b. Aug. 6, 1784; *Sally*, b. March 12, 1786; *Dau.*, b. May 18, 1788; *Dau.*, b. March 29, 1790; *Dau.*, April, 1791.

2. John, s. of George, (1) d. Sept. 1, 1855, ae. 87, at which date he had had 14 children, 30 gr. children, and 27 great gr. children. He m. 1792, (pub. Jan. 29,) Irene Belding of Whately. Children—*Child*, d. April 29, 1793; *Elias*, b. Feb. 7, 1794; *John*, bapt. July 12, 1795; *Lucy*, bapt. Feb. 5, 1797; *John*, b. June 10, 1798; *Albert*, bapt. May 4, 1800; *Chester*, b. Oct. 17, 1802; *Eliphaz*, b. Oct. 24, 1803; *Irene*, bapt. Nov. 5, 1809.

3. GEORGE, s. of George, (1) d. Dec. 1849, ae. 69. He m. Nov. 30, 1797, Susanna Washburn. Children—*Clarissa; Truman; Elizabeth; Eliphaz; Isaiah Washburn.*

4. ELIAS, s. of John, (2) d. Jan. 2, 1828. He m. (1) Phila, (2) Lydia C. ——. Children—*Richard M.*, b. Jan. 16, 1823; *Elias Worcester*, b. June 30, 1830; *Phila Elizabeth*, b. Dec. 9, 1832; *Rufus Pomroy; Emily Jane*, b. April 29, 1836; *Henry Harrison*, b. June 6, 1840.

HICKSON, WALTER, Hat., d. April 3, 1696. He m. Feb. 1679, Sarah, wid. of Barnabas Hinsdale, and dau. of John White. She d. Aug. 10, 1702. Children—*John*, b. Nov. 7, 1679, d. July 2, 1691; *Elizabeth*, b. Jan. 26, 1681, prob. d. young; *Jacob*, b. Jan. 26, 1683, captured by Indians and slain in 1704, at Cowas, N. H., while on the way to Canada.

1. HILLIARD or HILLYER, JOHN, b. June 3, 1637, s. of John of Windsor, Ct., rem. to Nh., and thence to Had., where he d. Dec. 29, 1729, ae. 85. He m. Sept. 30, 1664, Anne Baxter, who d. June 5, 1728, ae. 84. Children—*John*, b. Dec. 26, 1669; *Mary*, b. Dec. 28, 1671; *Timothy*, b. Nov. 4, 1686.

2. TIMOTHY, s. of John, (1) rem. to S. H., and d. Dec. 9, 1759, ae. 72. He m. Mehitable. Children—*Margaret*, b. May 6, 1716, m. Daniel Crowfoot; *John*, b. Feb. 5, 1717; *Mehitable*, b. Nov. 22, 1721, m. Oct. 25, 1740, William Thompson; *Mary*, b. May 22, 1725, m. Ephraim Crowfoot; *Timothy*, b. Dec. 15, 1728; *Joseph*, b. Feb. 21, 1735.

3. JOHN, s. of Timothy, (2) S. H. He m. Mary. Children—*John*, b. Sept. 14, 1744; *Patience*, b. Feb. 18, 1746; *Warham*, b. Aug. 1, 1747, d. 1747; *Submit*, b. 1749, d. 1749; *Anne*, b. 1750, d. Jan. 8, 1832, ae. 81; *Uriah*, b. 1752; *Joseph*, b. 1755; *Warham*, b. 1757.

4. TIMOTHY, s. of Timothy, (2) S. H. Child—*Hannah*, b. Oct. 23, 1756, m. —— Fuller.

1. HINSDALE, ROBERT, Dedham, 1638, freeman March 13, 1639, rem. to Medfield, thence as early as 1672 to Had., and later to Deerfield, where together with his sons Barnabas, John and Samuel, he was slain by Indians. He m. (1) Ann; (2) Elizabeth, wid. of John Hawkes. She m. (3) 1683, Thomas Dibble of Windsor, Ct. Children—*Elizabeth*, m. July 7, 1657, James Rising; *Barnabas*, b. Nov. 13, 1639; *Gamaliel*, perhaps mistake for Samuel, b. March 5, 1642; *Mary*, b. Feb. 14, 1644; *Experience*, b. Jan. 23, 1646; *John*, b. Jan. 27, 1648, slain by Indians, Sept. 18, 1675; *Ephraim*, b. Sept. 26, 1650.

2. BARNABAS, s. of Robert, (1) rem. from Hat. to Deerfield, and was slain Sept. 18, 1675, at Bloody brook, being one of Capt. Lathrop's Co. He m. Oct. 15, 1666, Sarah, wid. of Stephen Taylor, and dau. of John White. She m. (3) Feb. 1679, Walter Hickson, and d. Aug. 10, 1702. Children—*Barnabas*, b. Feb. 20, 1668, m. Nov. 9, 1693, Martha Smith, settled in Hartford, Ct., and d. Jan. 25, 1725; *Sarah*, m. Jan. 8, 1691, Samuel Hall of Middletown, Ct.; *Elizabeth*, b. Oct. 29, 1671, d. March 8, 1672; *Isaac*, b. Sept. 15, 1673, m. Jan. 6, 1715, Lydia Loomis, settled in Hartford, Ct., and d. abt. March 1, 1739; *Mary*, b. March 27, 1677.

3. Samuel, s. of Robert, (1) rem. from Had. to Deerfield, where he was killed by Indians, Sept. 18, 1675. He m. Oct. 31, 1660, Mehitable Johnson, perhaps dau. of Humphrey of Roxbury. She m. (2) John Root, (3) Dea. John Coleman. Children—*Mehitable*, b. Oct. 18, 1663, prob. m. Obadiah Dickinson; *Ann*, b. Feb. 22, 1666; *Mary*, m. 1685, Thomas Sheldon, and d. Sept. 1738; *Sarah*, m. 1692, Samuel Janes; *Samuel*, m. Abigail ——, and d. in Medfield, Jan. 1730; *Mahuman*, m. Mary, and d. in Deerfield, May 9, 1736.

4. Experience, s. of Robert, (1) Deerfield, d. 1676. He m. Oct. 10, 1672, Mary, dau. of John Hawks. She m. (2) July, 1677, John Evens of Hat. and Deerfield. Children—*Elizabeth*, m. John Cornwell of Middletown; and another daughter, whose name is not known.

5. Ephraim, s. of Robert, (1) rem. from Hat. to Deerfield, but returned to Hat., and d. Aug. 20, 1681. He m. Mehitable ——, who m. (2) John Gardner. Children—*John*, b. Aug. 7, 1677; *Experience*, b. July, 1679, m. Nathaniel Clark of Medfield; *Mehitable*, b. abt. 1681, m. Nathaniel Wright of Medfield.

HITCHCOCK, Charles, deacon, s. of Enos of Brookfield, was b. Jan. 27, 1798. He m. (1) May 12, 1823, Sophia, dau. of Moses Porter; (2) Aug. 21, 1843, Cornelia Hubbard Wells, b. May 29, 1807, dau. of Roswell Hubbard of Northampton.

HITCHCOCK, Mrs. Thankful, wid. of Enos, d. June 27, 1853, ae. 75.

HODGE, George, a tailor, resided for a time in Nh., but removed, and finally settled in Had. He m. 1757, Jane Question. She d. March, 1804, ae. 80. Children—*William*, b. Sept. 30, 1758; *John*, b. Oct. 19, 1760, m. March 19, 1789, Sarah Dickinson; *George*, b. March 18, 1763.

2. William, s. of George, (1.) He m. (1) Dec. 22, 1785, Amanda Hopkins; (2) Nov. 6, 1808, Esther Edwards. Children—*George*, b. Oct. 14, 1786; *William*, b. April 9, 1788; *Emily*, b. Feb. 7, 1790; *Timothy*, b. Dec. 31, 1791; *Charles*, b. Aug. 23, 1793; *Mary*, b. April 25, 1795; *Henry*, b. April 13, 1797; *Robert Wilson*, b. Dec. 13, 1799; *Giles*, b. April 29, 1801; *Anna*, b. Oct. 20, 1803; *Hannah*, b. March 25, 1807; *Esther*, b. Oct. 10, 1808.

3. Henry, s. of William, (2.) He m. Nov. 20, 1823, Eliza, dau. of John Nash. Children—*Mary Guilford*, b. Sept. 27, 1824, d. July 26, 1826; *Harriet Merrick*, b. Feb. 6, 1826, m. Oct. 7, 1847, Hon. Thomas F. Plunkett of Pittsfield; *Lester Porter*, b. Feb. 2, 1828, graduated A. C. 1850, and d. in Athens, O., May 28, 1851; *Elizabeth Hervey*, b. July 16, 1831, d. May 2, 1833; *Lephe Nash*, b. Oct. 22, 1833, d. Oct. 25, 1835; *William Henry*, b. July 24, 1841.

HODGE, Benjamin, Children—*Charles D.*, b. Nov. 15, 1826; *James W.*, b. July 8, 1828; *Harriet M.*, b. Feb. 22, 1830; *Eliza*, b. May 10, 1832; *Samuel*, b. Sept. 20, 1835; *Sarah G.*, b. March 1, 1837; *Susan A.*, b. Nov. 21, 1839.

HOLT, Moses Pike. Children—*Moses Pike*, b. May 15, 1806; *William Henry*, b. May 26, 1808; *Giles*, b. May 22, 1810.

1. HOPKINS, Rev. Samuel, D. D., s. of Rev. Samuel of West Springfield, was b. Oct. 31, 1729, grad. Y. C. 1749. Tutor in Y. C. 1751–4, ord. as pastor of church in Had., Feb. 26, 1755, received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Y. C. in 1802, and d. March 8, 1811, ae. 81. He m. (1) Feb. 17, 1756, Sarah, wid. of his predecessor, Rev. Chester Williams, and dau. of Eleazar Porter, Esq., of Had. She d. Feb. 5, 1774; (2) Oct. 1776, Margaret, dau. of Rev. Sampson Stoddard of Chelmsford. Children—*Samuel*, b. Oct. 31, 1756, d. in Martinico, July 11, 1782, ae. 25; *Mabel*, b. Aug. 28, 1758, m. Oct. 28, 1779, Moses Hubbard, and d. April 19, 1829, ae. 70; *Hannah*, b. Aug. 10, 1760, m. Nov. 4, 1779, Rev. Samuel Spring, D. D. of Newburyport, and d. June 11, 1819, ae. 58; *Jerusha*, b. July 14, 1762, m. Sept. 14, 1788, Rev. Samuel Austin, D. D., of Worcester, and d. March 26, 1841, ae. 78; *Stephen*, b. June 1, 1764, m. (1) Nancy Turner, was a joiner in Hanover, N. H., Brookfield, Vt., and Peacham, Vt.; *Polly*, b. March 6, 1766, m. Dec. 15, 1785, Benjamin Colt, and d. Sept. 14, 1813, ae. 47; *Lucy*, b. Feb. 6, 1768, m. Sept. 4, 1797, Rev. William Riddel of Bristol, Me.; *John*, b. Jan. 17, 1770; *Elizabeth*, b. June 12, 1772, m. Nov. 1, 1793, Rev. Leonard Worcester of Peacham, Vt.

2. John, s. of Rev. Samuel, (1) a merchant, rem. April, 1814, from Hadley to Boston, and thence in Oct. 1824 to Northampton, where he d. Jan. 9, 1842, ae. 71, leaving a very large estate. He m. 1797, Lydia, dau. of Thomas Thompson of Newburyport. She was b. April 17, 1773, and d. in Newburyport, April 10, 1842, ae. 68. Children—*Sarah Ann Wait*, b. Jan. 20, 1799, m. Sept. 23, 1822, Rev. John Wheeler, then of Windsor, Vt., but afterwards President of University of Vermont at Burlington. She d. in Burlington, Nov. 2, 1847; *Elizabeth*, b. May 18, 1802, d. Aug. 1, 1802; *Thomas Thompson*, b. Dec. 13, 1804, d. June 27, 1805; *Samuel*, b. April 11, 1807, grad. D. C. 1827, was ordained and installed over the 1st church in Montpelier, Vt., Oct. 26, 1831, and dismissed May, 1835, was installed over 1st church in Saco, Me., Feb. 1836, and dismissed 1841, reinstalled over the same church in 1842, and dismissed 1845. He now resides in Nh. and is an author of note. He m. May 29, 1832, Caroline W., dau. of Josiah Dwight of Nh.; *Erastus*, b. April 7, 1810, grad. D. C. 1830, was settled May, 1835, in the ministry at Beech Island, Edgefield District, S. C., and dismissed 1837. He was settled in the fall of 1837 over the 2d Presbyterian church in Troy, N. Y., and dismissed in the fall of 1841. He has since resided in Nh., and has represented that town in the Legislature. As a political speaker, he has in the State few superiors. He m. (1) June 25, 1835, Sarah H. Benedict of Charleston, S. C., who d. May 3, 1838; (2) Nov. 18, 1841, Charlotte Frelinghuysen, dau. of Rev. William Allen, D. D., of Nh.; *George*, b. Sept. 13, 1812, d. at the Santa Cruz, West Indies, March 16, 1830, ae. 17, while a member of Yale College; *Lewis Spring*, b. Sept. 18, 1815, entered in 1831 the University of Vermont, but left before graduation, pursued his medical studies at Northampton, and in Boston, New Haven, Ct., and Philadelphia, Pa., and graduated at Med. Col. at Charleston, S. C. About the year 1840, he commenced the practice of his profession in Northampton, but after two years was compelled by failing health to abandon the same. His residence has since been at Northampton. He m. Oct. 14, 1846, Fanny J. Washburn of Boston.

HOPKINS, Timothy, deacon, b. April 9, 1762, s. of Timothy and nephew of Rev. Samuel, D. D., came from West Springfield, and d. March 17, 1840. He m. Aug. 9, 1792, Rebecca, dau. of Eliakim Smith. She d. Aug. 17, 1848. Children—*Charles*, b. June 13, 1793, grad. Y. C. 1814, and d. Dec. 28, 1816; *Mehitable*, b. April 30, 1795, m. —— Hunt; *Emily*, b. Jan. 19, 1805, m. Sept. 12, 1838, Sherman Peck; *William Smith*, b. Feb. 4, 1807, a farmer in New Salem, m. Sept. 3, 1848, Adeline Fitts.

HOVEY, Joseph, s. of Daniel of Ipswich, settled in Had., but rem. perhaps (says Savage) to Cambridge, d. in Milton, May or June, 1690. He m. May 31, 1677, Hannah Pratt, perhaps dau. of John of Hartford, Ct. Children—*Joseph*, b. Feb. 28, 1678; *Ebenezer*, b. Nov. 5, 1680; *Hannah*, b. Nov. 21, 1682; *John*, b. Aug. 21, 1684; *Caleb*, b. June 4, 1687; *Thomas*, b. June 6, 1681, says record, perhaps a mistake for 1689.

1. HOVEY, Lt. Thomas, from Ipswich, per. s. of Daniel, freeman 1681, lieut., representative, 1699 and 1703, and d. 1739, ae. 91. He m. Sarah, dau. of Aaron Cook. Children—*Thomas*, b. 1678; *Sarah*, b. Dec. 25, 1680, m. Jan. 21, 1704, Jonathan Winchell; *Abigail*, b. Jan. 8, 1682, m. Jan. 27, 1701, Nathaniel Austin, Jr.; *Joanna*, b. abt. 1684, m. —— Wadsworth; *Elizabeth*, b. abt. 1686, m. John Smith, s. of Joseph; *Miriam*, b. Aug. 27, 1689, m. Jan. 30, 1709, Benjamin Church; *Hannah*, b. Nov. 5, 1691, buried March 7, 1694; *Three daughters*, b. and d. Nov. 12, 1693; *Daniel*, b. Dec. 1, 1694, d. Feb. 13, 1716; *Dorcas*, b. Feb. 1, 1698, d. unm., March 3, 1795, ae. 97; *Rachel*, b. Jan. 20, 1700, d. Oct. 12, 1703.

2. Thomas, s. of Thomas, (1) d. in Sunderland, in 1728. He m. (1) Mary Crafts, who d. Jan. 6, 1714; (2) Nov. 5, 1719, Hannah, dau. of Samuel Dickinson of Hat. She became deranged, and d. abt. 1757. Children—*Mary*, b. Feb. 12, 1710; *Martha*, m. (1) 1746, Nathaniel Barstow; *Thomas*, b. and d. 1720; *Hannah*, b. 1721, d. March 30, 1730; *Sarah*, b. 1723, d. young; *Miriam*, b. 1726, d. young.

1. HOYT, David, deacon, s. of Nicholas, b. in Windsor, Ct., April 22, 1651, rem. to Hat. and thence to Deerfield. He, together with his wife and children, Jonathan, Sarah, Ebenezer, and Abigail, was taken captive in the sack of Deerfield, Feb. 29, 1704, and carried away towards Canada, and perished of hunger near the lower Cohoes. He m. (1) April 3, 1673, Sarah, dau. of Thomas Wells, who d. before Sept. 1676; (2) Mary; (3) Abigail, wid. of Joshua Pomeroy, and dau. of Nathaniel Cook of Windsor. She m. (3) Dea. Nathaniel Rice of Wallingford, Ct. Children—*Samuel*, b. June 12, 1674; *David; Mary*, m. April 4, 1707, Judah Wright; *Sarah*, b. May 6, 1686, m. —— Nims; *Jonathan*, b. April 6, 1688; *Benjamin*, b. Sept. 15, 1692, rem. to Wallingford, Ct.; *Ebenezer*, b. Aug. 21, 1695, remained among the Indians; *Abigail*, b. May 1, 1702, killed on the way to Canada, March, 1704.

2. David, s. of David, (1) Deerfield, slain by Indians, Feb. 29, 1704. He m. April 14, 1699, Hannah, dau. of Joseph Edwards of Nh. She was b. Sept. 1675, and m. (2) 1706, Samuel Field. Children—*Sarah*, b. Jan. 16, 1700, d. April 12, 1700; *Mary*, b. April 20, 1703, m. July 4, 1723, Jonathan Wells, and d. Nov. 22, 1750.

3. JONATHAN, s. of David, (1) Deerfield, d. May 23, 1779. He m. Mary Field, who d. June 26, 1780. Children—*Mary*, b. Oct. 5, 1714, m. Oct. 24, 1740, Ebenezer Sheldon; *Abigail*, b. Sept. 10, 1716, m. (1) Oct. 18, 1743, Matthew Clesson; (2) John Nims; *Sarah*, b. July 9, 1719, m. Dec. 6, 1740, John Burk; *David*, b. Oct. 26, 1722, m. (1) 1743, Mercy Sheldon; (2) April 25, 1754, Silence King, and d. in Deerfield, Sept. 6, 1814; *Hannah*, b. April 8, 1726, d. Dec. 22, 1728; *Jonathan*, b. Feb. 20, 1728, m. July 11, 1751, Experience Childs, and d. May 7, 1813.

HUBBARD, HEZEKIAH, came from Lebanon, Ct., and d. May 1, 1775, ae. 38. He m. Jan. 31, 1760, Mabel, dau. of Edmund Hubbard. She d. May 3, 1816, ae. 81. Children—*Lucinda*, b. Feb. 13, 1761, d. July 11, 1761, ae. 4 mos.; *Lucinda*, b. Nov. 25, 1761, m. (1) Sept. 7, 1780, William Jones; (2) —— Haskell; *Mabel*, b. Aug. 19, 1768, d. unm. May 20, 1842; *Hezekiah*, b. Oct. 6, 1770, rem. to the West; *Hannah*, b. Aug. 19, 1772, d. unm. 1860; *John Hancock*, b. 1774.

1. HUBBARD, JOHN, s. of George of Wethersfield, Milford and Guilford, Ct., came abt. 1660 from Wethersfield, Ct., and d. abt. 1705. He m. Mary (perhaps Merriam of Concord) who survived him. Children—*Mary*, b. Jan. 27, 1651, d. young; *John*, b. April 12, 1655; *Hannah*, b. Dec. 5, 1656, d. 1662; *Jonathan*, b. Jan. 3, 1659, m. —— Merriam, and d. in Concord, 1728, ae. 70; *Daniel*, b. March 9, 1661; *Mercy*, b. Feb. 23, 1664, m. Oct. 12, 1685, Jonathan Boreman of Wethersfield, Ct.; *Isaac*, b. Jan. 16, 1667; *Mary*, b. April 10, 1669, m. 1688, Daniel Warner; *Sarah*, b. Nov. 12, 1672, m. Samuel Cowles of Hat.

2. JOHN, s. of John, (1) settled in Glastenbury, Ct. Children—*John; David; Ephraim; Isaac; Sarah.*

3. DANIEL, s. of John, (1) d. Feb. 12, 1744, ae. 82. He m. Nov. 1, 1683, Esther Rice, or Rise. She d. Feb. 11, 1737, ae. 67. Children—*Esther*, b. Jan. 17, 1685, m. Nov. 13, 1707, Leonard Hoar; *Anna*, b. July 13, 1687, d. May 13 or 25, 1688; *Daniel*, b. May 7, 1689, per. moved to Brimfield; *Anna*, b. July 10, 1691; *Mary*, b. Jan. 11, 1694, m. Dec. 15, 1715, Peter Montague, Jr.; *Elizabeth*, b. April 5, 1695; *Samuel*, b. April 9, 1697, m. Hannah Bliss of Springfield, and rem. to Brimfield; *Rachel*, b. Oct. 16, 1698, m. Sept. 13, 1729, Gabriel Williams; *Edmund*, b. July 18, 1700; *Joseph*, b. June 5, 1702, d. Nov. 26, 1706; *Joshua*, b. July 23, 1705, d. Aug. 7, 1705; *Rebecca*, b. Sept. 19, 1706, m. May 13, 1727, Jacob Williams of Hartford, Ct.

4. ISAAC, s. of John, (1) settled in Hat., whence in 1714, he rem. to Sunderland, where he was a deacon, and d. Aug. 7 or 9, 1750, ae. 83. He m. Ann, dau. of Daniel Warner. She d. June 26, 1750. Children—*John*, b. April 20, 1693; *Isaac*, b. Jan. 14, 1695; *Mary*, b. Feb. 25, 1697; *Daniel*, b. April 30, 1699; *Hannah*, b. Sept. 7, 1701, m. 1727, Nathaniel Mattoon; *Jonathan*, b. Dec. 29, 1703, grad. Y. C. 1724, settled as first pastor of church in Sheffield, Oct. 22, 1735, dismissed in 1764, and d. July 6, 1765, ae. 61; *Joseph*, b. April 8, 1708; *David*, b. March 9, 1712.

5. EDMUND, s. of Daniel, (3) d. April 27, 1766. He m. Ruth, who d. Nov. 25, 1775. Children—*Anna*, b. July 4, 1729, d. unm. Feb. 1, 1764; *Ruth*, b. Aug. 1, 1732, m. May 4, 1758, James Meacham; *Edmund*, b. Feb. 11, 1734; *Mabel*, b. March 17, 1737, m. Jan. 31, 1760, Hezekiah Hubbard, and d. May 3, 1816; *Esther*, b. March 22, 1738, m. Oct. 14, 1773, Peter Strong of

Chesterfield; *Moses*, b. May 30, 1740, d. Jan. 17, 1743; *Moses*, prob. grad. Y. C. 1765, teacher, m. Oct. 28, 1779, Mabel, dau. of Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., d. in Brookfield, Vt.

6. JOHN, s. of Isaac, (4) Hat., a deacon, d. Aug. 25, 1778, ae. 85. He m. Hannah Cowles of East Hartford, Ct., who d. Feb. 19, 1777, in 85th yr. Children—*Mary*, b. July 28, 1719, m. Joseph Warner, and rem. to Cummington; *Elisha*, b. Sept. 4, 1721; *Hannah*, b. March 28, 1724, d. March 20, 1727, ae. 3; *John*, b. Nov. 6, 1726, grad. Y. C. 1747, settled May 30, 1750, over the church in Northfield, where he d. Nov. 28, 1794, ae. 68.

7. ISAAC, s. of Isaac, (4) Sunderland, d. abt. 1763. He m. (1) July 4, 1723, Christian, dau. of Dea. Samuel Gunn of Hat. and Sunderland; (2) Abigail, wid. of Jonathan Atherton of Amh. and dau. of John Kellogg. Children—*Israel*, b. Jan. 18, 1725, m. 1747, Abigail Smith, and d. in Sunderland, April 21, 1817, ae. 92; *Hannah*, b. July 11, 1727, m. (1) 1745, Simeon Graves; (2) Absalom Scott; *Isaac*, b. Jan. 6, 1730; *Elijah*, b. Dec. 16, 1731; *Christian*, b. Dec. 17, 1733, m. Paul Field of Northfield; *Anna*, b. March 8, 1739; *Giles*, b. Sept. 7, 1742, d. in Sunderland, Aug. 21, 1824, ae. 81.

8. DANIEL, s. of Isaac, (4) Sunderland, d. May 30, 1779, ae. 80. He m. 1732, Mary, dau. of Samuel Gunn of Hat. and Sunderland. Children—*Mary*, b. 1734; *Daniel*, b. 1736; *Martha*, b. 1739, d. young; *Martha*, b. 1741, m. Timothy Parsons.

9. JOSEPH, s. of Isaac, (4) rem. from Had. to Leverett, and d. abt. 1783. He m. Nov. 4, 1737, Joanna, dau. of Samuel Porter. She d. Dec. 12, 1766. Children—*Susanna*, b. July 6, 1738, m. Jan. 29, 1760, Wilder Willard of Fort Dummer; *William*, b. Aug. 22, 1742, d. Aug. 16, 1752; *Anna*, m. Israel Hubbard; *Joanna*, m. Nahum Ward.

10. DAVID, s. of Isaac, (4) Sunderland, and m. 1743, Miriam Cooley, doubtless dau. of Simon of Sunderland. Children—*Moses*, b. 1743; *David*, b. 1748; *Gideon*, b. 1751; *William*, b. 1754.

11. EDMUND, s. of Edmund, (5) d. May 5, 1791. He m. Dec. 17, 1761, Margaret, dau. of Samuel Gaylord. She d. Dec. 9, 1825, ae. 85. Children—*Lucy*, b. Feb. 24, 1764, m. Oct. 26, 1786, Samuel Porter, and d. Jan. 23, 1848; *Daniel*, b. Feb. 19, 1766, d. Nov. 12, 1775; *Elisha*, b. June 6, 1768; *Samuel*, b. Aug. 18, 1770, d. Nov. 12, 1775; *Susanna*, b. Sept. 17, 1772; *Elizabeth*, b. Sept. 1, 1774, m. Elihu Smith; *Daniel*, b. Sept. 24, 1776, rem. to the vicinity of Troy, N. Y.; *Edmund*, b. March 8, 1779, rem. to Chester; *William*, b. March 6, 1781, d. Dec. 30, 1846, in Cummington; *David*, b. Dec. 25, 1788, d. ae. abt. 14.

12. ELISHA, s. of John, (6) Hat., d. April 11, 1768, ae. 46. He m. June 7, 1748, Lucy, dau. of Thomas Stearns of Worcester. She was b. Oct. 6, 1727. Children—*Hannah*, b. Feb. 2, 1750, m. Aug. 2, 1770, Simeon White, Jr., of Williamsburgh, and d. Feb. 17, 1786, ae. 36; *Elisha*, b. Nov. 12, 1751; *Lucy*, b. Sept. 26, 1753, m. Gershom Clark Lyman of New Marlboro', Vt.; *Anna*, b. Dec. 26, 1755, m. Nov. 27, 1799, Josiah Allis of Whately, and d. June 21, 1839, ae. 83; *Elisha*, b. Sept. 13, 1758; *Lucretia*, b. Sept. 23, 1760, m. Epaphroditus Champion of Haddam, Ct.; *Sarah; John.*

13. Isaac, s. of Isaac, (7) rem. from Sund. after 1756 to Amh., and thence in his old age to Wilmington, Vt., where he d. abt. 1810. He m. Oct. 29, 1752, Submit, dau. of Isaac Graves of Sunderland. Children—*Elihu*, b. March 24, 1754, m. March 3, 1779, —— Smith of Leverett, and d. in Goshen; *Stephen*, b. July 27, 1756, m. Feb. 10, 1780, Lucy, dau. of William Boltwood of Amh., and d. in Manchester, Ct., Dec., 1828, ae. 72; *Lucy*, b. abt. 1758, m. Simeon Clark of Amh., and d. March 19, 1793, ae. 35; *Irene*, bapt. May 29, 1763, m. (1) Nov. 23, 1786, Asahel Clark of Amh.; (2) Feb. 18, 1808, William Boltwood of Amh., and d. Aug. 6, 1831, ae. 68; *Elijah*, prob. bapt. Sept. 20, 1767, m. Feb. 15, 1795, Abi, dau. of Noadiah Lewis of Amh., and d. in Amh., March 24, 1814, ae. 47; *Chester*, bapt. March 14, 1770, m. Dorothy, dau. of Martin Kellogg of Amh., and rem. to Wilmington, Vt.

14. Elisha, s. of Edmund, (11) settled in Chesterfield, but returned to Had., and d. Feb. 24, 1827. He m. Feb. 9, 1797, Lucinda, dau. of Stephen Noble of Westfield. She was b. Jan. 27, 1774, and d. Oct. 29, 1857, ae. 83. Children—*Maria*, b. Feb. 7, 1798; *Harriet*, b. June 7, 1799; *Lucinda*, b. April 4, 1801, m. Aug. 15, 1826, Lyman Selby; *Margaret Gaylord*, b. June 13, 1804, m. July 6, 1836, Seth Barlow; *Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 24, 1807, m. Nov. 1834, Erastus Hall; *Eunice Noble*, b. Oct. 30, 1809, m. April 13, 1831, Theodore Bartlett of Nh.; *Susan*, b. Dec. 19, 1812, m. April 9, 1843, Erastus Nash, Jr.

15. Elisha, s. of Elisha, (12) Williamsburgh, where he kept a public house and was town clerk. He d. May 17, 1843, ae. 84. He m. June 22, 1780, Hannah, dau. of Daniel White of Hat. She d. March 27, 1824, ae. 64. Children—*Lucinda*, b. Aug. 27, 1780; *Sally*, b. Oct. 10, 1782, d. Oct. 11, 1782; *Jeremiah*, b. Oct. 10, 1783, d. Nov. 25, 1786; *Jeremiah*, b. Nov. 24, 1786, m. Feb. 25, 1813, Huldah Nash, and d. May 18, 1850, ae. 63; *Elisha*, b. Sept. 29, 1789, grad. W. C. 1811, a lawyer in Williamsburgh, d. unm., Aug. 30, 1853, ae. 64; *Erastus*, b. Feb. 27, 1792, m. 1818, Wealthy Amanda Mayhew, and d. Sept. 14, 1850, ae. 58; *Hannah*, b. July 4, 1794, d. ae. 7 yrs.; *Lucretia*, b. Dec. 25, 1796, m. Jan. 5, 1815, Walter Price of Williamsburgh; *Sally*, b. Sept. 7, 1799, m. 1818, Moses Putney, resided in Munroe Co., N. Y., and d. 1838, ae. 39; *Hannah*, b. Oct. 1800.

1. HUNT, John, d. Dec. 20, 1840. He m. Jan. 4, 1816, Mehitable Hopkins. Children—*Charles*, b. Feb. 18, 1818, d. March 17, 1825; *Harriet Mills*, b. May 17, 1819, m. Nov. 3, 1836, Otis S. Baker, and d. Dec. 24, 1840, ae. 21; *Timothy Edwards*, b. Dec. 3, 1820; *Emily Hopkins*, b. Sept. 15, 1822, m. May 26, 1842, Henry A. Ferry; *John*, b. Dec. 10, 1824; *Charles*, b. Aug. 10, 1826, d. Aug. 31, 1826; *Mary Ann*, b. Dec. 15, 1827.

2. John, s. of John, (1) m. Jan. 2, 1851, Sarah Angeline, dau. of David Gould of Heath. Children—*John Gould*, b. Aug. 8, 1853; *Charles Hopkins*, b. Dec. 7, 1854; *Harriet Baker*, b. March 12, 1857; *Lewis Frederick*, b. Jan. 2, 1859; *Helen Emily*, b. Dec. 29, 1859, d. Feb. 24, 1860.

HUNTER, Stephen, m. Hannah. Child—*Mary Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 13, 1836.

1. INGRAM, John, b. abt. 1642, freeman 1683, d. June 22, 1722, ae. 80. He m. 1660, Elizabeth, dau. of Samuel Gardner. She d. Nov. 29, 1684. Children—*John*, b. June 29, 1661; *Jadiah*, b. Aug. 16, 1668; *Samuel*, b.

Oct. 8, 1670; *Ebenezer*, b. Feb. 3, 1673, d. April 11, 1690; *Nathaniel*, b. Oct. 8. 1674; *Jonathan*, b. 1676, slain at Deerfield, Feb. 28, 1704; *Elizabeth*, b May 1, 1679, d. Jan. 3, 1702; *Abigail*, b. Jan. 12, 1683.

2. JOHN, s. of John, (1) rem., when advanced in years, to Amh., where he was living Oct. 1742. He m. June 26, 1689, Mehitable, dau. of John Dickinson. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. March 15, 1691, m. (1) March 27, 1712, Philip Panthorn; (2) Dec. 13, 1716, Ebenezer Kellogg; *John*, b. Jan. 9, 1693; *Ebenezer*, b. Dec. 10, 1694, d. Nov. 21, 1695; *Hannah*, b. Oct. 17, 1697, m. Nov. 1716, Dea. John Nash of Had. and Amh.; *Mehitable*, b. Sept. 13, 1698, m. Nov. 6, 1724, Aaron Smith; *Mary*, b. July 10, 1702; *Ebenezer*, b. Nov. 10, 1701, d. Jan. 6, 1702; *Rebecca*, b. Nov. 5, 1704, m. Nov. 11, 1726, Nathaniel Smith; *Jonathan*, b. Dec. 15, 1708, d. Jan. 26, 1709; *Experience*, b. April 17, 1714, d. Aug. 21, 1714; *Elisha*, b. Sept. 7, 1717.

3. SAMUEL, s. of John, (1) prob. resided in Had. until after 1703, and then removed. He is named March 19, 1722, in his father's will. He m. Oct. 14, 1696, Hannah, dau. of Daniel Warner of Hat. She d. June 28, 1699.

4. NATHANIEL, s. of John, (1) is said to have lived to an advanced age. He m. 1696, Esther Smith. Children—*Esther*, b. July 23, 1697, m. Oct. 14, 1725, Isaac Selden; *Elizabeth*, b. April 6, 1699, m. Sept. 26, 1726, Samuel Belding of Deerfield; *Abigail*, b. Aug. 24, 1700; *Mercy*, b. April 15, 1702, m. Oct. 6, 1732, Jonathan Selden; *Ebenezer*, b. Nov. 18, 1703, d. in Amh., March 26, 1735. Perhaps he m. Jane, who in 1737 or 1738 m. Robert Rogers; *Nathaniel*, b. May 18, 1708; *Hannah*, b. April 14, 1711, m. May 18, 1743, Dea. Nathaniel Montague; *Jonathan*, b. June 5, 1713; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 2, 1717, m. Jan. 27, 1740, Charles Chauncey.

5. JOHN, s. of John, (2) Amh., d. Nov. 11, 1737, ae. 45. He m. June 29, 1719, Lydia, dau. of Samuel Boltwood. She d. abt. 1779. Children—*Samuel*, b. Dec. 18, 1720; *Sarah*, b. Sept. 25, 1725, m. Dec. 9, 1743, Joseph Eastman of Amh., and d. Aug. 30, 1811, ae. 86; *Philip*, b. Aug. 27, 1727; *John*, b. Nov. 19, 1730; *Reuben*, b. Nov. 18, 1732; *Ebenezer*, b. May 21, 1737, d. May 25, 1738.

6. ELISHA, s. of John, (2) Amh., d. May 23, 1783. He m. Aug. 14, 1743, Elizabeth, wid. of Noadiah Lewis of Farmington, Ct., and dau. of Dea. Ichabod Smith. She prob. d. Oct. 1789. Children—*Anna*, b. June 10, 1744, m. Martin Wait of S. H.; *Elizabeth*, b. Sept. 16, 1746, m. Barnabas Sabin; *Eunice*, b. Sept. 23, 1748, m. Lieut. —— Williams of Leverett; *Lucy*, b. July 22, 1750, m. Perez Moody; *Azubah*, b. April 15, 1752, m. Paul Newton; *Elenor*, b. Jan. 2, 1754, m. Doct. Moses Gunn of Montague; *Jerusha*, b. May 7, 1756, m. Dec. 16, 1781, Joseph Kellogg of Amh., and d. Dec. 5, 1824, ae. 69; *Susannah*, b. June 10, 1758, d. Sept. 26, 1760.

7. NATHANIEL, s. of Nathaniel, (4) S. H., m. Nov. 11, 1742, Martha, dau. of Joseph Kellogg of S. H. Children—*Nathaniel*, b. Aug. 23, 1743; *Sarah*, b. Sept. 18, 1745; *Martha*, b. Nov. 23, 1747.

8. JONATHAN, s. of Nathaniel, (4) d. Nov. 12 or 14, 1748, ae. 35. He m. May 18, 1743, Mary, dau. of John Montague, Jr. Children—*Jonathan*, b. Jan. 5, 1745; *John*, b. Aug. 9, 1746; *Mary*, b. Nov. 21, 1748.

9. SAMUEL, s. of John, (5) Amh., d. abt. 1769. He m. (1) Oct. 21, 1740, Abigail, dau. of Dea. Ebenezer Dickinson of Amh.; (2) July 11, 1751, Mary,

dau. of Solomon Boltwood of Amh. She d. abt. 1780. Children—*Lydia*, bapt. Aug. 29, 1744, m. John Morton of Amh., and d. June 21, 1834, ae. 90; *Sarah*, bapt. Aug. 16, 1747, m. Oliver Cooley of Sunderland; *Ebenezer*, bapt. June 19, 1752, d. Oct. 6, 1752; *Abigail*, bapt. Sept. 9, 1753, m. April 3, 1783, Abraham Parker of Whately; *John*, bapt. April 13, 1755, m. Susannah Crocker; *Samuel*, bapt. Jan. 2, 1757, m. June 17, 1783, Jerusha Blodgett; *Mary*, bapt. Feb. 24, 1760, m. Elisha Ellis of Whately; *Elisha*, bapt. June 24, 1764, d. ae. 19; *Hannah*, b. Dec. 18, 1767, m. June 22, 1786, Ebenezer Morton of Hat., and d. Aug. 28, 1848; *Lucretia*, bapt. May 20, 1770, d. unm., ae. abt. 20.

10. Philip, s. of John, (5) Amh., m. March 10, 1757, Experience Peirce, prob. wid. of Jonathan, and dau. of Peter Montague of S. H. Children—*Lodeona*, bapt. Oct. 1, 1758; *Philip*, b. April 27, 1760; *Experience*, bapt. Nov. 1, 1761, m. Sept. 29, 1785, Gideon Shattuck, and d. in Ticonderoga, N. Y., Sept. 12, 1837, ae. 76; *William*, bapt. May 15, 1763; *Jonathan Peirce*, bapt. Oct. 12, 1766; *Lucretia* and *Lucinda*, (twins,) bapt. May 22, 1768; *Asa*, bapt. Jan. 27, 1771; *Phebe*, bapt. Aug. 9, 1772; *Roswell*, bapt. July 30, 1775.

11. John, s. of John, (5) Amh., d. Aug. 30, 1809. He m. Feb. 9, 1758, Thankful Rose. Children—*Ebenezer*, m. 1789, Esther Rood; *Gideon*, m. (1) May 1, 1791, Mary, dau. of Dea. Jonathan Edwards of Amh.; (2) Mary King, and d. in Amh., July 1, 1798, ae. 35; *Naomi*, m. Eliab Alvord of Westhampton; *Gershom*, m. Martha Belden; *Oshee; Robert*, m. 1790, Sarah Bolles; *Ezekiel*, rem. to Vt.; *Joab; Peter*, d. young.

12. Reuben, s. of John, (5) Amh., d. June 16, 1791, ae. 57. He m. 1755, (pub. June 6,) Phebe, dau. of Capt. Daniel Shattuck of Hinsdale, N. H. She was b. Dec. 27, 1729, and d. Aug. 4, 1806. Children—*Joanna*, bapt. May 23, 1756, d. April 9, 1783, ae. 27; *Phebe*, d. Oct. 25, 1767, ae. 8; *David*, bapt. March 6, 1763, d. Jan. 23, 1827; *Jonathan*, bapt. April 21, 1765, d. Oct. 22, 1767, ae. 2; *Nathaniel*, bapt. April 21, 1765, d. March 20, 1776, ae. 11; *Nathan*, bapt. July 30, 1769, d. Feb. 24, 1818, ae. 49; *Phebe; Nathaniel; Sarah.*

13. Nathaniel, s. of Nathaniel, (7) S. H., d. Aug. 19, 1815. He m. Hannah, who d. July 8, 1838. Children—*Hannah*, b. Feb. 16, 1772, d. March 15, 1797; *Ebenezer*, b. Nov. 3, 1775; *Martha*, b. Feb. 2, 1777; *Nathaniel*, b. March 26, 1779; *Esther*, b. April 19, 1781; *Abigail*, b. July 2, 1784; *Artemas*, b. March 11, 1787, d. 1830; *Alpheus*, b. Oct. 31, 1789; *Warren*, b. Oct. 31, 1793.

14. Jonathan, s. of Jonathan, (8.) Children—*Jonathan*, b. April, 1779; *Samuel*, b. March, 1781; *Son*, b. April 20, 1783; *Joanna*, bapt. April 17, 1785; *Ira*, bapt. Dec. 31, 1786; *Elisha*, bapt. April 17, 1789.

INGRAM, William, m. Jan. 1, 1789, Esther White. Children—*Oliver*, bapt. Sept. 30, 1792; *Experience*, (dau.) bapt. Sept. 30, 1792; *Quartus*, bapt. Nov. 24, 1793; *Charles*, bapt. Jan. 29, 1797; *Child*, b. Nov. 1791; *Child*, b. 1793.

JENNINGS, Stephen, freeman 1690, came perhaps from Brookfield to Hat., and returned thither. He m. probably, (2) May 15, 1677, Hannah, wid. of Samuel Gillett, and dau. of John Dickinson of Had. She with two of her Gillett children was in 1667 carried to Canada. Children—*Captivity*,

b. March 14, 1678, m. Abijah Bartlett; *Stephen*, b. June 16, 1680. He or his father was slain by the Indians, July 20, 1710; *Joseph*, b. Aug. 23, 1682; *Sarah*, b. Aug. 29, 1684; *Benjamin*, slain by the Indians, July 20, 1710; *John: Jonathan*, b. Nov. 24, 1692.

JUDD, Asahel, b. in Nh., s. of Thomas of Nh., who was s. of Samuel of Nh., who was s. of Dea. Thomas of Cambridge, Hartford, and Windsor, settled in S. H. He was an Ensign in a colonial company in Nova Scotia, in the French war, and d. near Minas, N. S., in 1756. He m. (1) Rachel Wait of Nh., who d. April 26, 1751, in 24th yr.; (2) 1754, (pub. Feb. 3,) Mary Ely of Springfield. She m. (2) —— Sikes. Children—*Simeon*, d. unm., in Nh., Nov. 2, 1826, ae. 77; *Martha*, m. Aaron Bush of Westfield.

1. JUDD, Reuben, b. in Nh., 1733, (s. of Thomas of Nh., who was s. of Samuel of Nh., who was s. of Dea. Thomas of Cambridge, 1632, Hartford, 1636, and Farmington, 1644,) settled in S. H., where he d. March 7, 1815, ae. 81. He m. (1) Elizabeth, dau. of Moses White of S. H. She d. May 9, 1765, ae. 24; (2) Elizabeth, dau. of John Smith. She d. March 31, 1781, ae. 31; (3) Dec. 12, 1784, Submit, dau. of Moses Graves of Hat. She d. in Had., Dec. 24, 1830. Children—*Achsah*, b. Oct. 8, 1759, m. abt. 1778, Thomas Wells of Leyden, and d. Jan. 1847, ae. 87; *Reuben*, b. Jan. 10, 1761, m. Nov. 27, 1791, Rachel Smead, and d. in Streetsborough, Portage Co., O.; *Lydia*, b. June 10, 1762, m. Eli Day of Nh., and d. May 8, 1812; *Elizabeth*, b. Jan. 10, 1764; *Salathiel*, b. Aug. 31, 1769; *Elizabeth*, b. Jan. 9, 1771, m. (1) Nov. 29, 1792, Dr. Asahel Merrill of Shelburne; (2) Dec. 22, 1809, Levi Clapp of Easthampton; (3) Asahel Judd of Charlemont; *Lucy*, b. Oct. 28, 1772, d. unm.; *Supplina*, b. Nov. 4, 1774, m. Jan. 26, 1797, Jemima Pooler, rem. to Alleghany Co., N. Y.; *Mahlah*, b. March 26, 1777, m. Luther Stebbins of Caldwell, N. Y.; *Samuel*, b. April 24, 1779; *Tirzah*, b. Feb. 26, 1781, m. —— Beckwith; *Lucinda*, b. Sept. 1785, d. unm. in Had., Oct. 3, 1838, ae. 53; *Mary*, b. Nov. 1787, d. in Chester, ae. abt. 15; *Horace*, b. Oct. 1789.

2. Salathiel, s. of Reuben, (1) rem. to Chester, and d. 1821. He m. Irene, dau. of Abraham Day. She d. in S. H. Children—*Harvey*, b. abt. 1793, d. unm., 1820, ae. 27; *Salathiel*, b. May 3, 1795; *Alfred*, b. April 3, 1798; *Alvin*, b. March, 1800, rem. to Ill., m. Jan. 3, 1822, Eliza White; *Quartus*, m. Jan. 13, 1842, Mrs. Julia M. Crawford, and res. in S. H.; *Theodosia*, m. Daniel Blair of Warren, and rem. to Ill.; *Lucy*, m. James Hamilton of Chester; *Irene*, m. Ira Bacon; *James Madison*, rem. to Ill., m. (1) Aurelia White; *Elizabeth*, m. Andrew Hayward of Hartford, rem. to Ill., and d.

3. Samuel, s. of Reuben, (1) S. H., d. March 2, 1825. He m. Nov. 23, 1800, Fidelia, dau. of Justus Wright. She d. June 17, 1843, ae. 62. Children—*Fidelia*, b. Dec. 13, 1801, d. Sept. 26, 1802; *Samuel*, b. Jan. 25, 1803, d. Dec. 17, 1805; *Fidelia*, b. May 15, 1804, m. Alanson Dickinson of Had., and d. in Michigan, April 15, 1846; *Samuel*, b. May 29, 1806; *twin daughters*, b. and d. Jan. 12, 1808; *Melissa*, b. Jan. 8, 1809, m. Nov. 1827, Asa Clark; *Dorcas*, b. April 5, 1811, m. Josiah W. Goodman; *Andrew Wright*, b. Oct. 29, 1812, drowned July 9, 1823; *Edwin Smith*, b. Sept. 27, 1814, d. at sea, Oct. 29, 1836; *Daniel Austin*, b. April 16, 1816, res. in Springfield; *Albert*, b. June 22, 1818, has changed his name to Albert Judd Wright, is a painter in Boston; *George*, b. April 28, 1820, d. April 15, 1822.

4. Horace, s. of Reuben, (1) d. in Had., Jan. 4, 1831, ae. 41. He m. abt. 1820, Joanna, dau. of Eli Smith of Had. She m. (2) 1845, Asa Brown of Had. Children—*Henry M.*, d. Sept. 19, 1827, ae. 7; *Martha Smith*, d. Sept. 17, 1827, ae. 5; *Eliza Ann*, b. April, 1825, d. Sept. 1830; *Charles Porter*, b. Sept. 2, 1826, m. Algenette Moody of S. H., and res. in S. H.; *Martha Smith*, b. April 11, 1829; *Lucinda*, b. Dec. 20, 1830, d. Dec. 19, 1844.

5. Salathiel, s. of Salathiel, (2) S. H., d. March 28, 1842, ae. 46. He m. Laura Taylor of Chester. Children—*Ellen*, b. Nov. 14, 1819, m. Feb. 14, 1849, Jonathan Burnet, Jr.; *Harvey*, b. Oct. 7, 1822, m. Catharine Kellogg of S. H., and res. in S. H.; *Mary Miller*, b. Jan. 9, 1825, m. Henry M. Goodman; *Lewis Strong*, b. Aug. 19, 1827, m. Nancy Jane Trip of Fair Haven, and res. in S. H.; *Edward Hooker*, b. Dec. 27, 1829, m. Mary Ann Brainard of S. H., and res. in S. H.; *Alfred Salathiel*, b. Sept. 19, 1833, d. Sept. 27, 1848.

6. Alfred, s. of Salathiel, (2) S. H., m. Oct. 13, 1822, Polly, dau. of Selah Smith of S. H. Child—*Irene Sophia*, b. Jan. 5, 1824, m. 1848, Joseph Strong Preston.

7. Samuel, s. of Samuel, (3) rem. abt. 1852, from S. H. to Grand Rapids, Mich. Children—*Emily Sophia*, b. Jan. 27, 1833, d. Aug. 31, 1833; *Samuel Adolphus*, b. May 21, 1834, m. Clarissa Smith of S. H.; *George Edwin*, b. March 23, 1838; *Elliot Eugene* and *Ellen Eugenia*, (twins,) b. Sept. 13, 1841.

1. JUDD, Thomas, b. in Nh. 1723, s. of Thomas of Nh., who was s. of Samuel of Nh., who was s. of Dea. Thomas of Cambridge, 1632, Hartford, 1636, and Farmington, 1644, res. in S. H., and d. Dec. 21, 1802, in 80th yr. He m. (1) 1749, (pub. Oct. 26,) Esther Jones of Springfield. She d. Jan. 8, 1760, in 35th yr.; (2) Esther, dau. of Daniel Graves of Greenfield. She d. May 30, 1772, in 38th yr.; (3) Thankful, dau. of John Allen of Greenfield. She d. Feb. 9, 1775, in 39th yr.; (4) Ruth Taylor of West Springfield. She d. Nov. 16, 1793, in 57th yr. Children—*Thomas*, b. Nov. 11, 1750; *Levi*, b. Jan. 15, 1753, d. young; *Esther*, b. Jan. 4, 1755, m. Joseph Bascom of Greenfield; *Asahel*, b. Sept. 4, 1757, d. young; *Silva*, b. March 10, 1764, m. Luther Smith of S. H.; *Levi*, b. Oct. 27, 1765; *Asahel*, b. Sept. 28, 1767, d. abt. 1852, in Charlemont. He m. (1) Dec. 18, 1790, Azubah, dau. of Josiah Snow; (2) Sept. 21, 1795, Margaret, dau. of Capt. Thomas Lothrop of Martha's Vineyard; (3) his cousin Elizabeth, wid. of Levi Clapp of Easthampton, and dau. of Reuben Judd of S. H.; *Elijah*, b. June 29, 1769; *Allen*, b. Jan. 25, 1775.

2. Thomas, s. of Thomas, (1) S. H., d. March, 1813. He m. Hannah Stanley of S. H. She d. Dec. 5, 1841. Children—*Sarah*, b. Oct. 22, 1784, m. May 18, 1826, Seth Smith of Gr.; *Simeon*, b. March 9, 1786; *Hannah*, b. July 27, 1788, d. unm., Feb. 1848; *Lydia*, b. May 2, 1790, d. July 6, 1791; *Lydia*, b. Feb. 3, 1792, d. unm., Jan. 1848; *Sophia*, b. June 26, 1794, d. unm., in Gr., Feb. 11 or 16, 1841; *Tirzah*.

3. Levi, s. of Thomas, (1) deacon in S. H., whence in April, 1827, he rem. to Geneva, N. Y., and d. Sept. 1829. He m. 1786, Lucy, dau. of Josiah Snow of S. H. She m. Dea. Wilder of Geneva, N. Y., and d. there, June, 1846. Children—*Zebina*, b. Sept. 24, 1787; *Ruth*, b. July 7, 1789; *Lucy*,

b. Aug. 21, 1791, m. Halsey Brainard of S. H.; *Azubah*, b. Nov. 1, 1793, m. Oct. 2, 1821, Smith Kentfield, and res. in Ohio; *Levi*, b. Feb. 18, 1796, m. Jan. 25, 1820, Elvira Taylor, and rem. to Waterloo, N. Y., but d. in Geneva, N. Y.; *Hervey*, b. April 7, 1798; *Nabby*, b. Oct. 26, 1800, m. Moses C. Wright; *Milton*, b. Nov. 17, 1802, m. Theodocia Thompson, and settled in Geneva, N. Y.; *Thomas*, b. April 4, 1805, m. Mary Ann Brewster, and moved to Fredonia, N. Y.; *Lorenzo*, b. April, 1807, d. July, 1807.

4. ELIJAH, s. of Thomas, (1) res. in S. H., Charlemont and Gr., and d. March 7, 1837. He m. (1) May 3, 1795, Elizabeth, dau. of Josiah Snow of S. H.; (2) Wid. Lucy Tufts, dau. of Benjamin Smith. Children—*Quartus*, b. Nov. 21, 1795, d. in S. H., of consumption; *Betsey*, b. Sept. 14, 1797, d. in Gr., of consumption; *Esther*, b. May 24, 1799, d. in Gr. of consumption; *Jemima*, b. March 12, 1801, d. in Gr. of consumption; *Cordelia*, b. March 16, 1803, m. Algernon Sidney Bartlett, and d. of consumption; *Elijah*, b. Feb. 20, 1805, d. in Geneva, N. Y.; *Josiah*, b. Feb. 28, 1807, res. in Wisconsin; *Climene*, b. July 22, 1809, m. —— Burt of Springfield; *Sylvester*, b. Aug. 24, 1811, res. in Collinsville, Ct.; *Jonathan Jones*, b. Jan. 25, 1814, res. in Wis.

5. ALLEN, s. of Thomas, (1) S. H., d. Aug. 26, 1828. He m. Jan. 2, 1797, Sarah, dau. of Ebenezer Snow. Children—*Willard*, b. Dec. 26, 1797; *Otis*, b. March 16, 1800, d. Nov. 3, 1826; *Sally*, b. May 20, 1802; *Allen*, b. March 14, 1804, res. in Chicopee; *William*, b. April 3, 1807, d. young; *Asaph*, b. Jan. 22, 1810; *Thankful*.

6. SIMEON, s. of Thomas, (2) S. H., m. Lydia, dau. of Eli Day of Nh. Children—*Alethea Day*, b. Sept. 30, 1823, m. Elam Hitchcock of Southampton; *Andrew Thomas*, b. Feb. 9, 1826, m. June 26, 1851, Sarah H. Day; *Lydia*, b. July 24, 1828, m. Levi Stockwell of Had.

7. ZEBINA, s. of Levi, (3) S. H., m. Nov. 23, 1812, Laura, dau. of Silas Smith. Children—*Zebina*, b. Feb. 23, 1814, m. Eliza Turner, and rem. to Fredonia, N. Y.; *Warren Smith*, b. March 27, 1816, d. Oct. 23, 1817; *Warren Smith*, b. Sept. 6, 1820, m. Jerusha Dickinson of Had.; *Henry Holden*, b. Oct. 30, 1822, m. Mary Bonney of Had., and res. in S. H.; *Lucy Asenath*, b. March 30, 1826, m. Oliver Bonney of Had.

8. HERVEY, s. of Levi, (3) S. H., was killed in his cellar, by lightning, Aug. 8, 1853, ae. 55. He m. Maria Alvord of Nh. Children—*Harriet Maria*, b. Jan. 26, 1827; *Edwin Hervey*, b. June 20, 1828, m. Elvira Thorp; *Levi Harrison*, b. Oct. 29, 1829; *Twins*, b. Aug. 27, 1833, d. Aug. 31, 1833; *Samuel Emerson*, b. Oct. 5, 1835, d. May 9, 1836; *Louisa Irene*, b. Nov. 23, 1836; *John Dwight*, b. Nov. 4, 1840, d. young.

9. WILLARD, s. of Allen, (5) S. H., m. Sophia Searl of Norwich. Children — *Otis Allen*, b. Sept. 6, 1829, m. Celia Thorp; *Elizabeth Sophia*, b. Sept. 12, 1831, m. March 14, 1851, George White of Had.; *Henry W.*, b. Nov. 20, 1833; *Watson S.*, b. Oct. 20, 1835; *Sarah Ellen*, b. Sept. 15, 1837; *Child*, b. and d. Dec. 13, 1840; *John Dwight*, b. May 8, 1843.

10. ASAPH, s. of Allen, (5) S. H., d. June 8, 1856, ae. 46. He m. Lucretia, dau. of John Bates of Westhampton. She d. May, 1855. Children—*Frances Jane*, b. Jan. 22, 1836; *William Asaph*, b. March 4, 1838; *John Harrison*, b. April 7, 1840.

1. KELLOGG, JOSEPH, weaver, of Farmington, Ct., in 1651, rem. as early as 1659 to Boston, and thence as early as 1662 to Hadley, where he was a lieutenant and often one of the selectmen. He d. ae. abt. 80, in 1707 or 1708, as appears from the fact, that his will dated 1707, was proved Feb. 4, 1708. He m. (1) Joanna ——, who d. Sept. 14, 1666; (2) May 9, 1667, Abigail, dau. of Stephen Terry of Windsor, Ct. She was living as late as 1714, at which date she gave land to her son Ebenezer. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. March 5, 1651, d. young; *Joseph*, b. Aug. 11, 1653, d. between 1680 and 1684; *Nathaniel*, bapt. Oct. 29, 1654, d. young; *John*, bapt. Dec. 29, 1656; *Martin; Edward*, b. Oct. 1, 1660; *Samuel*, b. Sept. 28, 1662; *Joanna*, b. Dec. 8, 1664, m. Nov. 29, 1683, John Smith; *Sarah*, b. Aug. 27, 1666, m. April 27, 1686, Samuel Ashley of Westfield; *Stephen*, b. April 9, 1668; *Nathaniel*, b. Oct. 8, 1669; *Abigail*, b. Oct. 9, 1671, m. Nov. 14, 1688, Jonathan Smith of Hat.; *Elizabeth*, b. Oct. 9, 1673, m. Nov. 27, 1691, John Nash; *Prudence*, b. Oct. 14, 1675, m. April 18, 1699, Dea. Abraham Merrill of West Hartford, Ct., and d. Sept. 21, 1747, ae. 71; *Ebenezer*, b. Nov. 22, 1677, rem. to Colchester, Ct., as early as 1726; *Jonathan*, b. Dec. 25, 1679, rem. to Colchester, Ct., and d. Aug. 8, 1771, ae. 91; *Daniel*, b. March 22, 1682, d. July 5, 1684; *Joseph*, b. April or May 12, 1684, res. in Hat., and d. s. p., Sept. 9, 1724, ae. 40. He m. July 5, 1710, Elizabeth Colton. She m. Joseph Billings; *Daniel*, b. June 10, 1686, d. young; *Ephraim*, b. —— 2, 1687, d. young.

2. JOHN, s. of Joseph, (1) d. between 1723 and 1728. He m. (1) Dec. 23, 1680, Sarah, dau. of Samuel Moody. She d. Sept. 10, 1689; m. (2) Ruth ——, who was alive in 1732. Children—*Sarah*, b. May 2, 1682; *John*, b. March 21, 1684, d. March, 1691; *Joseph*, b. Nov. 6, 1685; *Samuel*, b. April 1, 1687, res. in Westfield; *Son*, b. and d. Sept. 9, 1689; *Ruth*, b. April 5, 1693, d. Nov. 15, 1705; *Joanna*, b. June 12, 1694, m. 1719, Samuel Taylor; *Esther*, b. Feb. 17, 1696; *Abigail*, b. Sept. 20, 1697, m. (1) Feb. 14, 1729, Jonathan Atherton; (2) Jan. 24, 1745, Isaac Hubbard of Sunderland; *John*, b. Oct. 1699, d. June 10, 1727, ae. 28; *James*, b. July 10, 1701.

3. MARTIN, s. of Joseph, (1) Hat., whence he afterwards rem. to Hat., and later to Suffield, Ct. He m. (1) Dec. 10, 1684, Anna, dau. of Samuel Hinsdale. She d. July 19, 1689, ae. 23; (2) Feb. 27, 1691, Sarah, wid. of Samuel Lane, and dau. of John Dickinson. She d. Feb. 11, 1732; (3) Oct. 5, 1732, Sarah, wid. of Ebenezer Smith of Suffield, and dau. of Thomas Huxley of Suffield. Children—*Martin*, b. Oct. 26, 1686, res. in Newington, Ct., and d. Nov. 15, 1753, ae. 67. He m. Jan. 3, 1716, Dorothy, dau. of Stephen Chester of Wethersfield, Ct. She was b. Sept. 5, 1692; *Anna*, b. July 14, 1689, m. 1712, Joseph Severance; *Joseph*, b. Nov. 8, 1691, an Indian interpreter, was for several years at Fort Dummer, was at the Albany treaty in 1754, and d. in 1756 on the Oswego expedition. He was buried in Schenectady, N. Y.; *Joanna*, b. Feb. 8, 1693, was captured in 1704, by French and Indians, and married an Indian chief in Canada; *Rebecca*, b. Dec. 22, 1695, m. Benjamin Ashley of Westfield, and d. 1757, at Onohogwage; *Jonathan*, b. Dec. 17, 1698.

4. EDWARD, s. of Joseph, (1) rem. abt. 1713, to Brookfield. He m. Dorothy. Children—*Joseph*, b. Oct. 29, 1692, d. July 22, 1709; *Joanna*, b. Oct. 5, 1694; *Thomas*, b. Dec. 17, 1696; *Dorothy*, b. March 6, 1700; *Catha-*

rine, b. Feb. 1, 1702; *Mary*, b. March 29, 1703; *Ephraim*, b. April 19, 1707, sold in 1729, to Thomas Kellogg of Lebanon, Ct., all lands in Brookfield; *Elinor*, b. Jan. 20, 1710; *Edward*, b. Aug. 25, 1713, sold in 1729, to Thomas Kellogg of Lebanon, Ct., all lands in Brookfield.

5. SAMUEL, s. of Joseph, (1) a deacon in Hartford, Ct., d. 1717. He m. Sept. 22, 1687, Sarah Merrill, who d. 1719. Children—*Samuel*, b. —— 27, 1688, m. May 11, 1711, Hannah Benton; *Margaret*, b. Jan. 1690; *Abraham*, b. 1692, m. 1718, Miriam Cook, and d. 1718; *John*, b. Dec. 16, 169–; *Isaac*, b. Jan. 169–; *Jacob*, b. April 17; *Benjamin*, b. Jan., m. Nov. 9, 1721, Abigail Sedgwick; *Joseph*, b. April 13; *Daniel*, b. Apr., m. Nov. 27, 1729, Deborah Moor.

6. STEPHEN, s. of Joseph, (1) removed in 1697 from Had. to Westfield, where he d. June 5, 1722. He m. May 8, 1695, Lydia Belding. Children—*Stephen*, b. Feb. 3, 1695; *Lydia*, b. Jan. 24, 1697, perhaps m. Jan. 17, 1734, Benjamin Lewis of Colchester, Ct.; *Moses*, b. Oct. 26, 1700, d. Sept. 15, 1704; *Abigail*, b. Dec. 27, 1702, m. Benjamin Sheldon; *Daniel*, b. Dec. 16, 1704, m. May 13, 1731, Hannah, dau. of Matthew Noble of Westfield, and d. Jan. 11, 1756; *Ephraim*, b. July 2, 1707, prob. m. 1737, Lydia ——, res. in Northfield, Shutesbury, &c., and was slain 1759, in Capt. Smith's Co.; *Mercy*, b. Oct. 30, 1709; *Noah*, b. Feb. 13, 1711; *Silas*, b. April 7, 1714, m. May 10, 1739, Ruth Root, and d. in Sheffield, Jan. 24, 1792, ae. 77; *Amos*, b. Sept. 30, 1716, m. May 27, 1747, Prudence Sedgwick, and d. in Sheffield, Nov. 26, 1770, ae. 54.

7. NATHANIEL, s. of Joseph, (1) rem. abt. 1739 to Amh., and d. Oct. 30, 1750, ae. 80. He m. June 28, 1692, Sarah, dau. of Samuel Boltwood. She was living Jan. 26, 1761. Children—*Nathaniel*, b. Sept. 22, 1693; *Ebenezer*, b. May 31, 1695; *Ezekiel*, b. April 15, 1697; *Samuel*, b. April 4, 1699; *Sarah*, b. March 12, 1701, m. May 26, 1720, Ebenezer Dickinson of Amh., and d. March 22, 1743; *Abigail*, b. March 19, 1703, m. Sept. 7, 1726, Benjamin Sheldon of Westfield; *Mary*, b. March 9, 1706, m. Nov. 14, 1732, Doct. Richard Crouch, and d. Dec. 29, 1788, ae. 82; *Ephraim*, b. Aug. 2, 1709; *Experience*, m. Oct. 15, 1736, Timothy Nash of Shutesbury.

8. JOSEPH, s. of John, (2) rem. to S. H. His son John was appointed his administrator in 1788, several years after his death. He m. March 15, 1711, Abigail, dau. of Ebenezer Smith. Children—*Abigail*, b. Dec. 8, 1711; *Sarah*, b. Jan. 8, 1714, prob. m. Joseph Moody; *Ebenezer*, b. Dec. 26, 1715; *Ruth*, b. Jan. 18, 1717, m. Dec. 21, 1739, Benjamin Church; *Martha*, b. May 21, 1720, m. Nov. 11, 1742, Nathaniel Ingram; *Esther*, b. Sept. 19, 1722; *Joseph*, b. Dec. 24, 1724; *John*, b. Oct. 13, 1727.

9. JAMES, s. of John, (2) d. July 15, 1758, ae. 57. He m. Aug. 11, 1727, Experience, dau. of Dea. John Smith. She d. Aug. 23, 1762. Children—*John*, d. unm., Sept. 7, 1771, in 41st yr.; *Experience*, m. July 21, 1772, Eli Root; *Ruth*, m. 1757, (pub. Dec. 27,) Joshua Ballard, and d. 1776; *Jemima*, m. Feb. 23, 1769, Stephen Nash, Jr., of Stockbridge, and d. Feb. 17, 1790, ae. 53; *Jerusha*, m. Nov. 14, 1771, Eliakim Smith; *Joanna*, m. 1765, (pub. Feb. 28,) Stephen Goodman, and d. 1831, ae. 89; *Mercy*, prob. m. Sept. 18, 1777, Peter Strong of Chesterfield.

10. Stephen, s. of Stephen, (6) a trader and innkeeper, d. Dec. 11, 1738. He m. June 18, 1734, Mary, dau. of Moses Cook. She m. (2) Oct. 30, 1744, Moses Nash of West Hartford, Ct., and d. Sept. 21, 1775. Children—*Stephen*, b. July 2, 1736, d. Dec. 1738; *Abigail*, b. Aug. 10, 1738, m. 1757, Ashbel Wells of West Hartford, Ct.

11. Nathaniel, s. of Nathaniel, (7) was a noted surveyor, and d. Aug. 6, 1770. He m. (1) March 4, 1714, Sarah, dau. of John Preston. She d. Oct. 16, 1756; (2) 1758, (pub. July 1,) Mrs. Martha Hammond of Hardwick, dau. of Ichabod Allis of Hat. She d. Sept. 13, 1764; (3) 1765, (pub. Oct. 5,) Mrs. Elizabeth Smith of Ware. Children—*Daniel*, b. abt. 1717; *Joel*, b. abt. 1724, res. in Whately, and d. 1798, ae. 74. He m. 1748, (pub. Aug. 7,) Joanna, dau. of Samuel Clark of Nh.; *Abraham; Gardner; Moses; Prudence*, b. abt. 1723, m. June 27, 1751, Josiah Parsons, Jr., of Nh., and d. June 27, 1791, ae. 68; *Phebe*, m. Nov. 9, 1749, Eleazar Nash of Gr., and d. abt. 1777; *Sarah*, d. unm.; *Nathaniel*, d. Nov. 8, 1756; *Abigail*, d. Oct. 15, 1756.

12. Ebenezer, s. of Nathaniel, (7) was a captain, res. in Had., Amh., New Salem and Stow, and d. in Had., at the house of his sister, Mrs. Crouch, Aug. 17, 1766. He m. (1) Dec. 13, 1716, Elizabeth, wid. of Philip Panthorn, and dau. of John Ingram; (2) 1756, (pub. Sept. 18,) Mrs. Sarah Stevens of Stow. Children—*Martin*, b. Sept. 24, 1718; *Ebenezer*.

13. Ezekiel, s. of Nathaniel, (7) was a trader in Had, and New Salem. He m. Elizabeth, dau. of Samuel Partridge. Children—*Elizabeth*, d. 1726, ae. 2; *Dau.*, d. 1725; *Maria*, d. 1726; *Ezekiel*, b. Sept. 22, 1728; *Cotton*, b. Nov. 2, 1732, d. unm., 1756; *Giles Crouch*, b. May 7, 1733, grad. H. C. 1751, a physician in Had., d. Aug. 28, 1793; *William*, b. Feb. 1, 1739; *Samuel*, b. Feb. 1, 1739; *Elizabeth*, b. Dec. 20, 1740, d. unm.

14. Samuel, s. of Nathaniel, (7) S. H., d. abt. May, 1741. He m. May 22, 1724, Sarah, dau. of Dea. John Smith. She m. (2) Jan. 1749, William Montague. Children—*Samuel*, b. March 17, 1725, m. June 22, 1751, Mary Nash, and d. in Westfield, Jan. 19, 1777; *Joanna*, d. Dec. 19, 1756; *Gad; Dan; Huldah*, d. Oct. 3, 1756; *Mary; Lucy; Sarah*, d. June 12, 1747.

15. Ephraim, s. of Nathaniel, (7) Amh., d. March 16, 1777, ae. 67. He m. May 1, 1741, Dorothy, dau. of Samuel Hawley of Amh. She d. July 26, 1812, ae. 89. Children—*Ephraim*, bapt. Jan. 3, 1742; *Martin*, bapt. Jan. 8, 1744; *Dorothy*, bapt. Feb 23, 1746, m. William Field of Leverett, and d. Aug. 1, 1773, ae. 27; *Abigail*, bapt. Oct. 16, 1748, m. (1) Ezra Rood; (2) Feb. 12, 1801, John Pynchon of Springfield, and d. March 1, 1836, ae. 87; *John*, bapt. April, 1751, d. May 15, 1753; *Sarah*, bapt. Oct. 7, 1753, m. Sept. 6, 1773, Jonathan Field of Leverett; *Joseph*, b. Nov. 28, 1758.

16. Ebenezer, s. of Joseph, (8) S. H., m. Dec. 15, 1748, Sarah Snow. Children—*Amos*, b. Oct. 1, 1749; *Lois*, b. March 4, 1752; *Sarah*, b. Aug. 25, 1754; *Seth*, b. Sept. 5, 1767.

17. Joseph, s. of Joseph, (8) S. H., d. Oct. 14, 1810, ae. 83. He m. Dorothy Taylor. She d. Aug. 26, 1803. Children—*Eli*, b. June 2, 1757, res. in S. H.; *Eliakim*, b. Sept. 10, 1759, res. in S. H.; *Elijah*, b. Aug. 17, 1761; *Joseph*, b. May 1, 1773.

18. Daniel, s. of Nathaniel, (11) Amh., d. Jan. 14, 1799. He m. (1) 1751, (pub. Sept. 21,) Esther, dau. of John Smith of S. H. She d. Dec. 18,

1756; (2) 1758, (pub. April 15,) Thankful, wid. of Joseph Hawley of Amh., and dau. of —— Alexander; (3) Sarah, dau. of Josiah Parsons of Nh. She was b. May 29, 1723, and d. Feb. 26, 1807. Children—*Daniel*, bapt. July 26, 1752; *Aaron*, bapt. Nov. 16, 1755, grad. Y. C. 1778, was deranged, and d. unm., in Amh., Dec. 11, 1830, ae. 76; *David*, bapt. Nov. 16, 1755; *Jonathan*, bapt. Nov. 16, 1755, d. young.

19. Abraham, s. of Nathaniel, (11) Amh., prob. removed before his death to Leverett. He m. Dec. 7, 1758, Sarah, dau. of Jonathan Cowls of Amh. She d. in Leverett, Oct. 26, 1819. Children—*Sybil*, b. Sept. 24, 1761, m. Oct. 6, 1785, Enos Graves of Leverett; *Sarah*, bapt. April 15, 1764; *Samuel*, bapt. May 20, 1770, m. Hannah Marsh, and rem. to Waterbury, Vt; *Abraham*, bapt. Dec. 13, 1772.

20. Gardner, s. of Nathaniel, (11) d. Oct. 6, 1814. He m. Thankful Chapin of West Springfield. She d. Feb. 24, 1805. Children—*Nathaniel*, C. Oct. 1, 1763; *Gardner*, b. Sept. 22, 1765, grad. Y. C. 1791, was a clergyman in Bradford, N. H., and in Me.; *Josiah*, b. July 15, 1767; *Lucy*, b. Nov. 2, 1769, m. June 27, 1819, Henry Chapin of Springfield, and d. Dec. 10, 1843.

21. Moses, s. of Nathaniel, (11) d. May 28, 1815, ae. 82. He m. April 3, 1758, Mary Sheldon of Sheffield, who d. Dec. 22, 1812, ae. 75. Children—*Whiting; Moses*, b. Feb. 16, 1761; *Benjamin*, b. Aug. 7, 1763; *Polly*, b. 1766, d. unm., Aug. 1785; *Abigail Sheldon*, bapt. Nov. 4, 1768, m. Feb. 9, 1796, Elisha Belding of Whately; *Experience*, bapt. May 12, 1771, m. Feb. 2, 1797, Aristobulus Smith, and d. 1854; *Electa*, b. Nov. 1773, m. 1822, Elisha Wait; *Samuel*, bapt. Nov. 9, 1777.

22. Ebenezer, s. of Ebenezer, (12) Amh., d. at Fort Independence in the Revolutionary war. He m. Jan. 13, 1751, Sarah, dau. of Preserved Clapp of Amh. She was b. Oct. 4, 1733. She m. (2) April 23, 1778, John Nash of Amh. Children—*Sarah*, bapt. May 13, 1753, m. Joseph Bolles; *Ebenezer*, bapt. July 14, 1754, m. (1) Elizabeth Crocker; *Jonathan*, bapt. Oct. 24, 1760; *Betsey*, m. Reuben Dickinson, Jr. of Amh.

23. Ephraim, s. of Ephraim, (15) Amh., d. Jan. 29, 1815. He m. Esther ——, who d. Nov. 30, 1823. Children—*John; Ephraim*, m. April 7, 1791, Martha, dau. of Lt. David Smith of Amh., and removed to Weybridge, Vt., and thence to Malone, N. Y.; *Electa*, m. Jan. 15, 1789, Nathaniel Bangs, and removed to New Salem; *Esther*, m. Dec. 21, 1785, Elijah Prouty; *Elijah*, m. Hannah Herrick, rem. to Weybridge, Vt., and thence to the State of New York; *Elisha*, rem. to Weybridge, Vt.; *David*, m. (1) —— Ashley; (2) Submit, dau. of David Blodgett, Jr., and rem. to Weybridge, Vt., and thence to Malone, N. Y.; *Joel*, b. abt. 1780, m. Elizabeth Alexander of Deerfield, and d. in Amh., June 27, 1827, ae. 47; *Philomela*, m. Feb. 27, 1810, Elisha Smead of Weybridge, Vt.

24. Martin, s. of Ephraim, (15) Amh., d. Nov. 7, 1827, ae. 84. He m. (1) Hannah, dau. of Zaccheus Crocker of Shutesbury. She d. Aug. 9, 1812, ae. 69; (2) Lucy, wid. of Samuel Hastings, and dau. of Simeon Pomeroy. She d. Dec. 23, 1839, ae. 87. Children—*Sylvanus*, bapt. Sept. 24, 1769, d. Nov. 30, 1774; *Elizabeth*, b. 1771, d. Dec. 4, 1774, ae. 3 yrs.; *Dorothy*, bapt. March 20, 1774, m. Chester Hubbard, and rem. to Wilmington, Vt.; *Betsey*, bapt. May 26, 1776, d. Feb. 15, 1814; *Martin*, b. Oct. 27, 1778, m.

Oct. 31, 1799, Hannah, dau. of Thomas Hastings, and d. in Had., April 14, 1856; *Bela*, b. Aug. 24, 1780; *Clarissa*, bapt. Feb. 2, 1783, m. June 13, 1804, Otis Hastings, and rem. to Weybridge, Vt.; *Hannah Crocker*, bapt. June 23, 1786, m. Aug. 6, 1807, Otis Cady of Bolton, Ct., and d. Feb. 1839; *Sarah Beals*, bapt. July 23, 1786, m. Samuel Morgan; *Achsah*, bapt. May 30, 1790, m. Dec. 10, 1812, Thomas Barnes.

25. Joseph, s. of Ephraim, (15) Amh., d. March 11, 1838, ae. 79. He m. Dec. 16, 1781, Jerusha, dau. of Elisha Ingram of Amh. She d. Dec. 5, 1824, ae. 69. Children—*Dau.*, b. and d. 1782; *William*, b. May 12, 1784, m. Susanna Ingram of Amh.; *Mary*, b. July 25, 1785, m. Luke Wait of Whately, and d. Feb. 19, 1827; *Joseph*, b. July 16, 1786, m. (1) Nov. 28, 1809, Joanna, dau. of John Kellogg of Amh., and res. in Amh.; *Lucy*, b. Oct. 25, 1788, m. Feb. 26, 1810, Rufus Crafts of Whately; *Rufus*, b. July, 1794, m. June 22, 1820, Nancy Stetson, and d. in Amh., April 9, 1845, ae. 48; *Jerusha Ingram*, b. Oct. 13, 1798, d. June 27, 1826, ae. 27.

26. Daniel, s. of Daniel, (18) Amh., d. March 1, 1826, ae. 73. He m. Dec. 15, 1778, Mercy, dau. of Joseph Eastman of Amh., and d. Jan. 12, 1823, ae. 68. Children—*Sarah*, d. Feb. 25, 1786; *Esther Smith*, bapt. March 6, 1780, m. Feb. 22, 1802, Martin Field, Esq., of Newfane, Vt., in which place she now (June, 1862) resides; *Mercy*, bapt. Sept. 22, 1782, m. Alden Cooley; *Sally*, bapt. Dec. 6, 1787; *Rufus*, bapt. Nov. 23, 1788, d. in Amh., Dec. 2, 1833, ae. 45. He m. (1) Esther Mayo of Orange. She d. April 18, 1813, ae. 28; (2) Oct. 26, 1815, Abigail Chamberlain. She d. May 8, 1824, ae. 33; (3) Mary Smith of Had.; *Daniel*, bapt. Feb. 13, 1791, grad. W. C. 1810, res. in Brattleboro', Vt., and was for many years one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Vt.; *Charles*, bapt. Dec. 9, 1792, m. Oct. 29, 1812, Tryphena, dau. of Caleb Hubbard of Sunderland, and d. in Amh., June 20, 1834, ae. 42; *Henry*, b. Dec. 10, 1794, grad. Y. C. 1815, is a lawyer in Bennington, Vt., and m. (1) Jan. 27, 1825, Margaret V. D. S. Hubbell; (2) Oct. 16, 1831, Ann Maria Hubbell.

27. David, D. D., s. of Daniel, (18) grad. D. C. 1775, studied divinity with Rev. David Parsons of Amh., was ordained Jan. 10, 1781, as pastor of the Cong. church in Framingham, and remained pastor of the same until abt. 1830. He d. April 13, 1843, ae. 87. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from his Alma Mater in 1824. He m. May 27, 1781, Sally Bridge, who d. Feb. 14, 1826, ae. 73. Children—*Mary*, b. Feb. 25, 1782, m. July 19, 1801, Dr. John Ball Kittredge, and d. Aug. 20, 1836; *Sally*, b. Sept. 28, 1783, m. May 9, 1808, Dea. William Brown, Jr., of Boston; *Nancy*, b. July 16, 1785; *Gardner*, b. Aug. 20, 1788, m. Wid. —— Fairbanks, and d. April 29, 1842; *Martha*, bapt. May, 1787; *David*, bapt. April, 1791; *Charles*, bapt. April, 1793.

28. Nathaniel, s. of Gardner, (20) m. (1) —— Drake of Buckland; (2) Wid. —— Moody of Amh. Children — *Nathaniel; Chloe; Roswell; Molly; Gardner; Charles Austin.*

29. Josiah, s. of Gardner, (20) m. Hannah Smith of Ashfield. Children—*Thankful*, b. Sept. 8, 1795, m. Sylvester Cook; *Merub*, b. July 4, 1797, d. Sept. 30, 1788; *Lucy*, b. April 26, 1799, d. ae. abt. 15; *Diathena*, b. Feb. 12, 1801; *Naomi Parsons*, b. Jan. 26, 1803, m. Thaddeus Chapin; *Josiah*, b. Feb.

17, 1805, m. Cynthia Chapin; *John Preston*, bapt. March 22, 1806; *Gardner; Merub*, m. —— Rice; *Priscilla.*

30. WHITING, s. of Moses, (21) res. in Ashfield and Montgomery, but d. in Had., Jan. 16, 1838. He m. Elizabeth Cross of Ashfield. Children—*Spencer*, d. young; *Richard*, m. —— Hatch of West Springfield; *Elizabeth*, m. Daniel Stearns, and rem. to Wisconsin; *Emily*, d. young.

31. BENJAMIN, s. of Moses, (21) d. July 25, 1811, ae. 48. He m. Dec. 11, 1788, Patty, dau. of Wareham Smith. She d. Nov. 20, 1835, ae. 67. Children—*Marma*, b. Sept. 12, 1789, m. Seth M. Warner of Sunderland; *Horace*, b. Sept. 16, 1791, m. Aug. 12, 1813, Almira, dau. of Joel Smith, and d. in Amh., Oct. 4, 1858, ae. 67; *Amelia*, b. Dec. 25, 1795, d. Sept. 8, 1828, ae. 32; *Elizabeth*, b. Oct. 11, 1798, d. unm. April 8, 1861; *Martha*, b. June 7, 1801; *Mary*, b. Jan. 1804, d. Aug. 18, 1805; *Sarah*, b. Aug. 25, 1806, d. April 7, 1807; *Charles Austin*, b. April 29, 1808, m. Maria Cook; *Angeline*, b. Feb. 18, 1811.

32. JONATHAN, s. of Ebenezer, (22) shoemaker in Amh., d. Feb. 28, 1823, ae. 62. He m. June 5, 1783, Mary Holland of Pelham. She d. March 5, 1823. Children—*Ira*, res. in Montague; *Chester*, b. Jan. 21, 1788, a shoemaker in Amh., d. Jan. 7, 1849, ae. 61. He m. (1) June, 1808, Lois, dau. of Silas Dickinson of Amh. She d. Dec. 13, 1809; (2) Aug. 1, 1816, Maria, dau. of Rufus Bixbee of Amh.; *David*, res. in Granby.

33. JOHN, s. of Ephraim, (23) Amh., was a deacon in First church, and d. Dec. 6, 1844, ae. 79. He m. (1) Roxana, dau. of Ebenezer Mattoon. She d. Sept. 2, 1804; (2) Mrs. Martha Ingram. She d. May 10, 1837. Children—*John*, b. May 31, 1786, a lawyer in Benson, Vt., m. (1) Harriet Nash; (2) May 6, 1847, Ame Stoughton, wid. of Jonathan Dickinson, and dau. of John Dickinson, all of Amh.; *Son and dau.*, (twins,) b. and d. Jan. 31, 1788; *Joanna*, b. Jan. 4, 1789, m. Nov. 28, 1809, Joseph Kellogg of Amh., and d. Dec. 19, 1852; *Prudence*, b. Feb. 7, 1791, m. Oct. 27, 1814, Samuel James; *Elizabeth*, b. April 27, 1795, m. Jan. 26, 1820, Hon. Ithamar Conkey of Amh.; *Roxa Mattoon*, b. Dec. 24, 1797, m. Dec. 13, 1818, William Field of Leverett; *Eleazar*, b. March 16, 1800; *Stillman*, b. May 31, 1802, d. April 14, 1832, ae. 29; *Charles*, b. March 31, 1804, d. Oct. 1, 1804; *Henry*, b. March 31, 1804, d. April 16, 1805.

34. BELA, s. of Martin, (24) grad. W. C. 1800, studied theology with Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, D. D. of Franklin, was ordained 1813 over the (Cong.) church in Brookfield, Ct., dismissed 1817, ord. in Avon, Ct., 1819, dis. 1830, on account of ill health, and d. April 30, 1831. He m. June 6, 1805, Lydia, dau. of Samuel Candee. She was b. in New Haven, Ct., Nov. 1, 1778, and d. in Avon, Dec. 3, 1843, ae. 65. Children—*Cordelia*, b. March 17, 1806, m. Dr. Alfred Kellogg, and d. April 30, 1831; *M. A.*, b. April 23, 1808, m. April 30, 1829, Marilla Cooley of Hartford, Ct., and res. in Philadelphia, Pa.; *Bela C.*, b. April 27, 1811, m. Oct. 15, 1839, Mary G., dau. of Rev. John Bartlett of West Avon, Ct., and res. in Avon; *Lucius Storrs*, b. Oct. 6, 1813, d. June 21, 1822; *Cynthia Amelia*, b. Dec. 12, 1815, m. Dec. 12, 1838, Rev. James Kilbourn of Sandwich, De Kalb Co., Ill.; *Mary Elizabeth*, b. Sept. 18, 1821, m. Sept. 1843, E. M. Woodford of West Avon, Ct.; *Martha L.*, b. Dec. 9, 1823.

KELLOGG, Giles Crouch, b. Aug. 12, 1781, grad. Y. C. 1800, read law with Jonathan E. Porter, Esq., was admitted to the bar in Hampshire County, opened an office in Hadley, and there spent his life. By his townsmen he was honored with many private and public trusts. For many years he was town clerk and treasurer, and for thirteen years Register of Deeds for Hampshire County. He was often representative to the General Court of the State, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1853. In the war of 1812, he served as an adjutant in one of the Massachusetts regiments. For several years he taught successfully in the Hopkins Academy in Hadley. He d. June 19, 1861, ae. 80. He m. 1814, Martha Hunt, dau. of Noadiah Warner. She was b. Oct. 9, 1787. Children—*Ebenezer White*, b. Feb. 6, 1815; *Francis*, b. Jan. 25, 1817; *Giles*, b. March 2, 1819; *Maria Catlin*, b. June 18, 1821; *Martha Hunt*, b. Oct. 25, 1823; *Lucy Warner*, b. March 22, 1826; *Anna Marsh* b. Aug. 11, 1828; *William*, b. Aug. 1830, d. March 20, 1831.

KELLOGG, Samuel, Hat., d. July 17, 1711. He m. (1) Nov. 24, 1664, Sarah, wid. of Nathaniel Gunn of Hartford, Ct., and dau. of Robert Day of Hartford. She was slain by Indians, Sept. 19, 1677; (2) March 20, 1679, Sarah Root of Westfield. Children—*Samuel*, b. April 11, 1669; *Nathaniel*, b. June 4, 1671; *Ebenezer*, b. June 2, 1674; *Joseph*, b. Sept. 19, 1676, slain by Indians, Sept. 19, 1677; *John*, b. April 25, 1680, res. in Hat., d. prob. unm., made his Will in 1755; *Thomas*, b. Oct. 1, 1681, non compos, d. unm. in Hat. previous to 1758; *Sarah*, b. April 14, 1684, m. May 8, 1701, Abraham Morton of Hat.

2. Samuel, s. of Samuel, (1) rem. after 1701 from Hat. to Colchester, Ct., and d. 1708. He m. Hannah, dau. of Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr. She d. in Colchester, Ct., Aug. 3, 1745. Children—*Samuel*, b. May 18, 1694; *Joseph*, b. June 18, 1696; *Hannah*, b. Sept. 11, 1699; *Eunice*, b. Aug. 3, 1701.

3. Nathaniel, s. of Samuel, (1) rem. after 1699 from Hat. to Colchester, Ct., and d. Aug. 22, 1757, ae. 86. He m. (1) Margaret, who d. Dec. 15, 1747, in 71st yr.; (2) May 29, 1748, Widow Priscilla Williams of Colchester. Children—*Margaret*, b. Feb. 15, 1698; *Editha*, b. Nov. 13, 1699; *Nathaniel*, b. Aug. 8, 1703; *Sarah*, b. Dec. 27, 1706; *Lydia*, b. May 29, 1710; *Ezra*, b. Sept. 6, 1724.

4. Nathaniel, s. of Nathaniel, (3) res. in Colchester, Ct., and d. April 1, 1762, ae. 59. He m. July 1, 1725, Elizabeth, dau. of Charles Williams. She was b. in Colchester, Feb. 13, 1703. Children—*Charles*, b. Sept. 17, 1726; *Elizabeth*, b. July 8, 1729; *Sarah*, b. Feb. 22, 1732; *Delight*, b. Oct. 5, 1734; *Margaret*, b. Jan. 17, 1737.

5. Ezra, s. of Nathaniel, (3) Hat., d. in Colchester, Ct., Jan. 5, 1754, ae. 29. He m. Ruth, who m. (2) Nov. 4, 1757, Henry Stiles, and d. 1812, ae. 86. Children—*Sarah; Russell*, b. July 16, 1750; *Oliver*.

KELSEY, Matthew, m. Sarah. Child—*Elijah*, b. Feb. 28, 1762.

KING, Elisha, b. Nov. 11, 1717, s. of Benjamin of Nh., who was s. of John of Nh., res. in Had. 1762–4, but rem. to Hat. where he d. 1785 or 1786. He m. May 20, 1753, Jemima Graves. Children—*Mary*, m. June 4, 1779, Dea. Moses Warner; *Jemima*, non compos.

KING, Thomas, b. July 14, 1662, s. of John of Nh., settled in Hat., but rem. to Hartford, Ct., where he d. Dec. 26, 1711, ae. 49. He m. (1) Nov. 17, 1683, Abigail, dau. of Jedediah Strong of Nh. She d. July 24, 1689, ae. 23; (2) 1691, Mary, dau. of Robert Webster of Hartford. She d. in Hartford, Sept. 27, 1706; (3) —— ——, who d. Jan. 2, 1712. Children—*Thomas*, b. Dec. 3, 1684, d. young; *Abigail*, b. Jan. 31, 1687; *Mary*, b. Oct. 5, 1691, per. m. 1711, Thomas Clapp; *Thomas; Robert.*

KING, William, m. Nov. 12, 1684, Sarah Allison. Children—*Thomas*, b. Jan. 3, 1686; *Elizabeth*, b. March 29, 1690, prob. d. Jan. 11, 1715.

KNEELAND, Edward, Jr., m. Dec. 31, 1788, Betsey Peck. Children—*Hannah; Joseph; Samuel*, bapt. Aug. 31, 1794; *Betsey*, b. Feb. 8, 1795; *Edward*, bapt. Oct. 23, 1796; *Lucinda*, bapt. Oct. 13, 1799; *Elmira; Lydia; Electa.*

KNIGHT, Benjamin, m. Sarah, who d. June 2, 1754. Children—*Catharine*, b. May 11, 1748; *Lucius*, b. May 30, 1750.

1. LANE, John, probably s. of Samuel of Suffield, d. 1745 or 1746. He m. Susanna, dau. of Samuel Strong. Children—*John*, b. Sept. 12, 1717; *Elizabeth*, b. Oct. 26, 1719, m. Jacob Taylor of Granby; *Samuel*, b. Nov. 13, 1721, a soldier of So. Had. 1756.

2. John, s. of John, (1) m. Olive. Children—*John*, b. Nov. 15, 1754; *Samuel*, b. Dec. 7, 1757; *Ruth*, b. Aug. 15, 1760; *Elizabeth*, b. Oct. 6, 1762; *Jonathan*, b. Dec. 18, 1764.

LAWRENCE, John, after the birth of his children removed to Brookfield, and was slain by Indians, 1694. He m. Oct. 16, 1684, Sarah, dau. of Samuel Smith. She m. (2) Aug. 15, 1705, Ebenezer Wells of Hatfield. Children—*John*, b. Oct. 1, 1686, d. Jan. 1687; *daughter*, b. and d. Nov. 15, 1687; *Mary*, b. Nov. 1, 1688, m. Jan. 29, 1708, John Allis, and d. Nov. 8, 1713; *Child*, b. and d. Jan. 16, 1689; *Deliverance*, b. June 20, 1693, m. Dec. 1, 1715, John Belden; *Sarah*, b. Sept. 8, 1694, m. Aug. 19, 1714, Samuel Smith.

LAWRENCE, Stephen, s. of Eleazar, d. Feb. 6, 1851. He m. Nov. 2, 1842, Ethelinda, dau. of Wm. Smith. Children—*Julia Ann*, b. Jan. 11, 1846, d. Aug. 24, 1848; *George Smith*, b. Sept. 23, 1847, d. Sept. 7, 1850; *William Smith*, b. May 29, 1849.

LEVENS, or LEAVENS, Andrew, d. Feb. 19, 1698.

1. LEWIS, William, came over from England in the Lion, arrived at Boston, Sept. 16, 1632, was admitted freeman Nov. 6, 1632, belonged to the Braintree company, which in Aug., 1632, rem. from Braintree to Cambridge. He was in 1636 one of the earliest settlers of Hartford, and subsequently a founder of Hadley, and representative for Hadley, 1662, and for Northampton, 1664. Prior to Nov. 29, 1677, he had removed to Farmington, Ct., where he d. Aug. 2, 1683. He m. Felix, who d. in Had., April 17, 1671. Child—*William.*

2. William, s. of William, (1) was in 1644 a resident of Farmington, and the first recorder of the town on its incorporation in 1645. Though one

of the original "engagers," there is no evidence that he ever removed to Had. He d. in Farmington, Aug. 18, 1690. He m. (1) Mary Hopkins, dau. of the wife of Richard Whitehead of Windsor, Ct. Savage supposes her the dau. of William Hopkins, Esq., of Stratford, Ct. He m. (2) Nov. 22, 1671, Mary Cheever, b. Nov. 29, 1640, dau. of the famous schoolmaster, Ezekiel Cheever of New Haven, &c. After the death of Lewis, she m. Jan. 3, 1692, Dea. Thomas Bull, and d. Jan. 10, 1728, ae. 87. Children—*Mary*, b. May 6, 1645, m. Benjamin Judd of Farmington; *Philip*, bapt. Dec. 13, 1646, res. in Hartford and Fairfield; *Samuel*, b. Aug. 18, 1648, res. in Farmington; *Sarah*, b. abt. 1652, m. Samuel Boltwood; *Hannah*, m. (1) Samuel Crow; (2) Daniel Marsh; *William*, bapt. March 15, 1656, m. Phebe More, resided in Farmington, and d. 1737; *Felix*, bapt. Dec. 12, 1658, m. Thomas Selding; *Ebenezer*, m. Elizabeth, resided in Wallingford, Ct., and d. abt. 1710; *John*, b. May 15, 1665, d. abt. 1694; *James*, b. July 10, 1667, a trader, ran away to Jamaica; *Elizabeth*, b. Oct. 20, 1672, d. 1674; *Ezekiel*, b. Nov. 7, 1674, grad. H. C. 1695, and was a merchant of Boston, where he d. Aug. 14, 1755, ae. 81. He m. (1) March 18, 1702, Mary Breaden; (2) Oct. 11, 1704, Abigail Kilcup; *Nathaniel*, b. Oct. 1, 1676, res. in Farmington, and d. Feb. 24, 1752, ae. 75. He m. (1) Nov. 25, 1699, Abigail Ashley; (2) July 4, 1726, Thankful Lyman; *Abigail*, b. Sept. 19, 1678, m. Dec. 10, 1696, William Wadsworth of Farmington, and d. 1707; *Joseph*, b. March 15, 1679; *Daniel*, b. July 16, 1681.

3. Noadiah, s. of Noadiah of Farmington and gr.-s. of William, (2) was b. Nov. 24, 1736. He m. 1759, Irene, dau. of Preserved Clapp of Amh. She d. Oct. 10, 1830, ae. 89. Children—*Elisha*, d. April 16, 1760; *Susannah*, b. abt. 1762, m. Elihu Dickinson of Amh., and d. March 12, 1819, ae. 57; *Irene*, b. April 20, 1763, m. April 23, 1795, Simeon Clark of Amh., and d. May 11, 1855, ae. 92; *Abi*, m. Feb. 15, 1795, Elijah Hubbard; *Elisha*, m. Ziba Bryant; *Salome*, m. Aug. 16, 1792, Moses Nash of Amh.; *Elizabeth*, m. Oct. 13, 1799, Benjamin Cooley of Whately; *Mary*, m. March 5, 1797, Daniel Heath; *Rachel*, m. Seth Belding of Whately.

LOOMIS, John, m. Mary. Children—*John*, b. Oct. 19, 1670; *John*, b. July 22, 1676, d. Jan. 20, 1677; *Mary*, b. Dec. 14, 1677. Savage says he was prob. son of Joseph the second of Windsor, and that after 1683 he rem. to Windsor, Ct., and according to Stiles, m. Aug. 30, 1705, Esther Gillett, and had children—*John*, b. Feb. 12, 1707; *Esther*, b. Sept. 13, 1708; *Sarah*, b. Sept. 26, 1710; *Damaris*, b. Dec. 1, 1712; *John*, b. Sept. 21, 1713; *Abel*, b. Aug. 3, 1716.

LOOMIS, Thomas, Hatfield, d. Aug. 12, 1688. He m. March 31, 1680, Sarah, dau. of Daniel White. She m. (2) Nov. 12, 1689, John Bissell. Children—*John*, b. Jan. 1, 1681; *Thomas*, b. April 20, 1684.

LOTRIDGE, James. Child—*Esther*, b. Nov. 26, 1797.

LOVELAND or LOVEMAN, William, m. Nov. 12, 1795, Parthena Gilbert. Child, prob. by former wife—*William*, b. Nov. 28, 1789.

LYMAN, Elijah, s. of Gideon of Nh., bapt. Aug. 8, 1736, d. April 7, 1783. He m. Esther Pomeroy. Children—*Elijah*, bapt. Sept. 7, 1777, d. Aug. 24, 1778; *Esther*, m. Elijah Arms, Jr.; *Martha*, m. 1795, Jacob Smith.

LYMAN, Gideon, s. of Gideon of Nh., b. abt. 1730, m. Eunice, dau. of Noah Clark. Children—*Gideon*, b. Jan. 26, 1758; *Eunice*, b. Nov. 8, 1760, d. Nov. 9, 1760.

LYMAN, Israel, b. Feb. 7, 1746, d. June 8, 1830. He m. Jan. 4, 1770, Rachel Beals, b. in Willington, Ct., June 8, 1747. She d. Dec. 27, 1824. Children—*Sarah*, b. Sept. 12, 1770, m. Stephen Johnson, and d. Sept. 19, 1835; *Rachel*, b. March 10, 1772, m. Elijah Montague, and d. Dec. 27, 1803; *Zadoc*, b. March 26, 1774, d. Dec. 8, 1849; *Israel*, b. Aug. 9, 1775, d. Aug. 10, 1775; *Israel*, b. Oct. 17, 1776, d. Aug. 18, 1830; *Achsah*, b. April 27, 1778, m. Chester Clark, and d. Nov. 21, 1819; *Cynthia*, b. April 8, 1780, m. Aaron Graves Lyman of Northfield, and d. Dec. 2, 1839; *Amaziah*, b. Feb. 13, 1782, d. Aug. 12, 1858; *Hannah*, b. Oct. 9, 1783, m. Perez Smith; *Elijah*, b. Nov. 13, 1785, d. June 30, 1786; *Elijah*, b. May 23, 1787; *Enos*, b. Jan. 2, 1790, d. Feb. 23, 1848; *George*, b. Dec. 13, 1792.

LYMAN, John, b. in Nh., Oct. 2, 1693, s. of John, d. Jan. 3, 1783. He m. (1) 1718, Abigail, dau. of Joseph Mosely of Westfield and Glastenbury, Ct. He m. (2) Feb. 15, 1753, Theoda, wid. of Isaac Sheldon of Hartford. She d. 1763. Children—*Zadoc*, b. 1719; *Mindwell*, b. July 29, 1721, m. Ebenezer Pomeroy, 3d; *John*, b. Oct. 7, 1723, res. in Nh., and d. Nov. 4, 1797, ae. 74, m. Hannah Strong; *Abigail*, b. abt. 1725, burnt to death in the house Dec. 8, 1742; *Dorcas*, b. abt. 1727, m. (1) Noah Clapp; (2) 1753, Josiah Moody of S. H.; *Sarah*, b. abt. 1730, m. Dec. 30, 1756, Supply Clapp; *Hannah*, b. abt. 1733, burnt to death Dec. 8, 1742; *Elinor*, b. Oct. 29, 1735, m. (1) Dec. 19, 1759, Stephen Pomeroy; (2) Sept. 13, 1775, Oliver Morton; *Caleb*, bapt. July 2, 1738, rem. to Cazenovia, N. Y., m. 1763, Mehitable Strong.

1. LYMAN, Phinehas, s. of Gideon of Nh., d. April 27, 1792, ae. abt. 67. He m. (1) April 5, 1750, Joanna Eastman, who d. Feb. 5, 1759, in 29th yr.; (2) Elizabeth, wid. of Elisha Hawley. Children—*Phinehas*, b. Jan. 22, 1750, committed suicide by hanging, April 23, 1779; *Timothy*, b. Aug. 15, 1753; *Elihu*, b. Sept. 23, 1756, committed suicide by hanging, prior to 1792.

2. Timothy, s. of Phinehas, (1) studied medicine with Dr. Hunt of Nh., and d. June 12, 1792, ae. 42. He m. June 1, 1780, Elizabeth Pomeroy, who m. after his death Ebenezer Clark of Lunenburgh, Vt. Children—*Joanna*, prob. b. May 4, 1782, m. Abel Brown of Spr., and abt. 1839 rem. to Wisconsin; *Elizabeth*, bapt. March 28, 1784, a cripple; *Naomi*, b. March, 1787, m. Asa Clark of Lunenburgh, Vt.; *Elihu*, b. July, 1789, went to Vt., and thence to Wisconsin; *Phinehas*, b. Feb. 20, 1786.

MARKHAM, William, b. abt. 1621, was a kinsman of Nathaniel Ward, and d. abt. 1690. He m. (1) ——, dau. of George Graves; (2) Elizabeth, prob. dau. of Gov. John Webster. She d. abt. 1688. Children, by 1st wife—*Priscilla*, m. abt. 1675, Thomas Hale. By second wife—*William*, slain by the Indians, near Northfield, Sept. 4, 1675; *Lydia*, m. May 16, 1682, Timothy Eastman of Suffield; *John*, b. July 3, 1661, d. Sept. 12, 1664; *Mercy*, b. Sept. 22, 1663.

1. MARSH, John, Hartford, 1639, was one of the first settlers of Hadley, but rem. thence first to Northampton, and then to Hartford, where he died 1688. He m. (1) Anne, dau. of Gov. John Webster. She d.

June 9, 1662; (2) Oct. 7, 1664, Hepzibah, wid. of Richard Lyman of Nh., and dau. of Thomas Ford. She d. April 11, 1683. Children—*John*, m. Nov. 28, 1666, Sarah Lyman, and d. in Hartford, Ct., about 1727; *Samuel*, b. abt. 1645; *Joseph*, bapt. Jan. 24, 1647; *Joseph*, bapt. July 15, 1649; *Jonathan*, b. abt. 1650; *Daniel*, b. abt. 1653; *Hannah*, m. Jan. 28, 1675, Joseph Loomis; *Grace*, m. Jan. 26, 1673, Timothy Baker of Nh., and d. May 31, 1676; *Lydia*, b. Oct. 9, 1667, m. Dec. 8, 1692, David Loomis of Windsor.

2. Samuel, s. of John, (1) res. in Hat., where he was freeman 1690, representative 1705 and 1706, and d. Sept. 7, 1728, ae. 83. He m. May 6, 1667, Mary Allison, who d. Oct. 13, 1726, ae. 78. Children—*Mary*, b. Feb. 27, 1668; *Samuel*, b. Feb. 11, 1670; *John*, b. Nov. 6, 1672; *Rachel*, b. Oct. 15, 1674, m. John Wells; *Grace*, b. Jan. 7, 1677, m. Thomas Goodman; *Mary*, b. May 24, 1678, m. Joseph Morton; *Thomas*, b. Jan. 10, 1680; *Hannah*, b. Sept. 18, 1681, m. Richard Billings; *Elizabeth*, b. July 31, 1683, m. 1714, Maynard Day of Hartford, Ct.; *Ruth*, b. June 16, 1685; *Ebenezer*, b. May 1, 1687.

3. Jonathan, s. of John, (1) was freeman 1690, representative 1701, and d. July 3, 1730, ae. 80 yrs. He m. 1676, Dorcas, wid. of Azariah Dickinson. She d. Aug. 15, 1723, ae. 69. Children—*Dorcas*, b. Dec. 29, 1677, m. July 4, 1700, Ichabod Porter; *Ann*, b. Sept. 13, 1680, m. June 21, 1698, Samuel Cook; *Mary*, b. Feb. 9, 1683, m. William Dickinson; *Jonathan*, b. Aug. 7, 1685, grad. H. C. 1705, was minister of Windsor, Ct., and d. Sept. 8, 1747, ae. 62. He m. July 3, 1710, Mrs. Margaret Whiting; *Sarah*, b. Dec. 4, 1687, m. Nov. 1716, Noah Cook; *Hannah*, b. Feb. 12, 1690, m. Oct. 17, 1711, Samuel Dickinson; *Daughter*, b. July 27, 1692, d. July 29, 1692; *Son*, b. Sept. 14, 1698, d. Sept. 1698.

4. Daniel, s. of John, (1) freeman 1690, representative 1692, and often after, d. Feb. 24, 1725, ae. 72. He m. Nov. 5, 1676, Hannah, wid. of Samuel Crow, and dau. of William Lewis of Farmington. Children—*Daniel*, b. Oct. 29, 1677, d. unm. Feb. 15, 1770, ae. 92; *John*, b. March 9, 1679; *Joseph*, b. Jan. 16, 1685, grad. H. C. 1705, was minister of Braintree, and d. March 8, 1726, ae. 41. He m. Anne Fiske; *Ebenezer*, b. April 22, 1688; *Job*, b. June 11, 1690; *Hannah*, b. May 17, 1694, m. Dec. 1, 1731, Daniel Kent; *William*, b. Jan. 3, 1697.

5. Thomas, s. of Samuel, (2) res. in Hat. and Ware, and d. 1759. He m. 1702, Mary Trumbull of Suffield, Ct. Children—*Thomas*, b. May 1, 1703, d. unm. 1728; *Mary*, b. Oct. 27, 1704, m. 1726, Moses Smith; *Samuel*, b. 1706; *Rachel*, b. 1708; *Ruth*, b. Feb. 15, 1710; *Judah*, b. July 25, 1712; *Joseph*, b. April 14, 1714; *Ephraim*, b. Jan. 5, 1717; *Daniel*, b. June 12, 1719, insane; *Martha*, b. April 12, 1721.

6. Ebenezer, s. of Samuel, (2) rem. to Sunderland, and d. 1747. He m. Elizabeth. Children—*Ebenezer; Elizabeth*, b. June 4, 1710; *Ephraim*, b. June 12, 1712, d. Aug. 1, 1714; *Esther*, b. July 15, 1714; *Ephraim*, b. 1718; *Dorothy*, b. 1723, m. —— Gunn; *Mary*, b. 1725; *Thankful*, b. 1728; *Hannah*, b. 1733.

7. John, s. of Daniel, (4) d. Sept. 2, 1725. He m. (1) June 27, 1704, Joanna Porter; (2) Feb. 2, 1715, Hannah Barnard; (3) Sarah Williams,

who after his decease prob. m. July 28, 1732, James Grey, and d. June 1, 1759. Children—*John*, b. Aug. 25, 1710; *Abigail*, m. (1) Oct. 1, 1736, Dr. Waitstill Hastings of Hat.; (2) Col. Bulkley of Colchester, Ct.; (3) Rev. —— Little of Colchester, Ct.; *Martha*, m. Feb. 24, 1743, Moses Graves; *Anne*, m. Dec. 20, 1744, Elisha Allis; *John*, d. July 3, 1726, ae. 3; *Judith*, b. 1725, d. Nov. 1, 1725, ae. 8. mos.

8. Ebenezer, s. of Daniel, (4) d. 1772. He m. (1) 1710, Mary Parsons, who d. July 2, 1759; (2) Miriam, who d. July 30, 1765. Children—*Elisha*, b. March 27, 1713, grad. H. C. 1738, minister in Westminster, d. July, 1784, in Lancaster, from the effects of injuries received by falling from his horse in Roxbury; *Ebenezer; Hannah*, m. Samuel Ely of Lyme, Ct.; *Jonathan*, res. in Ct.; *John*.

9. Job, s. of Daniel, (4) a captain, d. Aug. 29, 1746. He m. (1) Sept. 24, 1713, Mehitable Porter, who d. July 13, 1739; (2) 1742, Rebecca Pratt. Children—*Daughter*, b. and d. Oct. 18, 1714; *Moses*, b. March 20, 1718; *Samuel*, b. April 19, 1721; *Daniel*, b. Jan. 28, 1725; *Perez*, b. Oct. 25, 1729, grad. H. C. 1748, was a physician in Pittsfield; *Joseph*, b. Nov. 6, 1743, d. Sept. 22, 1746.

10. William, s. of Daniel, (4) d. Nov. 3, 1727. He m. Feb. 28, 1722, Hannah, dau. of Experience Porter. She m. (2) Maj. Joseph Storrs. Children—*William*, d. 1726; *William*, b. 1727, d. unm., in Mansfield, Ct.

11. Ebenezer, s. of Ebenezer, (6) d. May 29, 1795. He m. Dec. 4, 1746, Sarah Eastman, who d. Jan. 31, 1794. Children—*Timothy*, b. July 6, 1747, d. May 12, 1751; *Daniel*, b. June 26, 1749, d. April 30, 1751; *Timothy*, b. Oct. 5, 1751, m. Mercy Smith, and d. Oct. 19, 1796; *Sarah*, b. July 20, 1754, m. Dec. 9, 1779, Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr., Esq., of Amh., and d. Dec. 9, 1801; *Ebenezer*, b. Sept. 8, 1757, d. Jan. 25, 1761; *Elijah*, b. Dec. 25, 1760, d. Jan. 11, 1761; *Ebenezer*, b. Jan. 5, 1762, d. unm. abt. 1818; *Mary*, b. and d. May 9, 1765; *Susanna*, b. Jan. 26, 1766, d. Feb. 26, 1766.

12. Moses, s. of Capt. Job, (9) subsequent to the American revolution rem. to Worthington, and d. Oct. 4, 1796. He m. Nov. 2, 1739, Hannah Cook. Children—*Moses*, b. Oct. 22, 1740, d. Aug. 16, 1746; *Hannah*, b. Oct. 2, 1744, d. Aug. 12, 1746; *Moses*, b. June 11, 1747, d. Nov. 16, 1757; *Hannah*, b. Feb. 2, 1749, d. Sept. 15, 1753; *Job*, b. May 4, 1752, d. Jan. 26, 1754; *Mehitable*, m. 1780, Samuel Cook, and prob. d. in Morristown, Vt.; *Hannah*, m. Daniel Marsh, and d. in Belchertown; *Job*, b. abt. 1756; *Joseph*, b. Oct. 26, 1754.

13. Samuel, s. of Capt. Job, (9) d. Oct. 2, 1760. He m. Dec. 5, 1745, Phebe Porter, who d. Oct. 1, 1779, ae. 60. Children—*Daughter*, b. and d. Aug. 23, 1746; *Phebe*, m. Benoni Dickinson of Northfield; *Rebecca*, m. Eleazar Cook, who rem. to St. Albans, Vt.; *Samuel*.

14. Daniel, s. of Capt. Job, (9) d. Jan. 4, 1810, ae. 84. He m. 1751, Hannah, dau. of Timothy Parsons of Durham, Ct. She d. Feb. 9, 1800, ae. 74. Children—*Mehitabel*, b. Dec. 3, 1751, d. Aug. 30, 1752; *William*, b. Oct. 26, 1753, was a soldier at the capture of Cornwallis, and d. unm., in Warren; *Sarah*, m. Joseph Field of Warren; *Eliphalet*, b. Feb. 2, 1761, res. in Coleraine and Belchertown; *Parsons*, b. Sept. 7, 1766, res. in Coleraine and Belchertown.

15. Job, s. of Moses, (12) grad. Y. C. 1777, established himself as a physician in Worthington, but returned to Had., and d. July 26, 1797. He m. Sept. 10, 1783, Elizabeth, dau. of Oliver Smith. She d. June 7, 1823, ae. 64. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. March 22, 1784, m. Dec. 17, 1805, Wm. Smith, and d. Dec. 18, 1856; *Joseph*, b. Feb. 16, 1786; *Timothy*, d. young; *Moses*, d. young; *Moses*, d. May, 1851; *Ethelinda*, m. Ebenezer Harrington of Worcester, and d. in Had., Aug. 5, 1840.

16. Joseph, s. of Moses, (12) rem. to Brookfield, Vt., and was there killed by the falling of a tree, Aug. 1783, ae. 28. He m. Mindwell Pomeroy. She m. 1784, Ebenezer Clark of Lunenburgh, Vt. Children—*Sally*, b. June 10, 1782, m. 1800, Lemuel Holmes of Lunenburgh, Vt.; rem. to Malone, N. Y., where she was living in 1853; *Joannah*, b. Jan. 1784, [Jan. 12, 1785?] m. Daniel Clark of Lunenburgh, Vt., rem. to Huntsburg, Ohio, and there res. in 1853.

17. Samuel, s. of Samuel, (13) d. 1798. He m. 1775, Abigail Briggs. Children—*Augustus; Phebe Porter; Samuel; Lucinda.*

18. Joseph, s. of Dr. Job, (15) m. (1) Jan. 26, 1814, Roxa, dau. of Stephen Johnson. She d. Nov. 20, 1828; (2) Oct. 13, 1829, Roxana, dau. of Luther Wright of Easthampton. She was b. March 30, 1798, and d. April 29, 1836; (3) Feb. 13, 1839, Catharine, dau. of Nathaniel Cooledge of Worcester and Hadley. She d. Aug. 20, 1842; (4) April 7, 1844, Harriet, wid. of George Newhall of Amh., and dau. of William Boltwood of Amh. Children—*Elvira Minerva*, b. Sept. 5, 1814, m. 1834, Willard M. Kellogg of Amh.; *Mary Lyman*, b. Feb. 18, 1818, m. 1840, William Watson Dickinson of Amh.; *Margaret*, b. July 28, 1820, m. May, 1844, Lucius Nash; *Henry Martyn*, b. Dec. 21, 1827, m. May 10, 1854, Almira Sophronia, dau. of John Alden Morton; *Charles*, b. Nov. 24, 1845.

MATTHEWS, Silas, Amherst, rem. abt. 1800 to Leverett. Children—*Salome*, b. Sept. 1, 1772; *Elijah*, b. May 27, 1777; *David*, b. Dec. 27, 1779; *Aaron*, b. Oct. 27, 1781; *Huldah*, b. Dec. 7, 1784.

1. MATTOON, Eleazar, b. in Deerfield, March 1, 1690, s. of Philip of Springfield and Deerfield, res. for several years in Northfield, whence prior to 1739 he rem. to Amh., where he was deacon in the (Cong.) church, and d. Feb. 1767, ae. 78. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 1, 1718, m. Joseph Day of West Springfield, and d. Oct. 13, 1776, ae. 58; *Ebenezer*, b. Dec. 21, 1720, *Sarah*, b. Feb. 21, 1723, m. March 27, 1746, Ephraim Marsh of Montague, and d. April 9, 1797, ae. 74.

2. Ebenezer, s. of Eleazar, (1) Amh., d. April 27, 1806, ae. 87. He m. (1) 1747, Dorothy, dau. of Dr. Nathaniel Smith of Amh. She d. June 3, 1756; (2) 1759, Sarah, dau. of John Alvord of Nh. She was b. March 2, 1726, and d. Feb. 27, 1803, ae. 76. Children—*Dorothy*, bapt. April 16, 1749, m. Stephen Smith of Amh.; *Elizabeth*, bapt. July 21, 1751, m. Oliver Clapp of Amh.; *Ebenezer*, bapt. Aug. 24, 1755; *Sarah*, b. abt. 1761, d. April 11, 1803, ae. 42; *Eleazar*, bapt. Aug. 19, 1764, d. unm.; *Roxana*, b. Aug. 31, 1766, m. 1785, John Kellogg of Amh., and d. Sept. 2, 1804, ae. 37; *Lovisa*, b. abt. 1770, m. Eli Dickinson of Amh., and d. Jan. 31, 1845, ae. 75.

3. Hon. Ebenezer, s. of Ebenezer, (2) Amh., grad. D. C. 1776, was Representative and Senator in General Court, Member of Congress, Sheriff of Hampshire County, Adjutant General of Mass. With the exception of his eye sight, he retained all his faculties until the close of his long life. He d. Sept. 11, 1843, ae. 88. He m. July 7, 1779, Mary, dau. of Noah Dickinson of Amh. She d. July 30, 1835, ae. 77. Children—*Mary Dickinson*, b. April 4, 1780, m. Dec. 24, 1807, Daniel Dwight, Esq., of Westmoreland, N. H.; *Ebenezer*, b. Sept. 29, 1781, m. Dec. 30, 1804, Lucina Mayo of Orange; *Noah Dickinson*, b. Sept. 19, 1783, grad. D. C. 1803, lawyer in Amh. and Painsville, O., and is supposed now (1861) to be a resident of Unionville, O. He m. —— Billings; *Dorothy Smith*, b. June 25, 1785, m. April 20, 1815, Dr. Timothy J. Gridley of Amh., and d. Feb. 16, 1820, ae. 34; *Fanny*, b. Sept. 1787, d. Jan. 28, 1790, ae. 2; *Fanny*, b. June, 1790, d. Sept. 4, 1792, ae. 2.

MEACHAM, James, m. (1) June 23, 1756, Lucy Rugg; (2) May 4, 1758, Ruth Hubbard. Children—*Asa*, b. 1759; *Ruth*, b. 1761; *James*, b. 1761; *Anna*, b. July 6, 1764; *David*, b. June 13, 1766; *Ashbel*, b. 1768, (bapt. April 24;) *Seth*, b. 1771, (bapt. Feb. 10;) *Benjamin*, b. Dec. 30, 1773; *Esther*, b. Feb. 1777.

1. MEEKINS, Thomas, Hat., d. Dec. 10, 1687. He m. (1) Sarah, who d. Jan. 21, 1651; (2) Elizabeth ——, Feb. 14, 1651, who d. May 12, 1683. Children—*Joseph*, bapt. in Boston, May 3, 1639; *Sarah*, b. in Braintree, April 24, 1641; *Thomas*, b. June 8, 1643; *Hannah*, bapt. in Roxbury, March 13, 1647; *John*, b. Feb. 28, 1649, d. May 10, 1649. He had also, as Savage supposes, dau. *Mary*, who m. (1) Nathaniel Clark of Nh.; (2) Dec. 14, 1669, John Allis of Hat.; (3) abt. 1691, Samuel Belden; and *Hannah*, who m. Joseph Belknap, and d. Dec. 26, 1688. They, together with the heirs of his only son, shared his property.

2. Thomas, s. of Thomas, (1) Hat., was slain by the Indians, Oct. 19, 1675. He m. Mary, dau. of Thomas Bunce of Hartford. She was b. Sept. 17, 1645, and m. (2) July 20, 1676, John Downing. Children—*Sarah*, b. Feb. 25, 1666, m. Peletiah Jones; *Mary*, b. March 28, 1670, m. James Lewis of Hartford; *John*, b. Jan. 12, 1674 [1672?]; *Thomas*, b. Nov. 8, 1673, m. Wid. Sarah Wells, and in 1711 was a resident of Hartford; *Mehitable*, b. Aug. 1675, m. Thomas Dickinson, Jr.

3. John, s. of Thomas, (2) Hat., prob. d. 1754, as his will executed 1753, was presented for probate Feb. 1754. He m. April 24, 1696, Ruth Belknap. Children—*Hannah*, b. Jan. 18, 1698; *Ruth*, b. Jan. 6, 1700, m. Zechariah Billings; *Joseph*, b. March 20, 1703, d. childless abt. 1756; *Mary*, b. Oct. 17, 1705, m. Thomas Miller; *Martha*, b. Feb. 1, 1708, was unm. in 1756; *Lydia*, d. Dec. 24, 1711; *Thomas*, b. Oct. 1718, m. Feb. 18, 1742, Martha Smith, and d. 1793.

MERRICK, James, b. Dec. 22, 1729, s. of James of Monson, settled in Amherst, and d. Oct. 30, 1813, ae. 85. He m. Oct. 1754, Esther Colton of Longmeadow. She d. Sept. 20, 1803, in 75th yr. Children—*Mary*, b. June 11, 1755, m. Feb. 7, 1782, Nathaniel Sikes of Walpole, N. H.; *Lucy*, b. March 27, 1757, m. Elijah Yale of Amh., Jan. 25, 1788, and d. Nov. 14, 1824, ae. 57; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 29, 1758, m. Feb. 1782, Henry Chandler; *James*, b. Sept. 8, 1760, d. in infancy; *Samuel*, b. Sept. 8, 1760, d. young; *James*, b. May 8, 1762, d. unm. in Amh., July 8, 1825, ae. 63; *Esther*, b. Sept. 11, 1764, m.

Nov. 26, 1789, Judah Clark of Amh., and d. Aug. 30, 1849, ae. 84; *Samuel*, b. May, 1767, d. ae. 8; *Aaron*, b. May, 1770, m. Mary Howe, June 22, 1800, d. in Amh., Dec. 3, 1843, ae. 73.

MIGHILL, Samuel, s. of Rev. Thomas, b. in Scituate, 1685, grad. H. C. 1704, taught the Grammar School in Had., and d. in So. H., April 11, 1769. He m. 1709, Sarah Dickinson. Child—*Sarah*, b. April 12, 1710, m. Jan. 18, 1739, Moses Gunn.

MIGHILL, Samuel, perhaps the same with the above, formerly of Hartford, m. 1714, Sarah Prentice, and in Nov. 1728 deserted his wife and rem. to Had. She in 1733 sued for divorce. They had no children.

1. MONTAGUE, Richard, b. abt. 1614, s. of Peter, s. of William, s. of Robert, of Bourney, in Parish of Burnham, England, is said in 1646 to have rem. from Wells, Me. to Boston, and thence in 1651 to Wethersfield, Ct. In 1659 or 1660 he settled in Had. and d. Dec. 14, 1681. He m. Abigail Downing of Norwich, Eng. She d. Nov. 8, 1694. Children—*Mary*, b. abt. 1642, m. Nov. 25, 1668, Joseph Warriner, and d. July 2, 1689, ae. abt. 47; *Sarah*, b. June 15, 1646, d. in Boston, June 19, 1646; *Martha*, b. June 16, 1647, m. (1) Dec. 1, 1671, Isaac Harrison; (2) Henry White; *Peter*, b. July 8, 1651, d. s. p., March 27, 1725, ae. 73. He m. (1) Sept. 1679, Mary, wid. of John Smith, and dau. of William Partridge. She d. May 20, 1680; (2) Sept. 16, 1680, Mary, wid. of Noah Coleman and dau. of John Crow. She d. Oct. 12, 1720; (3) April 22, 1721, Mary, wid. of Preserved Smith, and dau. of Chileab Smith; *Abigail*, m. Dec. 8, 1671, Mark Warner; *John*.

2. John, s. of Richard, (1) d. abt. 1732. He m. March 23, 1681, Hannah, dau. of Chileab Smith. Children—*John*, b. Dec. 31, 1681; *Richard*, b. March 16, 1684, settled in Wethersfield, Ct., and d. Dec. 24, 1751, ae. 67. He m. July 28, 1715, Abigail Camp; *Hannah*, b. Aug. 8, 1687, d. Nov. 1688; *Hannah*, b. March 21, 1689, d. April 19, 1689; *Peter*, b. May, 1690; *William*, b. Dec. 16, 1692; *Samuel*, b. April 2, 1695; *Hannah*, b. May 28, 1697, m. Josiah Willard of Wethersfield; *Luke*, b. Oct. 4, 1699; *Nathaniel*, b. Oct. 6, 1704.

3. John, s. of John, (2) d. Sept. 28, 1722, ae. 40. He m. (1) Jan. 17, 1712, Mindwell Lyman of Nh., prob. dau. of Thomas, and if so, b. April 10, 1681. She d. April 4, 1713; (2) Sept. 29, 1714, Abigail Smith. Children—*Abigail*, b. March 20, 1713, m. March 16, 1735, Nathan Moody; *Mindwell*, b. Sept. 1714, d. Dec. 2, 1715; *John*, b. Jan. 5, 1716; *Jemima*, b. Jan. 28, 1719, m. March 24, 1741, John Church; *Mary*, b. Nov. 8, 1721, m. Oct. 24, 1743, Jonathan Ingram.

4. Peter, s. of John, (2) So. H. His estate was settled 1749, but inventory was not presented until Feb. 1756. He m. Dec. 15, 1715, Mary Hubbard. Children—*Mary*, b. March 4, 1717, m. (1) Daniel Alexander of Nh.; (2) John Brown; (3) J. Clark; *Anna*, b. Oct. 31, 1718, m. Nathaniel Cole of Hat. and Belchertown; *Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 13, 1720, m. (1) —— Montague; (2) James Smith; *Peter*, b. Jan. 2, 1723, per. d. at Louisbourg, 1745; *Moses*, b. Nov. 17, 1724; *Rachel*, m. Nov. 29, 1753, Stephen Warner of Granby; *Experience*, m. (1) 1751, Jonathan Pierce; (2) March 10, 1756, [1757?] Philip Ingram of Amh.; *Adonijah*, d. unm. in Amh. in 1754.

5. William, s. of John, (2) d. Dec. 22, 1767, ae. 75. He m. (1) Jan. 24, 1716, Sarah, dau. of Timothy Eastman. She d. Sept. 29, 1747; (2) Jan. 5, 1749, Sarah, wid. of Samuel Kellogg, and dau. of Dea. John Smith. Children—*Sarah*, b. Oct. 26, 1717, m. John Stanley of Killingworth, Ct.; *William*, b. April 9, 1720, d. Oct. 19, 1745, ae. 25; *John*, b. Sept. 14, 1723, a Canada soldier, d. Oct. 6, 1746, ae. 23; *Joseph*, b. Dec. 31, 1725; *Hannah*, b. March 16, 1729, d. Nov. 5, 1745, ae. 16; *Timothy*, b. Feb. 23, 1732.

6. Samuel, s. of John, (2) Sunderland, deacon, d. Jan. 31, 1779. He m. (1) June 24, 1716, Elizabeth White. She d. Oct. 15, 1753; m. (2) June 13, 1754, Mary, wid. of Jonathan Billings, and dau. of Joseph Root. Children—*Samuel*, b. June 30, 1720, rem. to Vt.; *John*, b. Jan. 10, 1723, d. unm. Feb. 15, 1748; *Daniel*, b. Jan. 13, 1725, m. Lydia Smith; *Giles*, b. Jan. 20, 1727, d. 1732; *Richard*, b. May 7, 1729, m. Lucy Cooley; *Caleb*, b. July 27, 1731, res. in Sunderland, was a Captain in Revolutionary war, and d. Nov. 11, 1782, ae. 51. He m. Oct. 30, 1751, Eunice Root; *Giles*, b. Dec. 16, 1733, d. Sept. 10, 1734; *Elizabeth*, b. Sept. 18, 1735, d. 1743; *Nathaniel*, b. Feb. 13, 1739, slain in battle at Lake George, Aug. 7, 1757; *Ebenezer*, b. Oct. 1, 1741, d. Sept. 26, 1743.

7. Luke, s. of John, (2) So. Had., d. Aug. 25, 1775, ae. 75. He m. (1) Hannah, dau. of Nehemiah Dickinson, Jr. of Had. She d. Sept. 3, 1765; (2) Deborah. Children—*Luke*, b. March 9, 1729, d. Nov. 18, 1752; *Hannah*, b. Jan. 5, 1731, d. unm. Aug. 31, 1773, ae. 41; *Abigail*, b. Feb. 18, 1733, m. March 4, 1756, Josiah Montague, and d. Aug. 28, 1833, ae. 99; *Giles*, b. June 28, 1736, d. May 3, 1738; *Mehitable*, b. Oct. 3, 1738, m. Dec. 3, [23?] 1756, Israel Clark, and d. Oct. 23, 1817, ae. 77; *Mary*, b. Nov. 1, 1740, m. Titus Pomeroy; *Huldah*, b. April 20, 1743, m. Samuel Goodman; *Miriam*, b. Jan. 25, 1745.

8. Nathaniel, s. of John, (2) deacon in Had. church, d. Nov. 16, 1753, ae. 49. He m. May 18, 1743, Hannah Ingram. She d. Aug. 28, 1798, ae. 87. Children—*Hannah*, b. Feb. 29, 1744, m. Nov. 15, 1770, Isaiah Carrier of Belchertown; *Nathaniel*, b. July 26, 1745; *Esther*, b. March 2, 1747, m. Feb. 21, 1775, Moses Church; *Sarah*, b. Nov. 21, 1748, d. May 3, 1764, ae. 15; *Eunice*, b. July 25, 1751, m. Feb. 15, 1780, Joseph Church of New Marlboro'; *Elizabeth*, b. Feb. 8, 1753, m. Feb. 23, 1773, Abner Phillips.

9. John, s. of John, (3) d. April 18, 1783, ae. 67. He m. (1) 1747, Thankful Sheldon of Suffield, Ct. She d. April 27, 1758, in 39th yr. He m. (2) Aug. 28, 1758, Rhoda Selden. Children—*Abigail*, b. Aug. 15, 1748, m. (1) Jan. 30, 1777, William Chapin of Springfield; (2) John Ely of West Springfield; *John*, b. May 6, 1750; *Lois*, b. June 29, 1752, d. July 21, 1752, ae. 21 days; *Elisha*, b. June 8, 1753, was run over by a cart and killed Nov. 12, 1757, ae. 4; *David*, b. Nov. 11, 1755, d. near West Point Oct. 26, 1781, ae. 26; *Elisha*, b. March 6, 1758, d. March 13, 1758; *Seth*, b. April 6, 1762, d. April 8, 1762; *Seth*, b. April 26, 1764, d. Dec. 17, 1764; *Jedediah*, b. July 24, 1766.

10. Moses, s. of Peter, (4) captain, So. Had., d. Dec. 18, 1792, ae. 68. He m. 1748, Sarah Graves of Sunderland. She d. Oct. 17, 1810. Children—*Penelope*, b. July 16, 1749; *Peter*, b. Nov. 18, 1751; *Sarah*, b. March 4, 1754; *Moses*, b. May 7, 1756; *Irene*, b. Aug. 28, 1758; *Selah*, b. Feb. 17, 1761; *Seth*, b. July 2, 1763; *Mary*, b. Sept. 14, 1765; *Lucinda*, b. April 25, 1768; *Elijah*, b. April 21, 1771.

11. JOSIAH, s. of Peter, (4) Granby, d. July 11, 1810, ae. 84. He m. March 4, 1756, Abigail, dau. of Luke Montague. She d. Aug. 28, 1833, ae. 99. Children—*Luke*, b. June 20, 1757; *Lucretia*, b. Jan. 9, 1759, m. Waitstill Dickinson of Amh.; *Abigail*, b. April 4, 1761; *Lovisa*, b. March 18, 1763; *Beulah*, b. Jan. 2, 1768; *Hannah*, b. Aug. 8, 1770; *Giles*, b. May 20, 1774.

12. JOSEPH, s. of William, (5) Granby, d. Aug. 10, 1786. He m. March 21, 1752, [1753?] Sarah Henry. She d. Oct. 16, 1800, ae. 77. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. Feb. 4, 1754, m. Aaron Dickinson of Granby, and d. Nov. 1842; *Hannah*, b. Jan. 3, 1756, m. Noah Ferry of Granby, and d. June 2, 1845, ae. 89; *William*, b. Sept. 23, 1757, grad. D. C. 1784, was an Episcopal clergyman in Boston and Dedham, and d. July 22, 1833, ae. 75. He m. Jane Little; *John*, b. March 6, 1760, m. Melinda Chapin; *Joseph*, b. Oct. 2, 1763, grad. D. C. 1788, d. May 1, 1849, ae. 85. He m. Mrs. Mary Abbott.

13. TIMOTHY, s. of William, (5) So. Had., d. Feb. 1, 1800, ae. 67. He m. Mary Smith of Ashford, Ct. Child—*Timothy*, b. Sept. 27, 1772, m. Mindwell, dau. of Benoni Chapin of Chicopee.

14. NATHANIEL, s. of Nathaniel, (8) d. Nov. 4, 1784, ae. 39. He m. Oct. 21, 1773, Sarah Goodrich. She m. (2) Aug. 19, 1792, John Chester Williams, and d. Feb. 5, 1798. Children—*Son*, b. Aug. 7, 1774, d. Aug. 8, 1774; *Sarah*, b. Dec. 15, 1775, d. Sept. 17, 1777; *Mary*, b. Aug. 26, 1777, m. ——— Kingsley; *Stephen*, b. Sept. 24, 1779; *Elijah*, b. June 24, 1781, rem. to Batavia, N. Y.

15. JOHN, s. of John, (9) Lieut., d. June 14, 1808, ae. 53. He m. March 4, 1773, Sibil Hall. Children—*Seth*, b. Oct. 8, 1774, d. in Hartford, Ct.; *Lucinda*, b. June 6, 1777; *Thankful*, b. Dec. 2, 1778, m. (1) June 24, 1795, Stephen Rider; *Sibil*, b. Dec. 4, 1780, m. Eleazar Cowls of Amh.; *David*, b. Nov. 27, 1782, fell and was killed while raising a house in Had., Dec. 1819; *Caroline*, b. March 1, 1785, m. ——— Williams; *Zebina*, b. Nov. 18, 1786, d. Sept. 27, 1787; *Zebina*, b. May 9, 1788, d. in Hartford, Ct., Nov. 18, 1811; *Lois*, b. Oct. 10, 1791, m. Cotton Smith.

16. JEDEDIAH, s. of John, (9) d. Aug. 29, 1824, ae. 58. He m. Dec. 26, 1787, Dorcas, dau. of Josiah Grover, of Ellington, Ct. She was b. Dec. 26, 1769, and d. Aug. 9, 1858, ae. 89. Children—*William*, b. Oct. 7, 1789; *Rhoda*, b. June 25, 1791, d. June 26, 1829; *Heman*, b. March 18, 1793, m. Martha Smith, and d. March 23, 1827; *Sarah*, b. Dec. 27, 1794; *Abigail*, b. April 29, 1797, d. Oct. 7, 1802; *John*, b. June 5, 1799, d. July 1, 1824; *Anna*, b. May 26, 1801, m. Sherman Sabin of Belchertown; *Abigail*, b. Feb. 21, 1803, d. Aug. 21, 1804; *Ephraim*, b. May 6, 1805, a deacon of Cong. church in Belchertown. He m. Jan. 13, 1829, Laura Sabin; *Elizabeth*, b. Feb. 26, 1807; *Harvey*, b. Jan. 30, 1809, res. in Belchertown, m. Jane A. Moody; *Sylvester*, b. Jan. 10, 1812, d. April 23, 1850.

17. STEPHEN, s. of Nathaniel, (14) d. May 18, 1851. He m. Nov. 20, 1801, Grace Grant, dau. of Daniel White. Children—*Sarah Goodrich*, b. Sept. 9, 1803, d. unm. Dec. 2, 1839, ae. 36; *Sophronia*, b. May 15, 1807, d. April 10, 1827, ae. 19; *Mary*, b. Feb. 2, 1809, d. May 8, 1848, ae. 39; *Daniel Nathaniel*, b. June 9, 1811, m. May, 1840, Mary Pierce; *Henry*, b. July 30, 1813, m. Oct. 19, 1836, Abigail Kingsley; *Susan Grant*, b. Feb. 12, 1817,

m. Jan. 18, 1838, Elijah Ayres of Amh.; *Stephen Stone*, b. Dec. 8, 1818, m. (1) Sept. 24, 1841, Mary C. Kellogg; (2) Oct. 2, 1844, Lucy W. Kellogg; *Harriet Maria*, b. Nov. 30, 1820, m. Nov. 30, 1842, Edmund Bartlett; *Sabra Ward*, b. Dec. 28, 1822, m. Aug. 28, 1855, Martin F. Cook; *Pamela White*, b. March 9, 1825.

18. EPHRAIM, s. of Jedediah, (16) rem. to Belchertown, where he is a deacon in the (Cong.) church. He m. Jan. 13, 1829, Laura Sabin, b. in Wilbraham, March 4, 1809. Children—*William Lewis*, b. April 6, 1831, grad. A. C. 1855, m. Aug. 9, 1858, Rebecca W. Pope, has been Tutor and is now (1862) Instructor in Latin and French in Amh. Col.; *Laura A. M.*, b. July 28, 1835, m. Aug. 5, 1857, Rev. Chester L. Cushman (A. C. 1856) of East Townshend, Vt.; *John L.*, b. July 23, 1838; *James H.*, b. March 8, 1841; *Harlan Page*, b. Jan. 5, 1846; *Alice Louisa*, b. Oct. 28, 1858.

MOODY, SARAH, wid. of Dea. John of Hartford, d. in Hadley, 1671.

1. MOODY, SAMUEL, supposed to have been the only child of Dea. John Moody of Hartford, and grandson of George Moody of Moulton, Suffolk Co., Eng., d. Sept. 22, 1689. He m. Sarah, dau. of John Deming of Wethersfield, Ct. She d. Sept. 29, 1717. Children—*Sarah*, m. Dec. 23, 1680, John Kellogg, and d. Sept. 19, 1689; *John*, b. July 24, 1661, settled in Hartford, Ct., and d. Nov. 5, 1732, ae. 71; *Hannah*, b. March 5, 1663, d. unm. Jan. 6, 1713; *Mary*, m. (1) June 30, 1689, Alexander Panton; (2) June 29, 1689, James Munn; *Samuel*, b. Nov. 28, 1670; *Ebenezer*, b. Oct 23, 1675.

2. SAMUEL, s. of Samuel, (1) d. Nov. 10, 1744, ae. 82. He m. Sept. 5, 1700, Sarah, dau. of Samuel Lane of Suffield, Ct. She was alive in Jan. 1758. Children—*Samuel*, b. Sept. 10, 1702; *John*, b. Sept. 10, 1702; *Nathan*, b. June 27, 1706; *Jonathan*, b. June 2, 1708; *David*, b. Dec. 3, 1711; *Sarah*, b. May 30, 1717, d. May 22, 1719; *Sarah*, b. Sept. 29, 1720.

3. EBENEZER, s. of Samuel, (1) d. Nov. 11, 1757, ae. 82. He m. Editha, who d. Aug. 19, 1757, in 75th yr. Children—*Jonathan*, b. Jan. 13, 1703, d. April 3, 1703; *Mary*, b. Dec. 28, 1705, m. 1730, Nehemiah Dickinson of Granby, and d. Nov. 15, 1787; *Ebenezer*, b. Feb. 22, 1707; *Sarah*, b. Jan. 13, 1709; *Joseph*, b. Jan. 13, 1712; *Daniel*, b. March 12, 1715, d. s. p. in So. H., April 20, 1792. He m. 1744, Mercy Morgan of Springfield. She d. Nov. 6, [7?] 1786, ae. 73; *Josiah*, b. 1721; *Editha*, m. Oct. 23, 1746, Joseph White; *Miriam*, m. Jan. 19, 1748, Reuben Smith.

4. SAMUEL, s. of Samuel, (2) Granby, d. Dec. 11, 1765. He m. Oct. 13, 1729, Mary Hovey. She d. Sept. 15, 1775, in 65th yr. Children—*Samuel*, b. July 2, 1730, d. unm. Dec. 4, 1820, ae. 90; *Gideon*, b. March 24, 1733, d. 1755; *Thomas Hovey*, b. Aug. 31, 1736; *Elisha*, b. Jan. 14, 1738; *Reuben*, b. Jan. 21, 1740, d. unm. Jan. 1831, ae. 91; *Simeon*, b. July 4, 1743, d. 1746; *Simeon*, b. Oct. 30, 1747; *Enos*, b. April 7, 1753.

5. JOHN, s. of Samuel, (2) Granby, d. 1769. He m. June 24, 1733, Sarah Dickinson. Children—*John*, b. July 8, 1734, d. unm. Oct. 4, 1815, ae. 81; *Sarah*, b. Jan. 9, 1736, d. unm. Nov. 21, 1819, ae. 83; *Moses*, b. Aug. 28, 1737, d. unm. 1774; *Aaron*, b. Oct. 1, 1739, d. Oct. 14, 1819, ae. 80. He m. (1) Elizabeth Catlin; (2) Hannah, wid. of Aaron Warner; *Hannah*, b. Sept. 17, 1741, m. Timothy Smith; *Joel*, b. Oct. 27, 1743, d. in Amh. March

22, 1824, ae. 80. He m. Rebecca Goodman; *Rachel*, b. Jan. 13, 1746, m. 1777, David Church of Gr.; *Lois*, b. June 24, 1750, m. Aaron Ayres.

6. NATHAN, s. of Samuel, (2) res. in Amh. and Ludlow, and d. abt. 1791. He m. March 16, 1735, Abigail Montague. Children—*John*, b. Feb. 27, 1736; *Josiah*, b. Feb. 24, 1740, d. 1780; *Abigail*, bapt. 1750, d. 1750; *Abigail*, bapt. 1752.

7. JONATHAN, s. of Samuel, (2) Amh., d. March 9, 1798, ae. 89. He m. Nov. 20, 1730, Bridget Smith. She d. March 12, 1786. Children—*Huldah*, b. May 31, 1731, m. Oct. 26, 1751, Oliver Chauncey; *Jonathan*, b. Jan. 10, 1734, res. in Amh., and d. April 9, 1804. He m. March 1, 1759, Eunice Graves of Hat.; *Asahel*, b. July 7, 1736, res. in Amh., and d. Aug. 9, 1813; *Lemuel*, b. June 27, 1739, res. in Amh., m. ——— Williams, and d. Jan. 22, 1818; *Eldad*, b. Oct. 17, 1746, res. in Amh., m. Nov. 21, 1782, Abigail Pratt, and d. June 16, 1814; *Medad*, b. Oct 17, 1746, res. in Amh., m. Rebecca Lee, and d. Jan. 8, 1813; *Perez*, b. Dec. 25, 1749, m. Lucy Ingram.

8. EBENEZER, s. of Ebenezer, (3) rem. to Belchertown, and d. 1789. He m. (1) Feb. 1, 1739, Joanna Warner of Belchertown. She d. Nov. 14, 1772; (2) Wid. Anna Chapin. Children—*Elijah*, b. Sept. 7, 1739, m. 1762, Elijah Wheeler, and d. 1773; *Joanna*, b. 1742, m. David Warriner, Jr. of Wilbraham; *Ebenezer*, b. 1743, d. young; *Ebenezer*, b. Sept. 10, 1744, m. Lois Smith, and d. in So. H., June 23, 1833, ae. 88; *Jerusha*, b. 1747, d. unm. 1775; *Matthew*, b. 1749, d. unm. 1779.

9. JOSEPH, s. of Ebenezer, (3) So. Had., d. Sept. 15, 1803, in 92d yr. He m. Sarah Kellogg, who d. June, 1782, in 69th yr. Children—*Joseph*, b. Feb. 2, 1738, d. Jan. 5, 1757; *Lois*, b. Oct. 29, 1740, d. Feb. 29, 1741; *Noah*, b. March 29, 1742; *Eunice*, b. Dec. 23, 1746, d. 1746; *Silence*, b. May, 1748, d. 1749; *Seth*, b. Jan. 16, 1750, d. 1752; *Seth*, b. Sept. 28, 1752; *Daniel*, b. Jan. 17, 1755.

10. JOSIAH, s. of Ebenezer, (3) So. Had., m. (1) Jan. 17, 1745, Rebecca White, who d. Sept. 15, 1751, ae. 27; (2) Dorcas, wid. of Noah Clapp of Nh. She d. Nov. 16, 1762, ae. 34; (3) Sarah, wid. of Matthew Clark. She d. March 11, 1810, ae. 82. Children—*Eliphaz*, b. Nov. 23, 1745, d. May 15, 1752; *Josiah*, b. Aug. 7, 1748; *Rebecca*, b. July 21, 1750, d. Sept. 6, 1758; *Dorcas*, b. Aug. 8, 1754; *Mercy*, b. Oct. 18, 1756; *Sarah*, b. July 16, 1764; *Eliphaz*, b. Sept. 20, 1766; *Sylvester*, b. May 20, 1771.

11. THOMAS HOVEY, s. of Samuel, (4) So. Had., d. Sept. 8, 1772. He m. Eunice. Children—*Gideon*, b. March 15, 1765; *Mary*, b. April 28, 1767; *Eunice*, b. April 6, 1769; *Martha*, b. Feb. 14, 1772.

12. ELISHA, s. of Samuel, (4) Gr., d. Jan. 17, 1825, ae. 87. He m. April 15, 1766, Elizabeth, dau. of Martin Nash of Gr. She d. July 3, 1833. Children—*Elisha*, b. March 12, 1767, d. Oct. 16, 1770; *Miriam*, b. Aug. 19, 1768, d. unm. July 2, 1801; *Samuel*, b. April 4, 1770, res. in Gr.; *Elisha*, b. Jan. 14, 1772, d. Jan. 23, 1772; *Azor*, b. Dec. 26, 1772, d. Sept. 25, 1775; *Elizabeth*, b. June 5, 1774, d. March 1, 1795; *Finis*, b. Dec. 13, 1776, m. Jahiel Warner; *Azor*, b. Oct. 17, 1778, grad. D. C. 1808, and settled in Bainbridge, N. Y.; *Sibil*, b. Aug. 9, 1780, m. ——— Johnson, and d. April 10, 1809; *Mary*, b. Aug. 28, 1782, d. unm. Aug. 12, 1801, ae. 18; *Elisha*, b. Feb. 26, 1786, res. in Gr.

13. SIMEON, s. of Samuel, (4) Gr., d. July 16, 1815, ae. 67. He m. Mercy ——— who d. Sept. 14, 1815, ae. 67. Children—*Simeon*, b. 1774; *Lois*, b. 1776; *Thomas*, b. 1778; *Ruth*, b. 1781; *Levi*, b. Feb. 10, 1784; *Mercy*, b. 1786; *Reuben*, b. 1789; *Calvin*, b. 1794.

1. MORTON, RICHARD, a blacksmith, rem. in 1670 from Hartford to Hat., and d. April 3, 1710. He m. Ruth ———, who d. Dec. 31, 1714. Children —*Thomas; Richard*, d. in Hat., Feb. 4, 1692, m. Jan. 29, 1690, Mehitable, dau. of Isaac Graves. She m. (2) William Worthington, and d. in Colchester, Ct., March 22, 1742, ae. abt. 70; *John*, b. Jan. 21, 1670, d. April 26, 1670; *Joseph*, b. April, 1672; *John*, b. April, 1674, d. young; *Abraham*, b. May, 1676; *Elizabeth*, b. March 31, 1680, m. Dec. 27, 1704, John Warner of Wethersfield, Ct., and d. 1741; *Ebenezer*, b. Aug. 11, 1682; *Jonathan*, b. Nov. 2, 1684.

2. JOSEPH, s. of Richard, (1) Hat., d. Sept. 28, 1730. He m. Mary (prob. Marsh.) Children—*Ruth*, b. Dec. 15, 1699, d. Oct. 30, 1730; *Elizabeth*, b. April 4, 1704, m. Samuel Warner of Hat.; *Abigail*, b. July 18, 1707, d. young; *John; Thankful*, b. May 21, 1713, m. Ephraim Allen of Hat.; *Joseph*, b. Oct. 24, 1715, d. prob. abt. 1744, in Amh., leaving no family; *Abigail*, b. Oct. 18, 1720; *Mary*, d. April 10, 1723.

3. ABRAHAM, s. of Richard, (1) Hat., m. May 8, 1701, Sarah Kellogg. Children—*Abraham*, b. May 2, 1703, perhaps settled in Athol; *Richard*, b. Oct. 1, 1704, was of Athol in 1750; *Sarah*, b. April, 1707, m. Samuel Smith; *Samuel*, b. Sept. 8, 1709, m. 1731, Lydia Smith, and was of Athol in 1750; *Abigail*, b. Jan. 6, 1711, d. Feb. 1, 1715; *Moses; Daniel*, b. Dec. 23, 1720; *Abigail*, b. Feb. 1, 1723, d. Dec. 24, 1726; *Noah*, m. Rhoda ———, and settled in Athol.

4. EBENEZER, s. of Richard, (1) Hat., d. abt. 1760, as is inferred from the fact, that his will executed Jan. 1754, was proved April, 1760. He m. Sarah Belding. Children—*Son*, b. 1711, d. ae. 5 weeks; *Dorothy*, b. Dec. 6, 1712, m. (1) ——— Belding; (2) Elnathan Graves, and d. abt. 1801; *Lydia*, b. March 24, 1715, m. 1735, Joseph Bardwell of Belchertown; *Elisha*, b. April 1, 1717; *Eunice*, b. May 14, 1721, m. Elijah Morton; *Simeon; Oliver; Ebenezer*, b. Dec. 8, 1725, m. Azubah, and d. in Hat. abt. 1797; *Seth*, b. Sept. 6, 1729.

5. JONATHAN, s. of Richard, (1) blacksmith in Hat., d. April 23, 1767. He m. 1710, Sarah, dau. of Chileab Smith. She d. Oct. 5, 1760, in 73d yr. Children—*Jonathan*, b. Jan. 25, 1711, d. March 10, 1711; *Martha*, b. Nov. 18, 1713; *Jonathan*, b. July 12, 1716, m. Eleanor, dau. of Joseph Smith, and d. abt. 1788; *Elijah*, b. Nov. 10, 1718, m. Eunice Morton, and d. Oct. 5, 1798; *David*, b. Sept. 12, 1721; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 12, 1725, m. 1750, Ephraim Doolittle; *Mary*, b. Sept. 29, 1727, m. Samuel Smith; *Lucy*, b. Sept, 21, 1732, d. 1766.

6. JOHN, s. of Joseph, (2) Amh., m. Aug. 4, 1730, Lydia, dau. of Samuel Hawley of Amh. She d. abt. 1793. Children—*Ruth*, b. March 2, 1732, m. 1758, [pub. June 17,] John Keet of Amh.; *Rhoda*, b. Aug. 8, 1735, m. April 24, 1755, Peletiah Smith of Amh.; *Thomas*, b. Oct. 18, 1739, m. (1) April 29, 1762, Sarah Barrett; (2) Mrs. Hannah Root; *Lydia*, b. May 19, 1742, m. John Williams of Amh.; *John*, b. May 13, 1745, m. Lydia, dau. of Samuel

Ingram of Amh., and d. May 11, 1834, ae. 89; *Joseph*, b. March 13, 1750, m. ——— Wilson of Sunderland.

7. Daniel, s. of Abraham, (3) rem. from Hat. to Whately, and d. 1786. He m. (1) 1743, Esther Bardwell, who d. Oct. 27, 1762; (2) Eleanor Wait. Children—*Hannah*, b. Sept. 7, 1744, m. Matthew Graves, and rem. to Norwich, Chenango Co., N. Y.; *Tabitha*, b. Aug. 2, 1747, m. Dr. Charles Doolittle of Hardwick; *Sarah*, b. Dec. 14, 1749, m. Oliver Smith of Northfield; *Mercy*, b. Nov. 25, 1751, m. John Lamson of Cummington; *Joel*, b. Jan. 22, 1754, rem. to Norwich, N. Y.; *Daniel*, b. Feb. 12, 1756, res. in Whately; *Esther*, b. Nov. 3, 1758, m. Dr. Lucius Doolittle of Hardwick; *Justin*, b. Sept. 25, 1760, res. in Whately; *Consider*, b. Oct 12, 1762, res. in Whately; *Tirzah*, m. Wm. Mather, and rem. to Spencertown, N. Y.; *Roxa*, m. Isaac Smith, and rem. to New York.

1. MURRAY, William, Amh., d. abt. 1784. He m. Feb. 20, 1723, Hannah, dau. of John Dickinson of Hat. Children—*Elijah*, b. Nov. 28, 1723, d. March, 1742; *William*, b. July 30, 1726; *Dorothy*, b. Aug. 4, 1729, m. May 9, 1754, Abner Adams; *David*, b. Nov. 3, 1735; *Seth*, b. May 21, 1736; *Hannah*, b. abt. 1744, m. Nov. 22, 1764, Timothy Abbot of Bennington, Vt.

2. William, s. of William, (1) d. abt. 1762. He m. Mercy Scott of Sunderland. Children—*Elihu*, b. Oct. 13, 1753; *Elijah*, b. June 6, 1756; *Mercy*, b. Sept. 16, 1758; *Martha*, b. July 14, 1761.

3. Seth, s. of William, (1) Hat., d. while on a visit in Canandaigua, N. Y., Sept. 26, 1795, ae. 59. He m. Dec. 22, 1768, Elizabeth, dau. of Daniel White of Hatfield and Bolton, Ct. She d. Feb. 4, 1814, ae. 77. Children—*Lucinda*, b. Dec. 9, 1770, m. Nov. 10, 1790, Isaac Maltby of Hat., (Yale Col. 1786) who d. 1819. She d. abt. 1836.

1. NASH, Timothy, s. of Thomas of New Haven, Ct., by trade a blacksmith, rem. from New Haven to Hartford about 1661, and thence in 1663 to Hadley. He was Representative 1690, 1691 and 1695. He d. March 13, 1699, in 73d yr. He m. abt. 1657, Rebekah, dau. of Rev. Samuel Stone of Hartford. She d. March or April, 1709. Children—*Rebecca*, b. March 12, 1658, d. young; *Samuel*, b. Feb. 3, 1660, was killed 1668, by a fall from a horse; *Thomas; Joseph*, b. Jan. 27, 1664, d. unm. in Granby, March 28, 1740, ae. 76; *Timothy; John*, b. Aug. 21, 1667; *Samuel*, b. June 17, 1669, d. unm. May 3, 1738, ae. 69; *Hope*, b. Nov. 26, 1670, m. Jan. 24, 1694, Isaac Warner; *Ebenezer*, b. Oct. 25, 1673; *Daniel*, m. June 1, 1710, Experience Clark, and d. March 10, 1760, ae. 84; *Mary*, d. Dec. 19, 1687; *Ephraim*, b. abt. 1682.

2. Thomas, s. of Timothy, (1) Hat., d. Jan. 19, 1728. He m. Aug. 1685, Hannah Coleman, who d. July 4, 1722. Children—*John*, b. Oct. 28, 1686; *Hannah*, b. Sept. 2, 1689, m. Oct. 27, 1712, John Arms; *Thomas*, b. Feb. 26, 1693; *Rebeccah*, b. April 20, 1699, m. 1720, William Marsh, and d. May 12, 1768, ae. 69; *Sarah*, b. July 9, 1704, d. unm.

3. John, s. of Timothy, (1) blacksmith, representative 1707, 1716, 1719, 1720, 1724, 1728, 1731, d. Oct. 7, 1743, ae. 76. He m. (1) March 29, 1689, Hannah Porter, who d. May 26, 1689; (2) Nov. 27, 1691, Elizabeth Kellogg,

who d. in West Hartford, Ct., July 4, 1750, in 77th yr. Children—*Rebecca*, b. Feb. 27, 1693, d. Nov. 1, 1703, ae. 10; *John*, b. July 2, 1694; *Moses*, b. July 2, 1696, settled in West Hartford, Ct., and d. Jan. 26, 1760, ae. 63. He m. (1) Rebecca Graves; (2) Oct. 30, 1744, Mrs. Mary Kellogg; *Elizabeth*, b. Dec. 15, 1698, d. Dec. 31, 1698; *Timothy*, b. Nov. 13, 1699, settled in Longmeadow, and d. March 15, 1756, ae. 56; *Abigail*, b. April 10, 1702, m. Dec. 1, 1725, Dea. Abraham Merrill of West Hartford, Ct., and d. April 3, 1782, ae. 82; *Stephen*, b. Sept. 20, 1704, settled in Westfield, and d. 1764. He m. May 22, 1728, Elizabeth Smith; *Daniel*, b. Dec. 8, 1706; *Samuel*, b. Jan. 29, 1709, res. in Farmington, Ct. and Goshen, Ct. He m. (1) Jan. 24, 1734, Margaret Merrill; (2) Mrs. ——— Dickinson; *Phineas*, b. Jan. 18, 1713, d. March 24, 1713; *Enos*, b. April 21, 1714.

4. Ebenezer, s. of Timothy, (1) removed after the birth of his children, to Suffield, Ct., where he d. 1748. He m. July, 1701, Mary, dau. of John Scott of Springfield. She d. Oct. 19, 1747. Children—*Jonathan*, b. May 30, 1702, d. Nov. 7, 1704, ae. 2; *Mary*, b. Oct. 29, 1704, m. Nov. 18, 1730, John Hovey of Mansfield, Ct., and d. Oct. 3, 1746; *Miriam*, b. Jan. 27, 1710, m. Aug. 24, 1742, Moses Scott of Bernardston.

5. Ephraim, s. of Timothy, (1) So. Had., d. Nov. 9, 1759, in 78th yr. He m. Jan. 10, 1705, Joanna, dau. of Dea. John Smith. Children—*Timothy*, b. Jan. 26, 1707; *Ephraim*, b. Jan. 16, 1710, d. Feb. 15, 1710; *Aaron*, b. Feb. 23, 1712; *Joanna*, b. July 4, 1715, d. ae. 4 days; *Joanna*, b. Aug. 28, 1716, d. Oct. 20, 1716; *Martin*, b. Jan. 19, 1718; *Eleazar*, b. Feb. 10, 1720; *Elisha*, b. Oct. 8, 1729.

6. John, s. of Thomas, (2) Hat., d. April 7, 1764, ae. 77. He m. Dec. 29, 1715, Abilene, dau. of John Field of Hat. She d. July 15, [18?] 1764, ae. 75. Children—*Hannah*, b. Sept. 16, 1716, m. Sept. 30, 1736, Ebenezer Belding of Ashfield; *Noah*, b. March 26, 1719, d. March 9, 1795, ae. 75. He m. (1) 1753, Hepzibah Bodman; (2) Abigail Belding; *Mary*, b. abt. 1721, d. Nov. 11, 1725, ae. abt. 4; *Martha*, m. Feb. 11, 1752, Phinehas Warner of New Braintree; *Abigail*, m. Dea. Hezekiah Belding of Amh.; *Daughter*, m. ——— Carpenter.

7. Thomas, s. of Thomas, (2) Hat. and Williamsburgh, d. March 12, 1773, ae. 80. He m. June 8, 1727, Martha, dau. of Joseph Smith of Hat. Children—*Submit*, b. May 18, 1728, d. June 11, 1728; *Rebecca*, b. Feb. 26, 1730, d. unm; *Submit*, b. Feb. 13, 1732, d. unm.; *Elisha*, b. Aug. 2, 1734, d. Dec. 25, 1739; *John*, b. Oct. 20, 1736, settled in Williamsburgh, and d. May 31, 1773, ae. 36. He m. Dec. 27, 1758, Martha Graves; *Moses*, b. Sept. 29, 1739, d. unm.; *Martha*, b. Feb. 21, 1742, d. unm.; *Elisha*, b. Oct. 1, 1744, d. Sept. 15, 1827, ae. 83. He m. (1) Aug. [July 14?] 1767, Elizabeth Smith; (2) Oct. 8, 1783, Naomi Sheldon; (3) Feb. 27, 1812, Mrs. Sarah Clark; (4) May 27, [30?] 1827, Mrs. Mary Johnson.

8. John, s. of John, (3) rem. to Amh., was deacon in the Cong. church, and d. abt. 1778. He m. Nov. 1716, Hannah Ingram. Children—*Jonathan*, b. July 28, 1717; *David*, b. June 6, 1719; *Hannah*, b. June 26, 1723; *John*.

9. Daniel, s. of John, (3) resided in So. Had. until about the time of the American Revolution, when he removed to Shelburne, and d. Aug. 24, 1791, in 84th yr. He m. Abigail ——, who d. in Conway, Sept. 6, 1803, ae. 93.

Children—*Marah*, b. July 7, 1731, m. June 22, 1751, Samuel Kellogg of So. Had., and d. June, 1811, ae. 80; *Joseph*, b. March 1, 1734, res. in So. Had. and Rowe, and d. Dec. 23, 1799, ae. 68. He m. Abigail Cooper; *Abigail*, b. Feb. 17, 1740, m. Jan. 5, 1762, Azariah Alvord, and d. in So. Had. March 31, 1782; *Daniel*, b. March 22, 1742, settled in Great Barrington, and d. May 6, 1794. He m. May 3, 1770, Abigail Dewey; *Eunice*, b. Oct. 8, 1744, m. Enoch Chapin of So. Had., and d. Nov. 27, 1802; *Azubah*, b. June 24, 1747, m. 1771, Joshua Abbott of Conway; *Benjamin*, b. July 3, 1750, rem. from So. Had. to Shelburne, and d. June 17, 1797, ae. 47. He m. Jan. 1, 1778, Lydia, dau. of Aaron Skinner of Colchester, Ct.; *Elihu*, b. Sept. 16, 1752, d. unm.

10. Enos, s. of John, (3) blacksmith, deacon in Church, d. Aug. 28, 1768, ae. 54. He m. Feb. 18, 1736, Joanna Barnard, who d. March 10, 1788, in 73d yr. Children—*Joanna*, b. Jan. 1, 1737, d. 1740; *Enos*, d. young; *Rebecca*, m. Sept. 4, 1766, Nehemiah Gaylord; *Enos; Josiah*, b. Aug. 27, 1749.

11. Timothy, s. of Ephraim, (5) resided in Granby and Shutesbury. He m. Oct. 15, 1736, Experience Kellogg. Children—*Joanna*, b. Dec. 29, 1737, m. 1768, Jacob Hastings of Warwick; *Samuel*, b. Jan. 29, 1739, settled in Lunenburgh, Vt.; *Timothy*, b. Oct. 15, 1740, m. Mary Powers, and settled in Lunenburgh, Vt.; *Experience*, b. Dec. 14, 1743, m. 1764, George Wheeler; *Mary Crouch*, b. May 20, 1747, m. 1768, James Lyman of Northfield, and d. March 23, 1777, ae. 29.

12. Aaron, s. of Ephraim, (5) removed, about 1774, from Granby to Brattleboro', Vt. He m. Dec. 2, 1736, Damaris, dau. of William Wait, Jr., of Nh. She was b. Feb. 26, 1717. Children—*Damaris*, b. Nov. 19, 1737, m. Rev. Titus Smith of West Suffield, Ct., and d. Aug. 1779, ae. 41; *Phebe*, b. March 22, 1739, m. William Williams of Brattleboro', Vt., and d. 1798; *Aaron*, b. March 24, 1741, rem. from Brattleboro', to Ellisburg, N. Y., and d. Jan. 17, 1827, ae. 85. He m. Hannah, dau. of Dea. David Nash of So. Had.; *Sarah*, b. Dec. 27, 1744, m. John Ellis of Brattleboro', Vt., and d. Jan. 7, 1827, ae. 82; *Moses*, b. Nov. 10, 1750, rem. to Brattleboro', and d. June 25, 1821, ae. 70. He m. 1772, Grace McCune; *Oliver*, b. Aug. 20, 1752, res. in Brattleboro' and Ellisburg, N. Y., and d. Nov. 20, 1835, ae. 83. He m. June 2, 1777, Mary Hooker; *Ebenezer*, b. July 20, 1756, d. unm. in Brattleboro', Vt.

13. Martin, s. of Ephraim, (5) Granby, d. Oct. 9, 1749, ae. 31. He m. Oct. 20, 1743, Elizabeth, dau. of William Wait, Jr., of Nh. She was b. June 25, 1712, and d. in Brattleboro', Vt., May 6, 1799, ae. 86. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. Sept. 30, 1744, m. April 15, 1766, Elisha Moody of Gr., and d. July 3, 1833, ae. 88; *Chloe*, b. Feb. 26, 1746, m. Daniel Warriner of Brattleboro', Vt., and d. July 4, 1800, ae. 54; *Miriam*, b. Nov. 26, 1747, rem. to State of New York; *Martin*, b. April 9, 1749, rem. to the West.

14. Eleazer, s. of Ephraim, (5) Granby, d. May 19, 1775, ae. 55. He m. Nov. 9, 1749, Phebe, dau. of Nathaniel Kellogg, Jr. Children—*Lucy*, b. Sept. 18, 1750, m. (1) March 5, 1789, Azariah Alvord; (2) Oct. 31, 1813, John Stickney, and d. Dec. 24, 1836, ae. 86; *Joanna*, b. abt. 1752, d. unm. May 16, 1816, in 64th yr.; *Ephraim*, b. March, 1754, rem. to Brattleboro', Vt., and d. Dec. 18, 1816. He m. Feb. 2, 1786, Hannah Wells; *Eleazer*, b. Aug. 1755, res. in Granby, and d. June 9, 1836, ae. 80. He m. April 6, 1795,

Abigail Brown of Amh.; *Nathaniel*, b. 1757, d. unm. July 8, 1834, ae. 77; *Phebe*, b. Jan. 14, 1768, m. July 15, 1789, [1790?] Josiah Smith of So. Had., and d. Jan. 11, 1847, ae. 78.

15. Elisha, s. of Ephraim, (5) Granby, d. March, 1814, ae. 84. He m. Lois Frost, who d. Nov. 1820, ae. 83. Children—*Samuel*, b. Feb. 1, 1760, d. in Dover, Athens Co., Ohio, Sept. 5, [9?] 1823, ae. 63. He m. (1) Vashti Pierre; (2) Jan. 1, 1822, Lucy Goodenow; *Rebecca*, b. Nov. 7, 1762, d. unm. March 23, 1796, ae. 34; *Lois*, b. Jan. 15, 1765, prob. d. unm.; *Elisha*, b. Sept. 11, 1766, settled in Williamsburgh, and d. 1827. He m. Elizabeth Ludden; *Justin*, b. April 25, 1768, settled in North East, Erie Co., O., and d. March 15, 1851, ae. 82. He m. (1) Ruth Hopkins; (2) May 18, 1743, Betsey Nettleton; *Adonijah*, b. March 1, 1770, d. in Argyle, N. Y., June 9, 1849, ae. 79. He m. 1801, Sarah Breck; *Dorcas*, b. Feb. 18, 1772, m. 1797, Joel White of So. Had., and d. April 5, 1837, ae. 65; *Simeon*, b. Sept. 8, 1776, res. in So. Had., and d. July 15, 1850, ae. 73. He m. (1) 1801, Amy White; (2) March 29, 1827, Mrs. Naomi Chapin; (3) May 26, 1830, Elizabeth Chapin.

16. Jonathan, s. of Dea. John, (8) Amh., d. Sept. 28, 1796, ae. 79. He m. Mary, dau. of Samuel Hawley of Amh. Children—*Jonathan*, bapt. Aug. 19, 1744, res. in Amh., m. Anna Hastings, and d. 1796; *Joseph*, bapt. April 5, 1747, res. in Whately, m. March 15, 1770, Lucy Allis, and d. May 15, 1804; *Amos*, bapt. 1750, res. in Amh., m. Eunice Pomeroy; *Reuben*, bapt. Nov. 1, 1752, res. in Amh., m. April, 1780, Lydia Edwards, and d. Jan. 24, 1831; *Abner*, bapt. April 10, 1757, m. (1) Hannah Dickinson; (2) 1813, Sarah Munson, and d. in Earlville, N. Y., Aug. 22, 1837; *Mary*, bapt. July 6, 1760, d. unm.; *Abigail*, m. Dec. 16, 1784, Stoughton Dickinson of Amh.; *Samuel*, d. unm. in Pelham.

17. David, s. of Dea. John, (8) Amh. and So. Had., d. April 26, 1803, ae. 82. He m. (1) Sept. 29, 1742, Jemima, dau. of Samuel Boltwood of Amh.; (2) May 9, 1754, Elizabeth Smith. She d. 1765; (3) Experience, wid. of Amos Loomis of Southampton, and dau. of Nathaniel Parsons of Nh. She was b. Aug. 9, 1729, and d. Feb. 1817, ae. 87. Children—*Samuel*, bapt. Sept. 8, 1745, prob. d. young; *David*, bapt. Aug. 9, 1747, d. Sept. 25, 1750; *Hannah*, m. Aaron Nash, and d. Feb. 24, 1825; *David*, b. Feb. 10, 1755, m. Lois Alvord, res. for many years in Granby, but rem. before his death to Watervliet, N. Y., where he d. Oct. 6, 1832, ae. 77; *Abigail*, b. June 1, 1757, m. July 2, 1789, Daniel Moody of Granby, and d. June 4, 1802, ae. 45; *Jonathan*, b. Nov. 5, 1760, grad. D. C. 1789, was ord. as pastor of (Cong.) church in Middlefield, Oct. 31, 1792, and dismissed July 11, 1832. He m. (1) Oct. 30, 1793, Eunice, dau. of Edward Taylor of Montgomery; (2) June 22, 1803, Rebecca, wid. of Alpheus Russell, and dau. of Isaac Clark. He d. Aug. 31, 1834, ae. 73; *Asa*, b. Dec. 1, 1763, res. in So. H. He m. (1) Oct. 21, 1792, Kezia Eastman; (2) March 31, 1808, Lydia Bodurtha, and d. May 25, 1814, ae. 50; *Elizabeth*, b. March 19, 1765, d. young.

18. John, s. of Dea. John, (8) Amh. He m. (1) Mary Graves of Hat.; (2) April 23, 1778, Sarah, wid. of Ebenezer Kellogg of Amh., and dau. of Preserved Clapp of Amh. Children—*Levi*, d. unm., ae. abt. 20; *Judith*, m. Samuel Boltwood of Amh., and d. April 28, 1832, ae. 76; *Miriam*, m. June 15, 1779, Samuel Field; *Mary*, bapt. Dec. 9, 1759, m. (1) 1779, Firmin Wood;

(2) David Stockbridge, and d. June 20, 1832, ae. 75; *Child*, bapt. Sept. 27, 1761, prob. d. young; *Lucretia*, bapt. April 17, 1763, d. in youth; *Martha*, bapt. Sept. 16, 1764, d. unm. Oct. 5, 1836; *Moses*, bapt. Dec. 20, 1767, res. in Amh., m. Sally Lewis, and d. Sept. 28, 1841.

19. Enos, s. of Enos, (10) d. March 30, 1796, ae. 49. He m. (1) Nov. 27, 1771, Martha, dau. of Samuel Gaylord. She d. Sept. 25, 1788, ae. 41; (2) April 28, 1794, Eleanor Stebbins of Springfield. She was b. Sept. 3, 1755, and d. in Enfield, Ct. Children—*Martha*, b. June 5, 1773, m. Eli Smith, and d. July 28, 1817, ae. 44; *Enos*, b. Feb. 10, 1775; *Cotton*, b. Sept. 27, 1776; *Erastus*, b. Feb. 12, 1780; *Lemuel*, b. Nov. 18, 1782, d. unm., in U. S. service in Burlington, Vt., Dec. 11, 1812, ae. 30; *Sarah*, b. Aug. 12, 1785, d. unm. July 10, 1824, ae. 38; *Peggy*, b. Oct. 11, 1787, d. Dec. 8, 1787.

20. Josiah, s. of Enos, (10) blacksmith, d. March 4, 1814, ae. 64. He m. Jan. 30, 1772, Eunice, dau. of Simeon Knight of Ware, Mass , and Rockingham, Vt. She was b. July 24, 1751, and d. Feb. 14, 1814, ae. 62. Children—*Samuel*, b. Nov. 13, 1772, d. April 20, 1787, ae. 15; *Josiah*, b. March 2, 1775, killed by the kick of a horse, May, 1793, ae. 18; *John*, b. Nov. 29, 1776; *Elijah*, b. Dec. 16, 1778; *Timothy*, b. July 6, 1781; *Eunice*, b. Nov. 5, 1783, d. unm. April 5, 1812, ae. 38; *Oliver*, b. Oct. 24, 1785; *Samuel*, b. Nov. 29, 1788, d. March 5, 1789; *Lois*, b. Dec. 8, 1789, d. unm.; *Joanna*, b. Jan. 29, 1792, m. Jan. 27, 1814, Enos Dickinson of Amh., and d. March 19, 1818, ae. 26; *Sarah*, b. March 25, 1794, m. Jan. 1823, Andrew Scott, and d. in Cleveland, O., Jan. 21, 1847, ae. 52; *Submit*, b. June 25, 1797, m. Jan. 31, 1838, Dea. John Tolman of Ware.

21. Enos, s. of Enos, (19) Hat., d. Nov. 3, 1823, ae. 48. He m. Feb. 21, 1797, Sarah Wells of Hatfield. She d. Aug. 1848. Children—*Martha*, b. Sept. 10, 1797, prob. d. Oct. 1798; *Abel Wells*, b. May, 1799, m. July 13, 1820, Mary Mosher, and res. in Whately; *Enos*, b. March 3, 1801, d. Aug. 13, 1802; *Patty Gaylord*, b. May, 1803, m. Aug. 17, 1818, Simeon Dickinson; *Sally*, b. April 4, 1805, d. 1805; *Sally Chapin*, b. June 6, 1806, m. William Blake; *Daughter*, b. Dec. 21, 1807, d. 1807; *Enos Barnard*, b. July, 1809, res. in Rushville, Ill., m. Nov. 6, 1838, Katherine Keller; *Mary Stebbins*, b. Oct. 27, 1811, m. Oct. 20, 1831, Samuel Shipman of Had.

22. Cotton, s. of Enos, (19) d. in Had. He m. Nov. 18, 1804, Phebe, dau. of Joseph Smith. Children—*Aminta Day*, b. April 13, 1808, d. Aug. 28, 1811, ae. 3; *Nancy*, b. March 22, 1811, m. April 19, 1832, Wyman Smith; *Lorenzo S.*, b. July 4, 1814, m. Nov. 21, 1838, Permelia Smith, and res. in Granby.

23. Erastus, s. of Enos, (19) joiner, d. Sept. 20, 1849, ae. 69. He m. June 4, 1804, Penelope Gaylord. Children—*Elizabeth Worthington*, b. Dec. 10, 1804, d. Sept. 27, 1807, ae. 2; *Martha*, b. Jan. 3, 1807, d. Aug. 26, 1807; *Erastus*, b. Nov. 4, 1808; *Edwin*, b. Nov. 24, 1810, d. Aug. 9, 1824; *Lucius*, b. Jan. 21, 1813, d. Nov. 7, 1813; *Lucius*, b. Oct. 25, 1814; *George Williams*, b. May 23, 1817, d. Dec. 4, 1831, ae. 14; *Elizabeth Worthington*, b. Oct. 16, 1818, m. May 19, 1841, Enos E. Cook; *Cotton Gaylord*, b. Sept. 10, 1820; *Martha Smith*, b. April 9, 1823, m. Oct. 20, 1843, Addington Daniels.

24. John, s. of Josiah, (20) followed the business of boating down the Conn. river to Hartford, until the building of the Conn. River R. R. in 1849

changed the mode of transportation, when he sold out his boats and gave up the business. He d. Jan. 10, 1858, ae. 81. He m. Lephe Packard, b. Feb. 19, 1777. She d. of disease of the heart, June 7, 1850, ae. 73. Children—*Josiah*, b. May 17, 1799; *Eliza*, b. Jan. 20, 1801, m. Nov. 20, 1823, Henry Hodge; *Walter*, b. Dec. 5, 1802, d. Sept. 23, 1804; *Mary*, b. Nov. 27, 1804, m. June 29, 1826, Lester W. Porter; *Lephe*, b. Aug. 30, 1807; *Lucinda*, b. April 3, 1811, m. Dec. 3, 1835, Theodore Clark; *John Walter*, b. Nov. 26, 1814; *Joanna D.*, b. Sept. 3, 1818, m. Jan. 22, 1837, Frederick Dickinson.

25. Elijah, s. of Josiah, (20) joiner and farmer, m. (1) Nov. 15, 1803, Electa Morton of Hat. She was b. Oct. 25, 1779, and d. Feb. 21, 1813; (2) Ruth, dau. of Josiah Cowls of Leverett. She d. June 22, 1846. Children—*Harriet*, b. March 29, 1804, m. Nov. 23, 1820, Levi Hawley; *Lucy*, b. Feb. 16, 1806, m. Aug. 30, 1843, Josiah Rice of Leverett; *Electa*, b. Nov. 19, 1807, d. unm. Jan. 13, 1829; *Samuel*, b. March 13, 1810; *Hiram*, b. April 16, and d. June 6, 1812.

26. Timothy, s. of Josiah, (20) was a truckman in Boston, where he d. March 16, 1822. He m. —— ——. Children—*Matilda*, bapt. June 20, 1816; *Charles*, b. Oct. 1, 1811, m. Rachel Robbins, and res. in Amh.; *Julia*, bapt. Jan. 20, 1816, m. (1) Charles Jones; (2) Orrin Hammond.

27. Oliver, s. of Josiah, (20) rem. in 1836 to Amh., and there d. 1856. He m. (1) 1810, Hannah Dickinson of Amh., who d. May 22, 1832; (2) Dec. 27, 1832, Sally, wid. of —— Kennan, and dau. of —— Whitcomb. She was b. in Princeton, March 21, 1798. Children—*Louisa*, b. Dec. 10, 1810, d. Oct. 1, 1824; *Eunice Knight*, b. May 25, 1813, m. May 7, 1840, Moses M. Brown of Springfield; *Lucretia Montague*, b. Aug. 11, 1815; *Oliver*, b. Aug. 4, 1818, m. Roxana Houghton, and d. in Boston, Feb. 7, 1851; *Hannah Submit*, b. June 6, 1823, m. Frederick Wells; *Timothy*, b. Oct. 20, 1833; *Horace*, b. July 2, 1836; *Sarah Louisa*, b. Aug. 9, 1839.

28. Lorenzo S., s. of Cotton, (22) resides in Gr., is a deacon in the (Cong.) church, and was in 1859 a Representative to the General Court for the District embracing the towns of Amherst, Granby and Pelham. He m. Nov. 21, 1838, Permelia, dau. of Dr. Enos Smith of Gr. She was b. Sept. 20, 1817. Children—*Henry Smith*, b. Oct. 22, 1840, d. Sept. 14, 1841; *Sarah Hawkes*, b. Aug. 20, 1842.

29. Erastus, s. of Erastus, (23) m. (1) April 9, 1832, Achsah W., dau. of Jonathan Warner. She d. April 26, 1842; (2) April 19, 1843, Susan, dau. of Elisha Hubbard. Children—*Maria Williams*, b. April 11, 1833; *Edwin Smith*, b. Feb. 21, 1835; *Francis Lewis*, b. May 9, 1838; *Arthur Henry*, b. July 1, 1840, d. Aug. 20, 1841; *Isabella Susan*, b. April 22, 1844; *Margaret Louisa*, b. May 10, 1846; *Erastus Hall*, b. May 12, 1848.

30. Lucius, s. of Erastus, (23) m. (1) May, 1844, Margaret, dau. of Joseph Marsh. She d. May, 1846; (2) Nov. 14, 1846, Elizabeth, dau. of Moses Marsh. She d. Feb. 28, 1856, ae. 38; (3) Cornelia Johnson. Children—*George Williams*, b. May 10, 1845; *Henry Barnard*, b. Dec. 8, 1847, d. June 14, 1849.

31. Josiah, s. of John, (24) m. Nov. 20, 1823, Almira Colt, who d. Jan. 31, 1832. Child—*Catherine*, b. Nov. 16, 1825, m. April 8, 1846, Charles D. Hodge.

32. JOHN WALTER, s. of John, (24) m. May 2, 1837, Almira Bartlett. Children—*Almira*, b. March 16, 1843; *Sarah J.*, b. July 5, 1848; *Helen E.*, b. Aug. 13, 1849, d. Aug. 21, 1855, ae. 6.

33. SAMUEL, s. of Elijah, (25) was a farmer, surveyor, Representative to General Court 1844, deacon in North Hadley (Cong.) church, and d. 1861. He m. May 1, 1834, Lurintha Ball of Leverett. Children—*Laura E.*, b. July 9, 1835; *Martin Samuel*, b. March 20, 1838; *Jay Elijah*, b. March 29, 1843; *Jane Lurintha*, b. Sept. 23, 1845; *John*, b. Oct. 17, 1847; *Sarah E.*, b. May 15, 1850, d. May 23, 1851.

1. NEWTON, FRANCIS. Children—*Elizabeth*, m. Nov. 6, 1783, Moses Kellogg, Jr.; *Eleanor*, m. 1783, Jonathan Cook, Jr.; *Tryphena*, m. Jan. 3, 1790, Solomon Cooke; *Sally*, m. May 18, 1798, Daniel Russell, Jr.; *Francis*.

2. FRANCIS, s. of Francis, (1) m. July 21, 1794, Abigail, dau. of John Dickinson. Children—*Son*, bapt. July, 1796; *Theodocia*, bapt. Dec. 1, 1801; *Obed*, bapt. Feb. 21, 1802; *John*, bapt. Feb. 21, 1802.

NORTHAM, SAMUEL, s. of James of Hartford, Ct., carpenter, rem. before 1686 to Deerfield, and thence as early as 1709, to Colchester, Ct. He m. Mary Dickinson. Children—*Samuel*, b. May 4, 1675; *Mary*, b. Jan. 7, 1676; *Elizabeth*, b. April 11, 1680; *Jonathan*, b. May 18, 1682.

OSBORN, RICHARD, m. Dec. 15, 1796, Lucinda Gaylord. Children—*Chester*, bapt. Dec. 24, 1797; *Fanny Gaylord*, bapt. May 4, 1800.

1. PANTON or PANTHERN, ALEXANDER, m. June 30, 1689, Mary Moody. She m. (2) June 29, 1698, James Munn. Child—*Philip*, b. April 16, 1689.

2. PHILIP, s. of Alexander, (1) d. s. p., April 7, 1717. He m. March 27, 1712, Elizabeth, dau. of John Ingram. She m. (2) Dec. 13, 1716, Ebenezer Kellogg.

PARKER, ELI, Amh., d. Nov. 9, 1829, ae. 93. He m. Elizabeth, dau. of John Hubbard. She d. Oct. 13, 1813, ae. 74. Children—*Eli*, b. abt. 1763, m. (1) Salome Dickinson; (2) Fanny Woodward; *Levi*, bapt. June 14, 1767, d. ae. abt. 18; *Samuel*, bapt. Sept. 24, 1769; *Deborah*, bapt. Jan. 19, 1772, m. Sylvanus Dickinson; *Hannah*, m. (1) Thomas Goodale; (2) Simeon Pomeroy; *Elizabeth*, m. Aug. 29, 1776, Moses Hastings.

1. PARSONS, REV. DAVID, s. of Rev. David, was b. in Malden, March 24, 1712, grad. H. C. 1729, was ord. as first pastor of the Amh. (Cong.) Church, Nov. 7, 1739, and d. Jan. 1, 1781, ae. 68. He m. Eunice, dau. of Gideon Wells of Wethersfield, Ct. She was b. Aug. 6, 1723, and d. Sept. 20, 1796, ae. 73. Children—*Eunice*, bapt. July 19, 1747; *David*, bapt. Jan. 28, 1749; *Eunice*, bapt. July 28, 1751, m. Solomon Stoddard, Esq., of Nh., and d. Jan. 22, 1797, ae. 45; *Salome*, bapt. Feb. 28, 1753, d. unm. Aug. 22, 1839, ae. 84; *Mary*, bapt. March 27, 1757, m. Nov. 1, 1790, Ezekiel Belding of Wethersfield, Ct., and d. 1845, ae. 88; *Gideon*, bapt. June 28, 1759, d. Oct. 14, 1761, ae. 2; *Gideon*, bapt. Nov. 22, 1761, m. April 16, 1787, Huldah Rowe, and d. 1805, in Esopus, N. Y.; *Leonard Chester*, bapt. Nov. 11, 1764, d. while a member of the Junior Class in Yale College, Nov. 30, 1785, ae. 24.

2. David, D. D., s. of David, (1) grad. H. C. 1771, was ord. Oct. 2, 1782, as successor of his father, over the 1st Cong. Church in Amh., dis. at his own request, Sept. 1, 1819, and d. May 18, 1823, ae. 74, while on a visit in Wethersfield, Ct. He received in 1800 from Brown Univ. the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He m. Nov. 5, 1785, Harriet, dau. of Ezekiel Williams, Esq., of Wethersfield, Ct. She was b. June 26, 1764, and d. June, 1850, ae. 85. Children—*Ezekiel Williams*, b. Feb. 16, 1787, m. June, 1822, Sally Clark, and is a physician in Colchester, Ct.; *David*, b. June 10, 1788, res. in Amh., m. (1) Jan. 21, 1816, Elizabeth Williams; (2) Dec. 16, 1845, Wid. Lucy Howell of Hartford, Ct.; *Prudence Stoddard*, b. Dec. 24, 1789, m. Oct. 7, 1823, Rev. Marcus Smith; *Thomas*, b. Oct. 10, 1791, m. March 18, Frances Catharine Chappel, res. in New London, Ct., but d. in Colchester, Ct., Aug. 21, 1832, ae. 41; *Harriet*, b. Aug. 6, 1793, m. (1) Rev. Royal Washburn of Amh.; (2) May 16, 1844, Hon. David Mack of Amh.; *Francis*, b. Feb. 16, 1795, grad. Y. C., was a lawyer in Hartford, Ct., m. Dec. 23, 1829, Clarissa Brown, and d. 1861; *Mary*, b. Dec. 8, 1796, m. Sept. 1, 1821, Rev. William Williams of Salem; *Caroline*, b. Sept. 15, 1798, d. unm. in Wethersfield, Ct., Jan. 5, 1820, ae. 21; *Sophia*, b. Aug. 8, 1800, m. May 17, 1837, Rev. Silas Aiken, D. D., then of Boston, but now of Rutland, Vt.; *William*, b. Oct. 30, 1802, a physician, d. unm. in Canaan, Ct., April 18, 1830, ae. 27; *James*, b. Nov. 4, 1804, grad. Amh. Col. 1830, m. March, 1832, Mary Eliza Lewis, and d. on Staten Island, N. Y., Sept. 3, 1833, ae. 28.

1. PARTRIDGE, William, came from Berwick upon Tweed, Eng., was an early settler of Hartford, Ct., whence he rem. to Had., where he d. June 27, 1668. He m. Dec. 12, 1644, Mary Smith of Hartford. She was sister of Christopher of Northampton, Joseph of Hartford, Simeon and William, and d. July 20, [28?] 1680, ae. 55. Children—*Samuel*, b. Oct. 15, 1645; *Mary*, m. (1) Nov. 12, 1663, John, s. of Lieut. Samuel Smith; (2) Sept. 1679, Peter Montague, and d. May 20, 1680, ae. abt. 55.

2. Col. Samuel, s. of William, (1) was Representative 1685 and 1686, Colonel of the Regiment, Judge of Probate, and one of his Majesty's Council, and the most important man, after the death of Col. Pynchon, 1703, in all the western part of the Province. About 1687 he removed to Hat., where he d. Dec. 25, 1740, ae. 95. He m. (1) Sept. 24, 1668, Mehitable, dau. of John Crow; (2) —— Atwater, wid. of John of Salem, and dau. of Rev. Seaborn Cotton. Children—*William*, b. Nov. 16, 1669, grad. H. C. 1689, a preacher, d. in Wallingford, Ct., Sept. 1693; *Samuel*, b. Jan. 21, 1672; *Mehitable*, b. May 1, 1674, d. May 16, 1674; *Mehitable*, b. Aug. 26, 1675, m. Dec. 9, 1693, Nathaniel Dwight; *Child*, b. 1677, d. young; *Mary*, b. 1678, m. Dec. 4, 1695, Josiah Dwight; *Jonathan*, b. April 5, 1681, d. Sept. 11, 1684; *Edward*, b. April 26, 1683, res. in Hat.; *Jonathan*, b. Sept. 18, 1685, d. Jan. 24, 1686; *John*, b. 1686, grad. H. C. 1705, and d. in Spr. 1717; *Elizabeth*, b. Oct. 7, 1688, m. (1) May 9, 1709, John Hamlin, Jr.; (2) —— Hamlin; (3) —— Johnson of Woodstock, Ct.; (4) —— Payson of Middletown, Ct.

3. Samuel, s. of Col. Samuel, (2) d. betw. 1735 and 1738. He m. 1695, Mrs. Mary Atwater, dau. of Rev. Seaborn Cotton. She was b. 1670, and d. June 23, 1729, ae. 59. Children—*William*, b. Jan. 9, 1696, d. March 16,

1698; *Samuel*, b. June 1, 1696; *Mary*, b. June 15, 1698, m. Isaac Mattoon of Northfield; *Elizabeth*, b. Sept. 22, 1701, m. Ezekiel Kellogg of New Salem; *Dorothy*, b. March 2, 1703, d. March, 1703; *Cotton*, b. Oct. 13, 1705; *Mehetable*, b. Oct. 8, 1707, m. Thomas Barnard of Tolland, Ct.; *William*, b. Sept. 15, 1710, prob. grad. Y. C. 1729, and rem. to Nova Scotia, where he was Secretary of State.

4. Edward, s. of Col. Samuel, (2) Hat., d. Dec. 26, 1757, ae. 74. He m. May 14, 1707, Martha, dau. of Rev. William Williams of Hat. She d. Nov. 26, 1766. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. Oct. 14, 1708; *Martha*, b. Oct. 9, 1710; *Oliver*, b. June 13, 1712.

5. Cotton, s. of Samuel, (3) d. Sept. 28, 1733, ae. 27. He m. Margaret, dau. of Moses Cook. She m. (2) Samuel Gaylord. Children—*Samuel*, b. July 3, 1730; *Sybil*, b. Oct. 7, 1732, m. Josiah Dickinson.

6. Oliver, s. of Edward, (4) Hat., d. July 21, 1792, ae. 80. He m. 1734, Anna, dau. of William Williams of Weston. She d. Dec. 21, 1802, ae. 85. Children—*William*, b. Aug. 15, 1735, d. Aug. 30, 1735; *Anna*, b. July 27, 1736, m. —— Bull; *Oliver*, b. Aug. 19, 1738, d. Sept. 9, 1738; *Martha*, b. Nov. 8, 1739; *Mercy*, b. Feb. 15, 1742; *Elizabeth*, b. March 15, 1744; *Sophia*, b. Aug. 3, 1746; *Samuel*, b. Sept. 5, 1748; *Oliver*, b. April 15, 1751, unm., was a physician in Stockbridge; *William*, b. April 30, 1753, a farmer in Pittsfield; *John*, b. May 1, 1755; *Pamela*, b. Sept. 21, 1757, d. Jan. 10, 1759; *Pamela*, b. Jan. 15, 1761.

7. Samuel, s. of Cotton, (5) Hat., m. Jan. 18, 1754, Abigail Dwight. Children—*Esther*, b. March 26, 1761, m. John Allis of Hat., and d. Dec. 22, 1834; *Cotton*, b. Dec. 1, 1765; *Samuel*, b. Nov. 4, 1767, d. young; *Samuel*.

8. Cotton, s. of Samuel, (7) Hat., m. (1) May 4, 1788, Sophia, dau. of Dea. —— Arms of Deerfield; (2) June 23, 1796, Hannah, dau. of Rev. Jonathan Lyman, D. D. of Hat. Children—*Dwight*, b. 1789, m. April 5, 1807, Elizabeth Sabin, and d. in Phelps, N. Y., ae. 32; *Theodore*, b. 1791, res. in Newark, N. J.; *Sophia Arms*, b. 1798, m. Moses Morton; *Eunice*, b. 1800; *Hannah Huntington*, b. 1802, m. David S. Whitney of Nh.; *Joseph Lyman*, b. 1804, grad. W. C. 1828; *Abigail Dwight*, m. (1) Aug. 26, 1835, Rev. Levi Pratt of Medford; (2) Lebbeus Ward; *Fanny*, b. March 22, 1811, m. —— Brainerd of St. Albans, Vt.; *George Cotton*, grad. A. C. 1833, a clergyman in Ill.; *Harriet*, m. Alfred Woodruff.

PARTRIDGE, Samuel, Hat., m. Feb. 21, 1792, Caroline Adams of West Springfield. She d. Jan. 19, 1798. Children—*Clarissa*, b. 1793, m. —— Sergeant of Stockbridge; *Caroline*, b. July 31, 1795, m. Harvey Ely of Rochester, N. Y.

1. PERKINS, Elisha, d. abt. 1720. He m. Feb. 27, 1713, Sarah, dau. of Samuel Smith. She m. (2) May 29, 1724, Benjamin Church. Children—*Son*, b. and d. 1713; *Son*, b. and d. 1715; *Elisha*, b. Jan. 5, 1716; *John*, b. Sept. 9, 1719.

2. Elisha, s. of Elisha, (1) m. Eunice ——, who d. Oct. 7, 1744. Children—*Sarah*, b. Aug. 28, 1741; *Eunice*, b. Sept. 12, 1742; *Sibil*, b. Feb. 28, 1744.

PERRY, JOHN, rem. after 1745, to Amh., m. April 1, 1737, Rebecca Warner; (2) 1743, Elizabeth Meacham of New Salem. Children—*Rebecca*, b. May 5, 1738; *Mary*, b. Jan. 26, 1740.

PETTY, JOHN, res. in Amh., and d. abt. 1790, m. ——, dau. of Benjamin Rhodes. Children—*Mary* and *Thankful*, (twins,) bapt. Aug. 31, 1760; *Joseph*, m. —— Wales; *Lucretia*, bapt. July 31, 1768, m. Joseph Robbins of Amh.; *Rachel*, bapt. Aug. 19, 1770.

1. PHELPS, CHARLES, s. of Nathaniel, was b. in Northampton, Aug. 15, 1717, rem. to Had. in 1743 or 1744, and thence to New Marlboro', Vt. He d. April, 1789. He m. (1) April 24, 1740, Dorothy, dau. of Hezekiah Root. She d. Sept. 11, 1777; (2) abt. 1779, —— ——. Children—*Solomon*, b. 1742, grad. H. C. 1762, a preacher, became deranged, and d. unm. 1785 or 1786; *Dorothy*, m. July 9, 1772, Lemuel Warner; *Abigail*, m. June 6, 1776, John Williams of Wethersfield, Vt.; *Charles*, b. 1744; *Timothy*, b. Jan. 25, 1747, m. June 6, 1776, Zipporah Williams, res. in Halifax, Vt., and d. July 3, 1817, ae. 70; *Joseph*, d. Dec. 18, 1749, ae. 3 weeks. *Experience*, m. (1) March 11, 1784, Caleb Cooley; (2) Aaron Dickinson of Whately; *John*, d. Dec. 14, 1761, ae. 5; *Lucy*, d. Jan. 27, 1757, ae. 3.

2. CHARLES, s. of Charles, (1) d. Dec. 3, 1814, in 72d yr. He m. June, 1770, Elizabeth, dau. of Dr. Moses Porter. She d. Nov. 11, 1817, ae. 70. Children—*Moses Porter*, afterwards called Charles Porter, b. Aug. 8, 1772, grad. H. C. 1791, d. Dec. 21, 1857, ae. 85; *Charles*, b. Dec. 1, 1776, d. Dec. 8, 1776; *Elizabeth Whiting*, b. Feb. 4, 1779, m. Rev. Dan Huntington.

PIERCE, JOHN, m. Bathsheba. Child—*John*, b. June 24, 1748.

PIERCE, JONATHAN, m. abt. 1751, [pub. Dec. 21,] Experience Montague. She m. (2) 1757, Philip Ingram of Amh. Child—*John*, b. July 8, 1752.

1. PIERCE, JOSIAH, s. of Samuel, s. of Samuel, s. of Thomas, b. in Woburn, grad. H. C. 1735, rem. first to Mansfield, and thence to Had., where he was town clerk and teacher. He sometimes preached, though he does not appear to have been ordained. He d. Feb. 10, 1788, ae. 79. He m. Nov. 17, 1743, Miriam Cook, who d. June 27, 1795, in 79th yr. Children—*Josiah*, b. Oct. 11, 1745; *Hannah*, b. Nov. 19, 1747, d. unm. Jan. 31, 1841, ae. 93; *Samuel*, b. Nov. 11, 1749, m. April 3, 1794, Anna Cook, and d. s. p., Jan. 12, 1796, ae. 46. His wife d. March 1, 1825, ae. 67; *William*, b. June 21, 1752, d. unm. Jan. 11, 1832, ae. 79; *David*, b. Sept. 27, 1754, went with Arnold to Canada, and there d. unm. Dec. 28, 1775, ae. 21; *Miriam*, b. March 1, 1757, m. 1783, her cousin Josiah Pierce of Charlemont.

2. JOSIAH, s. of Josiah, (1) d. March 22, 1834, ae. 88. He m. 1771, Lucy, dau. of Walter Fairfield. She was b. Feb. 26, 1745, and d. April 6, 1845, ae. 100. Children—*Lucy*, b. July 1, 1773, d. Sept. 26, 1775, ae. 2; *Dolly*, b. Oct. 29, 1774, m. Oct. 21, 1794, Rufus Shumway; *Anne*, b. May 17, 1776, m. Oct. 10, 1798, Andrew Dunakin; *Lucy*, b. April 26, 1778, m. Dec. 24, 1799, Elijah White; *David*, b. March 3, 1780; *Elihu*, b. Jan. 27, 1782; *Job*, b. July 8, 1785.

3. DAVID, s. of Josiah, (2) d. March 6, 1850, ae. 70. He m. May 9, 1825, Miriam, dau. of Samuel Cook. Children—*Eliza*, b. Feb. 13, 1826; *William*

Martin, b. Dec. 30, 1827, grad. A. C. 1853; *Sarah*, b. Nov. 23, 1829; *John Nelson*, b. Dec. 8, 1833; *Almira*, b. April 1, 1835, d. April 6, 1836; *Charles*, b. Aug. 19, 1839, d. May 26, 1841.

PIXLEY, William, removed in 1668 to Nh., and thence abt. 1680, to Westfield, where he d. Oct. 9, 1689. He m. (1) Nov. 24, 1663, Sarah Lawrence; (2) 1681, Sarah, who d. Dec. 25, 1713. Children—*Sarah*, b. Jan. 11, 1665, m. Dec. 9, 1680, John Lee of Westfield; *Thomas*, b. June 6, 1667, d. in Westfield, 1731; *William*, b. June 27, 1669; *Joseph*, b. Nov. 18, 1671; *Joseph*, b. March 9, 1676, res. in Westfield and Housatonnuck; *Ebenezer*, b. May 3, 1678, d. in Westfield, 1716; *Anthony*, b. July 4, 1681, d. April 25, 1697; *Mary*, d. 1735.

PLIMPTON or PLYMPTON, Peter, s. of John, bapt. in Dedham, March 16, 1652, rem. to Deerfield, thence as early as 1679 to Hatfield and still later to Marlborough, where he d. March 27, 1717. He m. July 2, 1677, Mary Mundan. Children—*Hannah*, b. March 28, 1679; *Mary*, b. March 8, 1681.

1. POMEROY, Ebenezer, b. May 1, 1723, s. of Ebenezer, Jr. of Nh., d. in 1800 or 1801. He m. Mindwell, dau. of Capt. John Lyman. She d. Oct. 9, 1797, in 77th yr. Children—*Ethan; Eunice*, m. Jan. 6, 1774, Ebenezer Clark; *Abigail*, m. Capt. John Woods: *Elizabeth*, bapt. Dec. 23, 1753, m. (1) June 1, 1780, Dr. Timothy Lyman; (2) Ebenezer Clark; *Mindwell*, bapt. April 11, 1756, m. (1) Joseph Marsh; (2) 1793, Ebenezer Clark; *Ebenezer*, bapt. Nov. 19, 1758; *Solomon*, bapt. Feb. 8, 1761; *Hannah*, m. 1786, John Colton; *Rhoda*, m. 1793, Daniel Warren.

2. Ethan, s. of Ebenezer, (1.) Children—*Dau.*, b. March 9, 1779; *Esther*, bapt. April 4, 1779; *Jacob Parsons*, b. 1780; *Ethan*, bapt. Oct. 14, 1787.

POMEROY, Simeon, s. of Samuel, was b. in Nh., June 5, 1725, settled in Amh., and d. June 22, 1812, ae. 87. He m. March 27, 1747, Abigail Smith, who d. Dec. 10, 1820, ae. 94. Children—*Abigail*, b. Nov. 22, 1747, m. Justus Williams of Amh., and d. Nov. 20, 1832, ae. 85; *Eunice*, b. Nov. 24, 1749, m. Amos Nash; *Lucy*, b. Jan. 22, 1752, m. (1) Sept. 15, 1774, Samuel Hastings; (2) Martin Kellogg, and d. Dec. 23, 1839, ae. 87; *Simeon*, b. April 24, 1754, m. Dec. 30, 1779, Mary Hastings; (2) Hannah, wid. of Thomas Goodale; *Mary*, b. Sept. 10, 1756, d. young; *Jerusha*, b. Feb. 6, 1760, m. Jan. 23, 1783, Philip Edwards; *David*, b. March 12, 1762, m. Sabra, dau. of David Blodgett of Amh., and d. Aug. 6, 1825, ae. 63; *Mary*, b. Aug. 12, 1764, m. Jan. 16, 1794, Nathaniel Edwards of Amh., and d. 1795; *Dorcas*, b. Oct. 13, 1767, m. Oct. 26, 1794, Justus Clark of Amh., and d. July 22, 1849, ae. 81; *Samuel*, b. Nov. 19, 1769, d. Sept. 1, 1777; *Moses*, b. April 10, 1773, d. Sept. 2, 1777.

1. PORTER, Samuel, s. of John of Windsor, Ct., was among the first settlers of Had., where he d. Sept. 6, 1689. He m. Hannah, dau. of Thomas Stanley of Hartford, Ct. She d. Dec. 18, 1708. Children—*Samuel*, b. April 6, 1660; *Child*, b. and d. April 26, 1662; *Thomas*, b. April 17, 1663, d. May 27, 1663; *Hezekiah*, b. Jan. 7, 1665; *John*, b. Dec. 12, 1666; *Hannah*, b.

1670, m. March 29, 1689, John Nash; *Mehitable*, b. Sept. 15, 1673, m. Nathaniel Goodwin of Hartford, Ct., and d. Feb. 6, 1726, ae. 52; *Experience*, b. Aug. 5, 1676; *Ichabod*, b. June 17, 1678; *Nathaniel*, b. Nov. 15, 1680; *Thomas*, b. abt. 1683.

2. Hon. Samuel, s. of Samuel, (1) at one time Representative, an extensive trader with England, and afterwards Judge and Sheriff of the County, d. July 29, 1722, leaving to his family an immense estate of over £10,000. He left upwards of £534 in goods including 196£ shipped for him at London, and sixteen hundred and forty two acres of land in Brookfield, valued at £518. He had bills of credit on hand to the amount of £403. He m. (1) Feb. 22, 1683, Joanna, dau. of Capt. Aaron Cook. She d. Nov. 13, 1713, ae. 49; (2) ——— ———, who survived him. Children—*Samuel*, b. May 25, 1685; *Joanna*, b. Dec. 24, 1689, [1687?] m. 1704, John Marsh; *Aaron*, b. July 19, 1689; *Moses*, b. June 28, 1690, was living in 1709; *Sarah*, b. Dec. 12, 1692, m. Dec. 5, 1711, Josiah Goodrich of Wethersfield, Ct., and d. July, 1726, ae. 33; *Mehitable*, b. Sept. 12 1694, m. Sept. 24, 1713, Job Marsh, and d. July 13, 1739, ae. 44; *Miriam*, b. Aug. 3, 1696, d. Oct. 15, 1703, ae. 7; *Eleazar*, b. Feb. 25, 1698; *Hannah*, b. July 2, 1699, d. Aug. 12, 1699; *Nathaniel*, b. July 12, 1700, d. Nov. 1700; *Ruth*, b. Nov. 10, 1701, m. 1720, Rev. Stephen Steel of Tolland, Ct.; *Mary*, b. Nov. 4, 1703, prob. m. Rev. Solomon Williams of Lebanon, Ct.; *Daughter*, b. and d. Oct. 20, 1705; *Son*, b. and d. Dec. 5, 1706.

3. Hezekiah, s. of Samuel, (1) rem. abt. 1707 to East Hartford, Ct., and d. Jan. 3, 1752, ae. 88. He m. (1) May 20, 1686, Hannah Cowles, probably dau. of Samuel Cowles of Farmington, Ct. She d. Sept. 5, 1701; (2) Hannah ———, who d. Dec. 18, 1708; (3) 1714, Esther, wid. of Nathaniel Smith, and dau. of Thomas Dickinson. Children—*Hezekiah*, b. June 10, 1687; *Timothy*, b. April 12, 1689; *Hannah*, b. July 20, 1691; *Abigail*, b. Aug. 27, 1693; *James*, b. Feb. 24, 1696; *Isaac*, b. Nov. 24, 1698; *Jonathan*, b. Nov. 30, 1701, d. Jan. 15, 1702; *Mary*, b. Oct. 20, 1703; *Joseph*, b. Oct. 11, 1704; *David*, b. Sept. 27, 1706; *Sarah*, b. 1708; *Mabel*, b. 1710.

4. John, s. of Samuel, (1) res. in Hat., Lebanon, Ct., and Hebron, Ct., and d. Jan. 4, 1747. He m. April 3, 1690, Mary, dau. of Thomas Butler of Hartford, Ct. Children—*John*, b. Jan. 26, 1691; *Mary*, b. May 4, 1692; *Joseph*, b. 1702; *Daniel*, b. 1706, d. 1707.

5. Experience, s. of Samuel, (1) rem. abt. 1725 to Mansfield, Ct., where he d. Aug. 28, 1750, ae. 74. He m. May 26, 1698, Abigail, dau. of Samuel Williams of Roxbury. She was b. July 12, 1674, and d. April 20, 1765, ae. 90. Children—*Theoda*, b. Aug. 15, 1699, m. 1719, —— Walbridge; *Hannah*, b. March 25, 1701, m. (1) 1722, William Marsh; (2) May, 1735, Joseph Storrs of Mansfield, and d. Aug. 28, 1741; *Experience*, b. Dec. 15, 1702, m. Nov. 29, 1725, Abigail Safford, and d. Oct. 28, 1744, ae. 41; *John*, b. Dec. 27, 1704, m. Jan. 13, 1732, Abigail Arnold; *Abigail*, b. March 19, 1707, m. Oct. 18, 1742, Nehemiah Estabrook, and d. July 31, 1770; *Nathaniel*, b. Aug. 26, 1709, m. Sept. 10, 1730, Elizabeth Storrs, and rem. to Lebanon, N. H., but d. in Hatfield, Nov. 4, 1779, ae. 70; *Martha*, b. Jan. 11, 1712, d. Feb. 18, 1712; *Eunice*, b. Dec. 30, 1712, m. Nov. 12, 1731, Huckins Storrs; *Mehitable*, b. July 30, 1715, m. April 30, 1741, Thomas Barrows, and d. March 25, 1742; *Martha*, b. Nov. 21, 1717, m. Sept. 4, 1738, Cornelius Storrs.

6. Ichabod, s. of Samuel, (1) Hat., m. July 4, 1700, Dorcas Marsh. Children—*Dorcas*, b. 1703; *Mehitable*, b. July 20, 1706; *Son*, b. and d. April 28, 1707; *Hannah*, b. July 21, 1708; *Mary*, b. April 24, 1711; *James*, b. Sept. 19, 1714; *Sarah*, b. Feb. 2, 1718.

7. Samuel, s. of Samuel, (2) d. Nov. 16, 1748, ae. 63. He m. 1708, Anna Colton of Springfield. She d. May 11, 1761, ae. 81. Children—*Samuel*, b. Dec. 2, 1709, grad. H. C. 1730, minister of (Cong.) church in Sherburn, Mass., where he d. 1758, ae. 49; *Anna*, b. May 13, 1712, m. 1754, Jonathan Mills, and d. 1755; *Joanna*, b. Jan. 2, 1716, m. 1737, Joseph Hubbard; *Sarah*, b. Feb. 9, 1718, m. 1740, Rev. Samuel Cook; *Phebe*, b. Jan. 19, 1720, m. 1745, Samuel Marsh; *Moses*, b. Jan. 13, 1722; *Miriam*, b. Jan. 30, 1724.

8. Aaron, s. of Samuel, (2) grad. H. C. 1708, was ordained Feb. 11, 1713, pastor of (Cong.) church in Medford, where he d. Jan. 23, 1722. He m. Oct. 22, 1713, Susanna, dau. of Major Stephen Sewall of Salem. Children —*Aaron*, b. July 9, 1714, d. young; *Susanna*, b. March 1, 1716, m. Aug. 4, 1739, Rev. A. Cleveland; *Margaret*, b. July 18, 1717; *Joanna*, b. March 22, 1719, m. Jan. 1, 1735, Josiah Cleveland.

9. Eleazar, s. of Samuel, (2) d. Nov. 6, 1757, ae. 59. He m. Sarah Pitkin, prob. dau. of William Pitkin, Jr., and if so, b. Dec. 9, 1702. She d. June 6, 1784, ae. 82. Children—*Jerusha*, b. Feb. 24, 1722, d. Aug. 5, 1726, ae. 4; *Eleazar*, b. Oct. 28, 1723, d. Aug. 6, 1726, ae. 2; *Sarah*, b. April 18, 1726, m. (1) Aug. 23, 1744, Rev. Chester Williams; (2) Feb. 17, 1756, Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., and d. Feb. 5, 1774; *Eleazar*, b. June 27, 1728; *Jerusha*, b. Aug. 11, 1730, m. 1758, Col. Ebenezer Williams of Pomfret, Ct.; *Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 15, 1732, d. Sept. 14, 1755, ae. 22; *Mary*, b. May 2, 1736, d. Sept. 4, 1736; *William*, b. April 13, 1738, d. Nov. 28, 1738; *Mehitable*, b. Dec. 13, 1739, d. Nov. 7, 1755, ae. 15; *Elisha*, b. Jan. 29, 1742; *William*, b. April 13, 1746, d. Oct. 5, 1755, ae. 9; *Mary*, b. Sept. 16, 1748, m. Oct. 4, 1770, Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D. D. of New Haven, Ct.

10. James, s. of Ichabod, (6) Hat., d. April 25, 1792, ae. 78. He m. (1) Feb. 22, 1737, Hannah Wait, who d. Nov. 10, 1740; m. (2) Eunice. Children—*Hannah*, b. Nov. 2, 1740; *Hannah*, b. Nov. 23, 1745, m. Abel Allis of Somers, Ct.; *Jonathan*, b. June 5, 1747, d. July 5, 1747; *Jonathan*, b. April 16, 1752, m. Ruth Chapin of Somers, Ct.; *Submit*, b. March 15, 1754, m. ——— Chapin; *David*, b. July 5, 1757, rem. to Williamsburgh; *Silas*, b. Aug. 18, 1759, res. in Hat.

11. Moses, s. of Samuel, (7) was slain at Lake George, Sept. 8, 1755, ae. 33. He m. Elizabeth, dau. of Nathaniel Pitkin of Hartford, Ct. She was b. Oct. 4, 1719, and d. Oct. 2, 1798, ae. 78. Child—*Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 15, 1747, m. June, 1770, Charles Phelps.

12. Hon. Eleazar, s. of Eleazar, (9) grad. Y. C. 1748, was a Justice of the Peace 1779, Judge of Probate 1779, and d. May 27, 1797, ae. 68. He m. (1) Aug. 6, 1754, his cousin Anne Pitkin, who d. Nov. 7, 1758, ae. 24; (2) Sept. 17, 1761, Susanna, dau. of Rev. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton. She was b. June 20, 1740, and d. May 2, 1803, ae. 62. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. Aug. 29, 1755, d. Oct. 14, 1755; *Anne*, b. Sept. 25, 1756, m. Selah Norton, and d. 1850; *Elizabeth*, b. Oct. 17, 1758, m. Jan. or June 25, 1777, Elisha Hills of Hartford, Ct.; *Eleazar*, b. June 14, 1762; *William*, b. Dec. 9, 1763;

Jonathan Edwards, b. May 17, 1766, grad. H. C. 1786; *Moses*, b. Sept. 19, 1768; *John*, b. July 27, 1772, d. Aug. 7, 1772; *Pierpont*, b. June 12, 1775.

13. Elisha, s. of Eleazar, (9) grad. H. C. 1761, Sheriff of Hampshire Co., d. May 29, 1796, ae. 54. He m. (1) May 13, 1762, Sarah, dau. of Rev. David Jewett of Rowley. She was b. Aug. 25, 1741, and d. April 5, 1775; (2) March 19, 1778, Abigail, dau. of Hon. John Phillips of Boston. She was b. Feb. 14, 1743, and d. March 2, 1791, ae. 48. Children—*Sarah*, b. April 29, 1763, m. Oct. 7, 1781, David Hillhouse, and d. March 19, 1831; *Samuel*, b. April 15, 1765; *David*, b. June 13, 1767, drowned June 8, 1775, ae. 7; *Mary*, b. April 8, 1769; *Lucy*, b. Oct. 18, 1770; *Patience*, b. April 19, 1773.

14. Eleazar, s. of Eleazar, (12) rem. first to Hartford, Ct., and thence to Sturbridge, where he d. May 2, 1849, ae. 86. He m. 1783, Sarah Keyes, b. 1760, who d. March 26, 1837, ae. 76. Children—*David Keyes*, b. Feb. 25, 1784, res. at Sturbridge; *Susanna*, b. Dec. 20, 1785, d. unm.; *Sarah*, b. March 4, 1788, m. Samuel Pettis; *Edwin*, b. June 11, 1790, res. in Richmond, Va.; *Henry*, b. Aug. 3, 1793, d. ae. 33; *Sidney*, b. Sept. 29, 1795, res. in Sturbridge; *Maria*, b. July 2, 1797, m. Dr. ——— Woodward; *Eleazar*, b. Aug. 26, 1799, res. in Stamford, Ct.; *Horace*, b. June 11, 1802 or 1803, d. ae. 27.

15. William, s. of Eleazar, (12) a physician, d. Nov. 6, 1847, ae. 88. He m. (1) Dec. 9, 1788, Lois, dau. of Dea. John Eastman. She d. Dec. 12, 1792, ae. 28; (2) June 10, 1794, Charlotte, dau. of Hon. William Williams of Dalton, Mass. She d. Nov. 13, 1842, ae. 72. Children—*Daughter*, b. Oct. 14, 1789, d. in infancy; *John*, b. Oct. 24, 1790; *William*, b. Nov. 14, 1792, grad. W. C. 1813, a lawyer at Lee, Mass., where he d.; *Eleazar Williams*, b. May 29, 1795, d. Feb. 29, 1797, ae. 1; *Caroline Williams*, b. May 19, 1797; *Mary Edwards*, b. Dec. 11, 1799, d. May 13, 1803; *Lois Eastman*, b. Feb. 8, 1801; *James Bayard*, b. Feb. 10, 1803, a merchant; *Jeremiah*, b. Dec. 27, 1805, grad. W. C. 1825, a (Cong.) clergyman in Chicago, Ill.; *Charles*, b. July 28, 1808, d. July 30, 1808.

16. Moses, s. of Eleazar, (12) d. May 22, 1854, ae. 85. He m. Aug. 30, 1791, Amy, dau. of Benjamin Colt. She d. Feb. 14, 1843, ae. 71. Children—*Benjamin Colt*, b. June 8, 1792, d. June 3, 1793; *Elizabeth*, b. June 2, 1794; *Benjamin*, b. Oct. 25, 1795; *Sophia*, b. Nov. 6, 1797; *Moses*, b. Oct. 13, 1799; *Amy*, b. Sept. 20, 1801; *Susannah Edwards*, b. Jan. 18, 1804, d. Nov. 20, 1805; *Eleazar*, b. Jan. 21, 1806; *Susannah*, b. Jan. 30, 1808, m. Rev. Luther Farnum, and d. in Batavia, Ill., Jan. 27, 1849, ae. 40; *Lucretia Colt*, b. May 15, 1810; *Delia Dwight*, b. July 7, 1812; *Jonathan Edwards*, b. April 6, 1815.

17. Pierpont, s. of Eleazar, (12) d. Jan. 15, 1805, ae. 29. He m. 1796, Hannah Wiggins of East Windsor, Ct. Children—*Jerusha*, b. July 22, 1797; *Lucretia*, b. Nov. 23, 1798; *Frederic*, b. Dec. 30, 1800; *Lester*, b. 1803.

18. Hon. Samuel, s. of Elisha, (13) State Senator, 1817, d. April 23, 1841. He m. Oct. 26, 1786, Lucy Hubbard. She d. Jan. 23, 1848, ae. 83. Children—*Margaret*, b. Feb. 9, 1787, m. Oct. 11, 1810, Rev. Seth Smith of Genoa, N. Y.; *Abigail*, b. Oct. 18, 1788; *Lucy*, b. April 13, 1791, m. Nov. 11, 1812, Nathaniel Coolidge, and d. June, 1825; *Elisha*, b. May 27, 1794, unm.; *Polly*, b. April 4, 1796, d. Dec. 13, 1847; *Pamela*, b. May 7, 1797, m. Dec. 5, 1822, Dudley Smith.

POTTER, Ephraim, s. of Ephraim, b. in Marlboro', March 6, 1807, m. Oct. 6, 1835, Delia, dau. of Enos Smith, Jr. Children—*Ellen Augusta*, b. Oct. 12, 1836; *Ephraim Henry*, b. March 2, 1839; *Mary Louisa*, b. Dec. 16, 1842; *Abby Jane*, b. July 26, 1845; *Eugene Emerson*, b. Dec. 31, 1847; *Martha Everlyn*, b. June 2, 1852, in New Salem.

1. PRESTON, John, alive in 1728, m. March 25, 1678, Sarah Gardner, who was living in 1728. Children—*Sarah*, b. Dec. 10, 1678, d. Dec. 21, 1678; *Sarah*, b. July 10, 1681, d. May 29, 1683; *Child*, b. and d. April 20, 1683; *Mercy*, b. June 6, 1684, d. March 11, 1692; *John*, b. July 31, 1686; *Daughter*, b. and d. April 25, 1688; *Samuel*, b. Feb. 27, 1690, d. Jan. 19, 1711; *Sarah*, b. Nov. 8, 1693, m. March 4, 1714, Nathaniel Kellogg.

2. John, s. of John, (1) rem. to So. Had., and d. March 2, 1728. He was "the first person buried on the south side of Mount Holyoke." He m. Dec. 2, 1714, Mary, dau. of Luke Smith. Children—*Samuel*, b. Oct. 29, 1715; *John*, b. Dec. 26, 1716; *Mary*, b. Jan. 29, 1718, m. Ephraim Smith of So. Had.; *Jonathan*, b. April 2, 1720; *Hannah*, b. March 26, 1722, d. March 26, 1745, ae. 23; *Sarah*, b. June 16, 1724, m. 1749, Silas Smith of So. Had.; *Benoni*, b. Oct. 1, 1728, m. Nov. 24, 1757, Mary Cook, res. in So. Had., and d. abt. 1803.

3. Samuel, s. of John, (2) So. Had., d. Jan. 18, 1799, ae. 83. He m. Tryphena Woodbridge, who d. Aug. 18, 1777, ae. 46. Children—*Samuel*, b. April 21, 1759; *Emereniana*, b. Dec. 5, 1760, d. young; *Tryphena*, b. Nov. 29, 1762, d. young; *John*, b. Dec. 26, 1764; *Mary*, b. Sept. 21, 1767.

4. John, s. of John, (2) Granby, d. Feb. 2, 1759. He m. Hannah. Children—*Mary*, b. Dec. 27, 1743; *John*, b. May 25, 1746; *James*, b. June 25, 1748, m. Martha ———, who d. Nov. 4, 1835. He d. in Gr., Jan. 28, 1801, ae. 52; *Hannah*, b. June 18, 1751; *Sarah*, b. June 2, 1754; *Moses*, b. Sept. 20, 1756; *Jabez*, b. Sept. 10, 1759.

5. Jonathan, s. of John, (2) So. Had., d. 1792, in 73d yr. He m. Eunice, dau. of William Wait, Jr. of Northampton. She was b. May 21, 1722. Children—*Jonathan*, b. Sept. 9, 1743; *Hannah*, b. July 4, 1746, m. ——— Church, and d. 1833, ae. 87; *Gardner*, b. Sept. 15, 1749, d. in So. Had., May 26, 1834, ae. 85; *Eunice*, b. May 25, 1752; *Job*, b. June 18, 1756; *Lucina*.

6. John, s. of John, (4) Gr., d. July 9, 1815, ae. 69. He m. Martha, who d. Sept. 29, 1811, ae. 66. Children—*John*, b. Oct. 25, 1767; *Joel*, b. Sept. 9, 1769; *Jeriel*, b. July 26, 1771; *Clarina*, b. Nov. 2, 1773; *Rachel*, b. July 31, 1776; *Sophia*, b. Oct. 21, 1778; *Roxa*, b. March 12, 1781; *Justin*, b. June 21, 1783; *Azubah*, b. Nov. 17, 1787.

PRIOR, Nathaniel Collins, s. of Frederick of East Windsor, Ct., was b. Jan. 21, 1804, and d. Nov. 29, 1857, ae. 53. He m. April, 1835, Mary, dau. of Enos Smith. Children—*Enos Parsons*, b. Oct. or Nov. 14, 1836; *Cynthia Rebecca*, b. Oct. 6, 1840; *Frederick Smith*, b. July 26, 1842; *Helen Adelaide*, b. June 1, 1845.

PRUTT, Arthur, a negro, said to have been the slave of Rev. Isaac Chauncy, m. Joan. Children—*George*, b. Aug. 1722, d. in Whately, 1794, ae. 72; *Elenor*, b. Aug. 1724; *Ishmael*, b. Jan. 1726; *Cæsar*, b. June, 1727,

lived with Josiah Chauncy, Esq.; *Abner*, b. Aug. 1729; *Zebulon*, b. Aug. 15, 1731, was the slave of Oliver Warner, and d. in Amh., Dec. 2, 1802; *Chloe*, b. July 20, 1738.

RAULF, Benjamin. Child—*Azubah*, b. April 7, 1802.

RAWSON, Rev. Grindal, b. Sept. 6, 1707, s. of Rev. Grindal of Mendon, grad. H. C. 1728, was ord. Oct. 3, 1733, first pastor of the church in So. Had., resigned in 1741, and was inst. Sept. 18, 1745, as pastor of the church in Hadlyme, Ct., where he d. March 29, 1777. He m. May 19, 1738, Dorothy, dau. of Rev. Isaac Chauncy. She d. 1780. Children—*Grindall*, b. Feb. 7, 1739, grad. Y. C. 1759, was a preacher, m. 1768, Sarah Holmes; *Charles*, b. Nov. 11, 1740, a physician, d. in R. I., ae. 23; *Wilson*, b. Dec. 4, 1742, d. young; *Hooker; Chauncy*, d. young; *Dorothy*, d. young.

RAYMOND, Josiah, m. Eunice, dau. of Dea. Noah Cook of Nh. She was b. June 4, 1721. Children—*Abigail*, b. Feb. 10, 1748; *Josiah*, b. May 8, 1750; *Eunice*, b. June 3, 1753; *Dau.*, b. Sept. 16, 1755; *Jonathan*, b. Jan. 18, 1761; *Jonathan*, b. July 2, 1763.

REYNOLDS, Samuel. Child—*Joanna*, bapt. 1805.

REYNOLDS, Thomas. Children—*Sophia*, bapt. May 22, 1803; *Edwin*, bapt. July 17, 1806; *Mary*, bapt. April 1, 1810.

RICHMOND, David, came from Dighton. Child—*Thankful*, b. Dec. 22, 1777, m. Oct. 9, 1796, Enos, s. of David Hitchcock of Brookfield. Enos Hitchcock, b. Jan. 16, 1774, res. in Brookfield, and d. July 14, 1814. His widow d. in Had., June 27, 1853, ae. 76.

RIDER, Stephen, m. 1795, Thankful Montague. Children—*Charles*, b. Jan. 8, 1796; *Ansel*, b. Oct. 28, 1797; *Stephen*, b. Sept. 1, 1799; *Matilda*, b. Sept. 8, 1801; *Thankful*, b. Aug. 17, 1803.

ROOD, Simeon, m. March 5, 1767, Ruth Hawley, and rem. as early as 1789, to Brookfield, Vt. Children—*Simeon*, b. Feb. 25, 1768; *John*, b. June 4, 1770; *Ruth*, b. April 19, 1772; *Samuel*, b. Feb. 25, 1775, d. Nov. 7, 1776; *Samuel*, b. Nov. 18, 1776; *Mary*, b. Jan. 22, 1779; *Giles*, b. April 24, 1781; *Solomon*, b. Aug. 22, 1783; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 1, 1785; *Betsey*, b. Sept. 15, 1787.

ROOKER, William, d. abt. 1705. He m. May 30, 1687, Dorothy, dau. of Samuel Smith. Children—*Daughter*, b. and d. March 28, 1687; *William*, b. Feb. 10, 1688; *Samuel*, b. June 24, 1692; *William*, b. April 8, 1695, d. abt. 1739, leaving neither wife nor child; *Sarah*, b. Jan. 24, 1698; *Dorothy*, b. Sept. 27, 1703, m. Dec. 21, 1727, Joseph Taylor.

ROSEVELT, Jacob. Children—*Susanna; Jacob; Sarah.*

ROWE, John, Granby, m. Mehitable. Children—*John*, b. Feb. 24, 1754; *Lois*, b. July 24, 1756; *Elijah*, b. Nov. 7, 1758.

1. RUGG, Samuel, from Lancaster, m. Hannah. Children—*Gideon*, b. Feb. 11, 1718, d. in S. H.; *Phineas*, b. May 17, 1721; *Lydia*, b. Jan. 1, 1723, m. Feb. 6, 1745, Jonathan White; *John*, b. Feb. 7, 1725; *Hannah*, b. March 1, 1727, m. Dec. 25, 1746, Eleazar Goodman; *Thankful* b. Sept. 21, 1729.

2. JOHN, s. of Samuel, (1) rem. from So. Had. to Bennington, Vt. He m. 1750, Sarah Holliday, who d. June 17, 1765, in 40th yr. Children—*Thankful*, b. April 2, 1753; *Hannah*, b. June 10, 1755; *Moses*, b. Feb. 1, 1758; *Miriam*, b. Feb. 1, 1758; *Sarah*, b. Feb. 12, 1761; *Phineas*, b. July 11, 1763.

1. RUSSELL, JOHN, b. abt. 1597, glazier, Cambridge, freeman March 3, 1636, town clerk in 1645, constable in 1648, rem. early to Wethersfield, and thence to Hadley, where he d. May 8, 1680, ae. 83. He m. (1) ———— ————; (2) Dorothy, wid. of Rev. Henry Smith of Wethersfield, Ct. She d. 1694. Children—*John*, b. abt. 1626; *Philip*.

2. JOHN, s. of John, (1) grad. H. C. 1645, ord. abt. 1649, as pastor of the church in Wethersfield, Ct., and there remained until the settlement of Hadley, when he removed and was pastor of said church until his death, Dec. 10, 1692, in the 66th yr. of his age. He m. (1) June 28, 1649, Mary Talcott; (2) Rebecca, dau. of Thomas Newbury of Windsor, Ct. She d. Nov. 21, 1688, in 57th yr.; (3) Rebecca, wid. of Rev. John Whiting of Hartford, Ct. She d. Sept. 19, 1730. Children—*John*, bapt. Sept. 23, 1650, d. Jan. 20, 1670; *Jonathan*, b. abt. 1655, grad. H. C. 1675, m. Martha Mosely, was ord. Sept. 19, 1683, pastor of the church in Barnstable, and d. Feb. 21, 1711, ae. 56; *Samuel*, b. Nov. 4, 1660, grad. H. C. 1681, m. Abigail, dau. of Rev. John Whiting of Hartford, Ct., was in 1687 ord. as pastor of the church in Branford, Ct., and d. June 25, 1731, ae. 70; *Eleazar*, b. Nov. 8, 1663, was alive in 1687; *Daniel*, b. Feb. 8, 1666, d. Dec. 17, 1667.

3. PHILIP, s. of John, (1) glazier, Hat., d. May 19, 1693. He m. (1) Feb. 4, 1664, Joanna, dau. of Rev. Henry Smith, who d. Dec. 29, 1664; (2) Jan. 10, 1666, Elizabeth, dau. of Stephen Terry. She was slain by the Indians, Sept. 19, 1677; (3) Dec. 25, 1679, Mary, dau. of Edward Church. She d. in Sunderland, May 1, 1743. Children—*Joanna*, b. Oct. 31, 1664, d. Dec. 29, 1664; *John*, b. Jan. 2, 1667; *Samuel*, b. abt. 1669, slain 1677, while on the way to Canada; *Philip*, b. Jan. 24, 1671; *Stephen*, b. Oct. 12, 1674, slain by the Indians, Sept. 19, 1677; *Samuel*, b. Dec. 31, 1680, was of New York in 1720; *Thomas*, b. Feb. 12, 1683, slain Aug. 1704 in Deerfield; *Mary*, b. Feb. 10, 1685, d. March ——; *Mary*, b. May 21, 1686, m. Joseph Root, and d. in Sunderland, Jan. 23, 1738; *Philip*, b. June 21, 1688; *Daniel*, b. Oct. 8, 1691.

4. DANIEL, s. of Philip, (3) was an early settler of Sunderland, where he d. June 28, 1737. He m. Jerusha, dau. of John Dickinson. She m. (2) 1744, Simon Cooley of Sunderland. Her estate was divided in 1782. Children—*Jonathan*, b. Aug. 2, 1714; *Mary*, b. Nov. 1, 1716; *Philip*, b. 1722, d. young; *Jerusha*, m. Ebenezer Clark; *Mary*, b. 1725, m. 1743, David Ballard; *Sarah*, b. 1730, m. Jedediah Clark; *Martha*, b. 1734, d. young.

5. JONATHAN, s. of Daniel, (4) Sunderland, m. 1743, Mary, dau. of Nathaniel Smith. Children—*Daniel*, b. 1744; *Jonathan*, b. 1746; *Martha*, b. 1748, m. ——— Cooley; *Mary*, b. 1750, m. ——— Ashley; *Philip*, b. 1752; and prob. also, *Israel; Samuel; John; Spencer; Persis.*

SAMPSON, PHINEHAS. Child—*Eliza*, bapt. June 22, 1800.

SCOTT, EDWARD, m. Nov. 22, 1670, Elizabeth Webster, who d. May 16, 1689, ae. abt. 40. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. Oct. 11, 1671; *Sarah*, b. Jan. 14,

1674; *Thomas*, b. Sept. 10, 1675; *John*, b. Jan. 13, 1677; *Ebenezer*, b. June 11, 1681; *Bridget* and *Ann*, (twins,) b. July 16, 1682; *Hannah*, b. March 14, 1689.

1. SCOTT, WILLIAM, Hatfield, m. Jan. 28, 1670, Hannah, dau. of William Allis. Children—*Josiah*, b. June 18, 1671; *Richard*, b. Feb. 22, 1673; *William*, b. Nov. 24, 1676; *Hannah*, b. Aug. 11, 1679; *Joseph*, b. March 21, 1682; *John*, b. July 6, 1684, d. Feb. 8, 1692; *Mary*, b. 1686; *Mehitable*, b. Sept. 9, 1687, d. Sept. 18, 1687; *Jonathan*, b. Nov. 1, 1688, d. Nov. 15, 1688; *Abigail*, b. Nov. 23, 1689.

2. JOSIAH, s. of William, (1) Hat., m. Sarah Barrett. Children—*Josiah*, b. Nov. 29, 1699, settled in Whately; *Sarah*, b. Sept. 9, 1701; *Hannah*, b. May 30, 1704; *Benjamin*, b. May 31, 1708, m. Jemima ——, res. in Whately, and d. 1792; *Mehitable*, b. May 4, 1711; *Moses*, b. Feb. 3, 1713; *Ruth*, b. Nov. 25, 1715.

3. RICHARD, s. of William, (1) rem. after 1713, from Hat. to Sunderland. He m. Jan. 15, 1702, Elizabeth, dau. of Stephen Belding. Children—*Mary*, b. April 29, 1703; *Jonathan*, b. Aug. 11, 1705; *Elizabeth*, b. Oct. 9, 1707; *Rachel*, b. July 3, 1710; *Experience*, b. Oct. 27, 1713; *Reuben*, b. 1719; *Mehitable*, b. 1722; *Stephen*, b. 1725.

4. WILLIAM, s. of William, (1) rem. after 1717, from Hat. to Sunderland. He m. (1) Mary ———, who d. Dec. 7, 1711; (2) 1715, Elizabeth ———. Children—*William*, b. Jan. 16, 1702, res. in Sunderland; *John*, b. June 3, 1704, res. in Sunderland; *Samuel*, b. March 3, 1707, res. in Sunderland; *Mary*, b. Oct. 23, 1709; *Esther*, b. Sept. 12, 1715, m. Dea. Noah Wright; *Absalom*, b. April 28, 1717, res. in Sunderland and Leverett, and d. 1797; *Joshua*, b. 1719, m. 1747, Elizabeth Cooley, and res. in Sunderland; *Jerusha*, b. 1723; *Abigail*, b. 1729.

5. JOSEPH, s. of William, (1) Hat., m. Feb. 13, 1707, Lydia Leonard. Children—*Lydia*, b. Feb. 24, 1708, m. John Allis; *Miriam*, b. Dec. 14, 1713, m. (1) —— Allis; (2) ——— Benton of Hartford, Ct., and d. May 26, 1715; *Ebenezer*, b. June 15, 1716, d. Dec. 25, 1735; *David*, b. Aug. 18, 1717, m. Dec. 13, 1739, Esther Belding; *Hepzibah*, b. Jan. 12, 1719; *Joseph*, b. abt. 1722, m. Margaret ———; *Martha; Leonard*, (dau.,) b. abt. 1726; *Submit*.

SCOVIL, EBENEZER, b. Nov. 27, 1707, s. of John of Middletown, Ct., kept the upper ferry, and d. Nov. 26, 1731, ae. 24.

SELDEN, JOSEPH, bapt. Nov. 2, 1651, s. of Thomas of Hartford, settled about 1678, in Hadley, whence he removed about 1684 to Deerfield, but prior to 1689 returned to Hadley, and before 1700 removed to Lyme, Ct., where he d. July 14, 1724, ae. 72. He m. Feb. 11, 1677, Rebecca, dau. of Edward Church. She d. June 9, 1726, ae. 65. Children—*Rebecca*, b. Feb. 12, or March 5, 1678, m. James Wells of Haddam, Ct.; *Hester*, b. April 11, 1680, d. July 21, 1681; *Joseph*, b. May 10, 1682, res. in Haddam, and d. April 3, 1729, in 47th yr.; *Thomas*, b. 1684, res. in Haddam, and d. Sept. 12, 1754, in 70th yr.; *Mary*, b. March 5, 1689; *Esther*, b. May 2, 1691, m. Jabez Chapman of Haddam; *Samuel*, b. May 17, 1695, res. in Lyme, Ct.; *Sarah*, bapt. July 20, 1712. Mr. Savage says that he had dau. Mercy, who m. Isaac Spencer. It may be that Mercy and Mary are the same.

1. SELDEN, Thomas, bapt. Aug. 30, 1645, s. of Thomas of Hartford, d. Nov. 24, 1734, ae. 89. He m. Felix, dau. of William Lewis of Farmington, Ct. She was alive in 1738. Children—*John*, b. June 16, 1675; *Thomas*, b. Nov. 12, 1677, slain at Deerfield Feb. 29, 1704; *Ebenezer*, b. March 2, 1679.

2. John, s. of Thomas, (1) d. Dec. 3, 1744, ae. 69. He m. March 24, 1698, Sarah Harrison. Children—*John*, b. April 16, 1699, d. Aug. 21, 1703; *Isaac*, b. July 14, 1701; *Mary*, b. Sept. 27, 1703, m. (1) July 23, 1723, John Taylor; (2) March 22, 1728, William White; *Joseph*, b. March 17, 1706, d. April 11, 1706; *Obadiah*, b. March 17, 1706, d. April 8, 1706; *Sarah*, b. June 29, 1709, m. Jan. 20, 1737, Abel Stockwell of Springfield; *Jonathan*, b. May 20, 1711.

3. Ebenezer, s. of Thomas, (1) d. 1740, ae. 61. He m. Elizabeth, dau. of John Clark of Middletown, Ct. She was b. 1685, and was alive in 1746. Children—*Joseph*, b. Aug. 4, 1711, d. Aug. 12, 1711; *Elizabeth*, b. Feb. 9, 1713, m. Jan. 1, 1736, Diodatus Curtis; *Esther*, b. May 27, 1715, unm. in 1745; *Ruth*, b. Sept. 23, 1717, m. May 20, 1741, Aaron Warner of Amh.; *Ebenezer*, b. May 17, 1720, m. Nov. 15, 1753, Jerusha Pomeroy, res. in 1754, in Agawam; *Joseph*, b. July 20, 1722, res. in 1754, in Agawam; *Mary*, b. Sept. 3, 1725, d. April 28, 1745, ae. 19; *Hannah*.

4. Isaac, s. of John (2) d. May 27, 1764. He m. Oct. 14, 1725, Esther Ingram. She d. June 28, 1766. Children—*Child*, b. and d. Aug. 5, 1726; *Abigail*, b. Sept. 10, 1727, m. 1755, Oliver White; *Azariah*, b. July 8, 1730, m. Feb. 19, 1752, Lavinia Wood; *Thomas*, b. Sept. 22, 1732, m. Nov. 13, 1760, Jane Farrand; *Rhoda*, b. Feb. 8, 1735, m. Aug. 28, 1758, John Montague; *Jabez*, b. March 27, 1737, m. 1769, Anne Parish; *Martha*, b. Jan. 16, 1742, m. Jan. 7, 1761, Asa Wood.

5. Jonathan, s. of John, (2) Granby, d. May 30, 1776. He m. Oct. 6, 1732, Mercy Ingram. She d. July 29, 1780. Children—*Mercy*, b. Jan. 20, 1733, m. 1754, Eliph. Green; *Bitterne*, (dau.) b. Aug. 3, 1735; *Sarah*, b. May 20, 1737; *Child*, b. March, 1739, d.; *Jonathan*, b. July 15, 1740; *Martha*, b. Jan. 9, 1742; *John*, d. Sept. 23, 1746.

1. SEYMOUR, Nathan, removed to Vt. He m. April 27, 1780, Elizabeth, dau. of Orange Warner. Children—*Mary*, b. Nov. 11, 1780; *William*, b. Aug. 19, 1782; *Samuel*, b. Feb. 3, 1785; *Horace*, b. Jan. 22, 1787; *Fanny*, b. July 17, 1789; *Nathan*, b. March 31, 1792; *Henry*, b. March 25, 1797.

2. Samuel, s. of Nathan, (1) d. Jan. 22, 1854. He m. (1) 1810, Mary Clary of Leverett; (2) 1820, Sarah Clark of Deerfield; (3) Dec. 1828, Lucinda Montague. She d. Oct. 15, 1831; (4) June 2, 1833, Asenath, dau. of Silas Smith of So. Had. She was b. March 3, 1787. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. June 1, 1813, m. Sept. 1840, Samuel C. Wilder; *Samuel*, b. April 15, 1818, d. June 12, 1853; *Sarah*, b. Sept. 26, 1827, m. 1847, Isaac Woodruff.

3. Horace, s. of Nathan, (1) d. May 22, 1829. He m. 1813, Mary Standish of Preston, Ct. She d. July 11, 1829. Children—*Lovisa Cooley*, b. Jan. 16, 1814, m. Edwin Cook, and res. in Mich.; *Sarah Ann*, b. June 12, 1815, d. Aug. 5, 1834; *Henry*, b. Oct. 20, 1816, grad. A. C. 1838, Union Theo. Sem. in N. Y. City, 1842, settled over Orthodox church in Deerfield, March 1, 1843, dis. March 14, 1849, inst. over church in East Hawley, Oct. 3, 1849. He m. (1) May 9, 1844, Laura Isabella Fisk of Shelburne; (2) Aug. 11,

1851, Sophia Williams of Ashfield; *Levi Dwight*, b. April 26, 1819, pursued medical studies in Pittsfield, and res. in Greenfield. He m. Nov. 14, 1842, Lucy Ann Clark of New York City; *Susan Elvira*, b. Nov. 23, 1822, m. Jan. 21, 1848, James M. Hosford, Esq. of Genesee, Ill.; *Rebecca Elvira*, b. Oct. 13, 1824, m. Edwin Bliss of Kendall, N. Y., and d. Nov. 30, 1827.

4. Henry, s. of Nathan, (1) Children—*Maria Sophia*, b. July 10, 1821; *Rebecca Moore*, b. March 20, 1823, d. Aug. 15, 1828; *Edwin Henry*, b. Feb. 11, 1826; *Harriet Rebecca*, b. Oct. 1, 1829; *Caroline Mary*, b. Oct. 18, 1833; *Horace Dwight*, b. July 14, 1836.

SMITH, Eleazar, m. Agnes. Children—*Rebecca*, d. June 20, 1745; *Dorothy*, b. June 13, 1746; *Rebecca*, b. April 11, 1748.

SMITH, Eliakim, d. in the army at Watertown, Aug. 27, 1775, ae. 40. He m. (1) June 17, 1760, Mehitable Smith, who d. April 16, 1770, ae. 30; (2) Nov. 14, 1771, Jerusha Kellogg. She d. Sept. 22, 1823, ae. 84. Children —*Rebecca*, b. Sept. 17, 1763, d. Sept. 8, 1766; *Eliakim*, b. Sept. 13, 1767; *Rebecca*, b. April 6, 1770, m. Aug. 9, 1792, Timothy Hopkins.

1. SMITH, Joseph, sergeant, b. March, 1657, eldest s. of Joseph of Hartford, Ct., rem. abt. 1680, to Hadley, was freeman 1690, and d. Oct. 1, 1733, ae. 76. He m. Feb. 11, 1681, Rebecca, dau. of John Dickinson. She d. Feb. 16, 1731, ae. 73. Children—*Joseph*, b. Nov. 8, 1681; *John*, b. Oct. 24, 1684, d. Aug. 27, 1686; *John*, b. Jan. 5, 1687; *Rebecca*, b. June 11, 1689, m. Feb. 1712, Joseph Smith; *Jonathan*, b. Oct. 28, 1691; *Lydia*, b. Sept. 15, 1693, m. Dec. 26, 1720, Joseph Chamberlain; *Benjamin*, b. Jan. 22, 1696, m. Elizabeth Crafts. She was b. April 17, 1691, and d. Feb. 9, 1764, ae. 72. He d. July 1, 1780, ae. 84; *Elizabeth*, b. Dec. 22, 1701, d. Feb. 15, 1728.

2. Joseph, s. of Joseph, (1) d. Oct. 21, 1767. He m. 1715, Sarah Alexander. She d. Jan. 31, 1768. Children—*Alexander*, b. Oct. 11, 1717; *Edward*, b. March 26, 1719; *Reuben*, b. April 2, 1721; *Sarah*, b. Nov. 9, 1722, m. Dec. 3, 1747, Windsor Smith, and d. Sept. 1, 1772, ae. 49; *Thomas*, b. Dec. 6, 1725.

3. John, s. of Joseph, (1) deacon, rem. in 1711 to Hat., and in 1736 to Belchertown, where he d. 1777, ae. 90. He m. 1709, Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas Hovey. She d. 1758, ae. 70. Children—*John*, b. Dec. 21, 1710; *Abner*, b. Sept. 10, 1712, m. (1) Oct. 2, 1736, Martha Warner; (2) Mary Pomeroy, rem to Springfield, and d. Nov. 19, 1766, ae. 54; *Elizabeth*, b. Sept. 19, 1714, m. April 20, 1736, Walter Fairfield of Belchertown; *Daniel*, b. prob. 1716, m. 1742, Abigail Sacket, and d. in Belchertown, May 31, 1800, ae. 84; *Miriam*, b. Oct. 30, 1718, m. Oct. 3, 1739, Jesse Warner; *Samuel*, b. 1721; *Joseph*, m. Eunice Bascom, and d. in 1803, in Lyme, N. H.; *Elijah*, b. 1723; *Rachel*, b. Jan. 4, 1727, m. Aaron Hannum of Belchertown, and d. 1811, ae. 85; *Sarah*, b. Sept. 27, 1729, m. Abner Dickinson of Whately; *Rebecca*, b. May 4, 1732, m. Oliver Graves of Whately.

4. Jonathan, s. of Joseph, (1) made his will Nov. 1768, which was proved 1778. He left all his estate to Dea. David Nash. He m. 1718, Abigail, dau. of Nathaniel Alexander of Nh. Children—*Jonathan*, b. Aug. 27, 1719, alive in 1738; *Abigail*, b. July 19, 1723; *Elizabeth*, b. Feb. 17, 1729, m. May 9, 1754, Dea. David Nash of So. Had.

5. Alexander, s. of Joseph, (2) Amherst, d. Sept. 21, 1787, ae. 69. He m. 1743, [pub. April,] Rebecca Warner of Westfield, who d. Nov. 26, 1801, ae. 87. Children—*Nathaniel Alexander*, b. Feb. 22, 1744; *Hannah*, b. Jan. 12, 1746, m. Oliver Lovell of Rockingham, Vt.; *Joseph*, b. Jan. 4, 1748, d. Jan. 22, 1748; *Joseph*, b. April 11, 1750; *Rebecca*, b. March 4, 1751, d. March 10, 1752; *Rebecca*, b. Dec. 3, 1753, m. (1) Lemuel Childs of Deerfield; (2) Martin Cooley of Sunderland, and d. Aug. 29, 1809, ae. 55; *Elias*, b. Feb. 11, 1756; *Samuel*, b. Sept. 4, 1758.

6. Edward, s. of Joseph, (2) Amherst, d. 1795, ae. 76. He m. Hamutal, dau. of Benjamin Ellsworth of E. Windsor, Ct. She was b. Jan. 11, 1726. Children—*Benjamin*, b. March 26, 1750; *Timothy*, b. Aug. 10, 1752; *Hewitt*, bapt. Oct. 13, 1754, d. unm., in Amh., Jan. 30, 1823, ae. 70; *Tryphena*, bapt. April 24, 1757, m. —— Locke of Williamson, N. Y.; *Sarah*, bapt. April 5, 1761, m. Nov. 29, 1787, Thomas Munsell of E. Windsor, Ct.; *Roxana*, bapt. Oct. 7, 1764, m. William Rice of Amh.; *Lucy*, bapt. May 1, 1768, d. unm. 1797.

7. Reuben, s. of Joseph, (2) So. Had. He m. (1) Jan. 19, 1749, Miriam Moody, who d. Feb. 16, 1770; (2) Sibil, wid. of Elijah Smith of Belchertown, and dau. of Daniel Worthington of Colchester, Ct. Children—*Jonathan*, b. Oct. 16, 1749; *Reuben*, b. March 1, 1752, d. 1759; *Abigail*, b. March 1, 1754; *Miriam*, b. Aug. 31, 1756; *Reuben*, b. Feb. 21, 1759; *Persis*, b. July 24, 1761; *Selah*, b. May 21, 1764.

8. Thomas, s. of Joseph, (2) rem. to Williamstown. He m. Oct. 15, 1754, Rhoda Worthington of Colchester, Ct. She was b. Sept. 25, 1730, and d. May 8, 1784, ae. 53. Children—*Rhoda*, b. Feb. 8, 1755; *Lydia*, b. Feb. 27, 1757, m. Nov. 10, 1779, Seth Smith, and d. Aug. 23, 1828, ae. 72; *Daniel*, b. Oct. 26, 1759, m. Lucy Cook, and rem. to Williamstown; *Thomas*, b. Dec. 3, 1761; *Ephraim*, b. Sept. 27, 1764; *Mehitable*, bapt. Feb. 1, 1767, d. Sept. 1775; *Loomis*, bapt. Aug. 17, 1769, d. Sept. 14, 1779.

9. John, s. of John, (3) Hatfield, d. 1751. He m. Mary. Children—*Caleb*, b. July 9, 1733; *Benjamin*, b. March 15, 1735; *Mary; Elizabeth*, m. 1758, Paul Smith; *John*, rem. to the West; *Joel*, d. unm. in Hat.; *Edward*, b. 1747, rem. abt. 1793, from Belchertown, where he was deacon, to Shelburne; *Submit*, m. Asa Wait; *Hannah*, m. 1779, Elihu Dickinson.

10. Elijah, s. of John, (3) Belchertown, d. April 21, 1770, ae. 47. He served as captain in French war in 1756, and was deacon in Belchertown. He m. 1751, Sibyl, dau. of Daniel Worthington of Colchester, Ct. She m. (2) Reuben Smith, and d. May 26, 1828, ae. 101. Children—*Asa*, b. 1752, d. 1835, in Halifax, Vt.; *Sibyl*, m. Jan. 1774, Dea. Joseph Bardwell of So. Had.; *Sarah W.*, m. Dec. 1777, Elijah Bardwell of Goshen; *Elijah*, b. 1758, d. in Greenfield, in 1843; *Elizabeth*, m. April, 1778, John Cowles, Jr.; *Ethan*, b. Dec. 19, 1762, grad. D. C. 1790, was a (Cong.) minister in Haverhill, N. H., Hopkinton, N. H., Hebron, N. Y., Poultney, Vt., Hanover, and d. in Boylston, Sept. 1849, ae. 86. He m. Bathsheba, dau. of Rev. David Sanford of Medway; *Jacob*, b. 1764, res. in Hadley, was deacon in the church, and d. April 5, 1852; *William*, b. 1766, rem. to Scipio, N. Y.; *Josiah*, rem. to Scipio, N. Y.

11. Nathaniel Alexander, s. of Alexander, (5) Amherst, d. April 4, 1839, ae. 95. He m. (1) Jan. 17, 1771, Sarah, dau. of Thomas Hastings of Amh. She d. Oct. 7, 1810, ae. 66; (2) Oct. 13, 1811, Irene, wid. of ——— Lovell, and dau. of ——— Chapin of E. Windsor, Ct. She d. July 23, 1835, ae. 83. Children—*Sally*, b. July 17, 1776, m. April 2, 1801, Thomas Reed of Amh.; *Nathaniel Alexander*, b. March 17, 1781, d. Oct. 10, 1781, ae. 6 mos.

12. Joseph, s. of Alexander, (5) m. Eunice, dau. of Nathan Goodman of Hat. Children—*Nathan*, b. Dec. 4, 1776; *Sereno*, b. March 27, 1779; *Docia*, b. Sept. 16, 1783; *Parks*, b. Sept. 2, 1788; *Chester*, b. Oct. 12, 1791; *Joseph*, b. Feb. 12, 1796.

13. Elias, s. of Alexander, (5) Amherst, d. March 2, 1826, ae. 70. He m. Jan. 1, 1788, Philothea Debell. Children—*Alexander; Rodney*, d. Feb. 3 1809, ae. 19; *Fanny*, bapt. April 1, 1792, d. unm. in Milwaukee, Wis., July 28, 1850; *Prudence*, bapt. June 21, 1795, d. unm. in Milwaukee, Wis., July 24, 1850; *Elias*, bapt. Aug. 27, 1797, d. Dec. 20, 1804; *Philothea*, bapt. Sept. 15, 1799, m. Charles Ripley; *Sidney*, bapt. Sept. 19, 1802; *Clarinda*, bapt. July 29, 1804, m. —— Keeler.

14. Samuel, s. of Alexander, (5) Amh., d. Nov. 8, 1834, ae. 76. He m. Feb. 10, 1782, Sabra, dau. of John Debell of Rockingham, Vt. She was b. Jan. 24, 1759, and d. Sept. 28, 1849, ae. 90. Children—*Melinda*, b. March 18, 1784, d. July 23, 1801; *John*, b. Jan. 14, 1786, d. Jan. 7, 1791; *Laurana*, b. May 9, 1788, m. John Russell of Northampton; *John Debell*, b. Oct. 25, 1790, m. June 11, 1813, Relief Thayer, and d. May 5, 1836; *Sibyl Kilbourn*, b. Feb. 3, 1793, m. Cotton Smith of Amh.; *Hannah*, b. Aug. 18, 1796, m. Frederick A. Palmer of Amherst; *Samuel*, b. Jan. 2, 1801, d. June 17, 1829.

15. Benjamin, s. of Edward, (6) Amh., d. July 14, 1819, ae. 69. He m. Dec. 26, 1783, Elizabeth Rush. Children—*Elizabeth*, bapt. June 2, 1785, d. unm. Sept. 28, 1839, ae. 54; *Spenser*, b. July 5, 1787, m. (1) Jan. 16, 1816, Betsey Rust, who d. May 30, 1823, ae. 30; (2) Wid. Lydia Kellogg, who d. Nov. 25, 1830, ae. 45; (3) Oct. 9, 1843, Mary Mack. He d. in Amh., Dec. 31, 1849, ae. 62.

16. Timothy, s. of Edward, (6) Amherst, d. Oct. 24, 1814, ae. 62. He m. (1) Eunice Munsell. She d. abt. June, 1788; (2) Sabra Munsell. She d. Jan. 17, 1815. Children—*Timothy*, bapt. May 18, 1788, m. Mary Bissell, and res. in Amherst; *Daniel*, bapt. Jan. 1, 1792, m. Nancy Williams of Ashfield; *Hervey*, bapt. Sept. 28, 1795, m. Eliza Ferry of Amherst, and d. in Amh., Nov. 6, 1830.

17. Thomas, s. of Thomas, (8) m. Catharine. Children—*Mehitable*, b. Dec. 24, 1785; *Eunice*, b. June 12, 1787, d. June 12, 1787; *Roswell*, b. June 24, 1788, d. July 31, 1802; *Stephen*, b. Jan. 3, 1790; *Susanna*, b. Oct. 16, 1791; *Patty*, b. Nov. 28, 1793; *Walter*, b. Dec. 15, 1795, d. April 18, 1797; *Christopher*, b. June 9, 1798; *Salome*, b. July 1, 1800, d. Aug. 19, 1802.

18. Benjamin, s. of John, (9) was drowned abt. 1803, while crossing the Conn. river. Children—*Caleb*, b. Sept. 24, 1760; *Erastus; Rachel*, b. Jan. 31, 1764; *Daughter; Daughter; Benjamin*, bapt. March 17, 1771, kept tavern in Nh. and Had.

19. Sereno, s. of Joseph, (12) m. Jan. 29, 1807, Betsey, dau. of David Stockbridge, and d. Jan. 22, 1852, ae. 72. Children—*Edmund*, b. Dec. 19,

1808; *Theodocia*, b. May 26, 1810, m. George Allen; *Chester*, b. March 22, 1811; *Maria*, b. Feb. 19, 1813, m. Francis Forward of Belchertown; *Elizabeth*, b. May, 1816, d. July 16, 1819, ae. 3; *Hinsdale*, b. March 2, 1819; *Rufus* d. ae. 4 mos.

20. Hon. Joseph, s. of Joseph, (12) was a State Senator, 1853 and 1854. He m. Jan. 28, 1818, Sophia, dau. of Caleb Smith. Children—*Nathan Emilius*, b. Nov. 15, 1818, d. Oct. 15, 1820; *Edward Chester*, b. June 1, 1820; *Mary Wilson*, b. April 10, 1822; *Joseph Emilius*, b. June 3, 1824, d. Nov. 8, 1832; *William Parks*, b. April 4, 1826, d. Sept. 16, 1836; *Harriet Cornelia*, b. Nov. 30, 1827; *Julia Maria*, b. April 28, 1830; *Charles Porter*, b. April 10, 1832; *Sophia Louisa*, b. March 17, 1834; *Joseph Henry*, b. Oct. 22, 1835; *James William*, b. June 1, 1838.

21. Caleb, s. of Benjamin, (18) m. Nov. 25, 1784, Olive Hibbard. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. Feb. 5, 1785; *Chester*, b. Oct. 17, 1786; *Cotton*, b. March 5, 1790; *John*, b. Feb. 19, 1792; *Melinda*, b. July 15, 1794; *Sophia*, b. Oct. 8, 1796, m. Jan. 28, 1818, Joseph Smith; *Olive*, b. Feb. 7, 1799; *Caleb*, b. July 5, 1801.

22. Erastus Smith, s. of Benjamin, (18) m. Aug. 17, 1791, Lydia Hibbard. Children—*Clarissa; Sophia; Lydia; Erastus; Sarah; Zebina; Thaddeus*, Representative, 1860; *Elizabeth*, bapt. April 6, 1806; *Catharine Amelia*, bapt. Sept. 20, 1807; *Child*, bapt. April 24, 1793, d. ae. 4 days.

23. Edmund, s. of Sereno, (19) m. June 5, 1833, Sarah C., dau. of Elihu Smith. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. July 7, 1835; *Martha Hitchcock*, b. June 28, 1837; *Henry Parks*, b. Aug. 21, 1839, grad. A. C. 1860, and d. Dec. 17, 1861, ae. 22; *Sarah Maria*, b. Oct. 19, 1841; *Edmund Hubbard*, b. Dec. 10, 1843, d. Feb. 2, 1844; *Edwin Clapp*, b. July 8, 1845; *George Edmund*, b. March 18, 1847; *William Hubbard*, b. Dec. 27, 1849, d. Jan. 27, 1859, ae. 9; *Joseph Chester*, b. Oct. 11, 1852, d. Feb. 6, 1859, ae. 6.

24. Chester, s. of Sereno, (19) m. May 29, 1844, Mary Ann Warner, dau. of Sylvester Smith. Children—*Edward Warner*, b. Sept. 3, 1847; *Enos*, b. Feb. 19, 1849; *Mary Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 11, 1851; *Rufus May*, b. Feb. 6, 1855; *Helen Maria*, b. Nov. 25, 1857.

SMITH, Samuel, Lieut., with wife Elizabeth and children, Samuel, ae. 9, Elizabeth, ae. 7, Mary, ae. 4, and Philip, ae. 1, sailed for New England, the last day of April, 1634, in the Elizabeth of Ipswich. He and his wife were each then called thirty two years of age. He came from Wethersfield, Ct., where he was a leading man, to Hadley, where he held important offices both in church and state. He is supposed to have died in 1680, ae. abt. 78. His inventory was taken Jan. 17, 1681. He m. Elizabeth, who d. March 16, 1686, ae. 84. Children—*Samuel*, b. abt. 1625, prob. rem. to New London, Ct., and thence prior to 1664 to Va., and if so, m. Elizabeth, dau. of Rev. Henry Smith of Wethersfield; *Elizabeth*, b. abt. 1627, m. abt. 1646, Nathaniel Foote; (2) William Gull; *Mary*, b. abt. 1630, m. (1) John Graves; *Philip*, b. abt. 1633; *Chileab*, b. abt. 1635; *John*.

2. Philip, s. of Samuel, (1) was one of the first men of his time, in the town of his adoption, a lieutenant, deacon, and representative, and d. Jan. 10, 1685, "murdered with an hideous witchcraft," according to Cotton Mather.

He m. Rebecca, dau. of Nathaniel Foote of Wethersfield. She m. (2) Oct. 2, 1688, Maj. Aaron Cook, and d. April 6, 1701. Children—*Samuel*, b. Jan. 1659; *Child*, d. Jan. 22, 1661; *John*, b. Dec. 18, 1661; *Jonathan; Philip; Rebecca*, m. abt. 1686, George Stillman of Had. and Wethersfield, and d. Oct. 7, 1750; *Nathaniel; Joseph; Ichabod*, b. April 11, 1675.

3. Chileab, s. of Samuel, (1) was freeman 1673, and d. March 7, 1731, ae. 95. He m. Oct. 2, 1661, Hannah, dau. of Luke Hitchcock of Wethersfield. She d. Aug. 31, 1733, ae. 88. Children—*Hannah*, b. July 7, 1662, m. March 23, 1681, John Montague; *Samuel*, b. March 9, 1665; *Luke*, b. April 16, 1666; *Ebenezer*, b. July 11, 1668; *Nathaniel*, b. Jan. 2, 1670, d. Jan. 1670; *John*, b. Oct. 8, 1671, m. 1691, Martha Golding, and d. s. p. abt. 1750; *Son*, d. 1673; *Hester*, b. March 31, 1674, m. Oct. 20, 1696, Nathaniel Ingram; *Daughter*, d. March, 1677; *Elizabeth*, b. Feb. 2, 1679, m. Oct. 26, 1698, James Smith; *Mary*, b. Aug. 16, 1681, m. (1) Dec. 15, 1697, Preserved Smith; (2) April 22, 1721, Peter Montague; *Chileab*, d. Aug. 1682; *Chileab*, b. Feb. 18, 1685; *Sarah*, b. April 26, 1688, m. April 13, 1710, Jonathan Morton.

4. John, s. of Samuel, (1) was slain by the Indians in Hatfield meadow, May 30, 1676. He m. Nov. 12, 1673, Mary, dau. of William Partridge. She m. (2) Sept. 1679, Peter Montague, and d. May 20, 1683. Children—*John*, b. May 15, 1665; *Samuel*, b. Dec. 7, 1667, killed by falling from a horse, June 19, 1681; *Joseph*, b. Nov. 16, 1670; *Benjamin*, b. 1673, settled in Wethersfield, Ct.; *Marah*, b. 1677, m. March 10, 1696, John Day.

5. Samuel, s. of Philip, (2) deacon, purchased in 1706, property in East Hartford, Ct., and d. Aug. 28, 1707, ae. 48. He m. (1) Nov. 16, 1682, Mary, dau. of Samuel Church of Hartford, Ct. She d. June 18, 1700; (2) Jan. or June 24, 1701, Mary Smith. Children—*Samuel*, b. April 9, 1687; *Mary*, b. Dec. 28, 1689, m. John Keeney; *Rebecca*, b. Nov. 20, 1691; *Samuel*, b. Dec. 18, 1694, idiot, was alive in 1721; *Mehitable*, b. May 9, 1696, m. Ebenezer Taylor of Granby; *Benoni*, b. June 10 or 12, 1700; *Timothy*, b. June 1, 1702; *Edward*, b. Nov. 17, 1704; *Mercy*.

6. John, s. of Philip, (2) deacon, d. April 16, 1727, ae. 66. He m. Nov. 29, 1683, Joanna, dau. of Joseph Kellogg. She survived her husband. Children—*John*, b. Dec. 3, 1684; *Joanna*, b. Sept. 1, 1686, m. Jan. 10, 1705, Ephraim Nash; *Rebecca*, b. Aug. 5, 1688, m. Jan. 11, 1710, Samuel Crow; *Joseph*, b. July 19, 1690; *Martin*, b. April 15, 1692, m. 1715, Sarah Wier, and res. in Wethersfield, Ct.; *Eleazer*, b. Sept. 25, 1694, d. Oct. 3, 1721, ae. 27; *Sarah*, b. Nov. 18, 1696, d. Dec. 28, 1697; *Sarah*, b. Nov. 9, 1698, m. (1) May 22, 1724, Samuel Kellogg; (2) Jan. 1749, William Montague; *Prudence*, b. March 15, 1701, m. (1) March 1, 1722, Timothy Nash of Longmeadow; (2) Dea. Ichabod Hinckley, and d. April 18, 1774, ae. 72; *Experience*, b. April 19, 1703, m. Aug. 11, 1727, James Kellogg, and d. Aug. 23, 1762, ae. 59; *Elizabeth*, b. Oct. 12, 1705, m. May 22, 1728, Stephen Nash of Westfield, and d. 1790; *Mindwell*, b. May 25, 1708, m. May 3, 1732, Benoni Sacket.

7. Jonathan, s. of Philip, (2) Hatfield, d. Oct. or Nov. 1737. He m. Nov. 14, 1688, Abigail, dau. of Joseph Kellogg. She survived her husband, and was living in Amherst in 1742. Children—*Jonathan*, b. Aug. 10, 1689; *Daniel*, b. March 3, 1692, deranged, d. in Amh., Nov. 16, 1760, ae. 68; *Abigail*, b. April 20, 1695, m. Jonathan Parsons; *Stephen*, b. Dec. 5, 1697;

Prudence, b. May 16, 1700; *Moses*, b. Sept. 8, 1702, m. Nov. 1726, Mary Marsh, prob. moved to Ware River, and d. abt. 1749. Administration on his estate was granted July 4, 1749; *Elisha*, b. July 10, 1705, and d. in Whately in 1784; *Elizabeth*, b. May 8, 1708, m. Nov. 6, 1728, [1729?] Richard Chauncy, and d. in Whately, May 22, 1790, ae. 82; *Ephraim*, b. March 24, 1711, m. Martha, dau. of Joseph Scott, and settled in Athol; *Aaron*, b. Feb. 7, 1715, m. Abigail, dau. of Joseph Scott, and settled in Athol.

8. Philip, s. of Philip, (2) rem. first to Springfield, and thence abt. 1704, to E. Hartford, Ct., and d. Jan. 25, 1725. He m. (1) July 9, 1687, Mary, dau. of Samuel Bliss of Springfield. She d. Dec. 23, 1707, in 57th yr.; (2) Sept. 1708, Mary Robinson, who d. May 17, 1733, in 60th yr. Children—*Philip*, b. May 1, 1689, d. unm. 1712; *David*, b. April 23, 1691; *Daughter*, b. June 11, and d. June 12, 1693; *Daughter*, b. June 11, and d. June 16, 1693; *Martha*, b. Sept. 27, 1694, m. Thomas Wiard; *Aaron*, b. Feb. 14, 1697; *Mary*, b. Feb. 23, 1699; *Samuel*, b. abt. 1702, d. in East Hartford, Aug. 28, 1777, ae. 75; *Rebecca; Ebenezer*, b. Jan. 1, 1707; *Nehemiah*, b. July 17, 1709; *Hannah*, b. Nov. 20, 1711.

9. Nathaniel, s. of Philip, (2) Hatfield, d. 1740 or 1741, as appears from the fact, that his will made 1740, was proved Jan. 1741. He m. Feb. 6, 1696, Mary, dau. of Nathaniel Dickinson. She d. Aug. 16, 1718, ae. 45. Children—*Nathaniel*, b. Jan. 1, 1698; *Mary*, b. Dec. 11, 1700, m. Jonathan Dickinson; *Joshua*, b. Nov. 2, 1702; *Rebecca*, b. April 4, 1705, m. Jonathan Wells; *Hannah*, b. March 7, 1707, m. —— Wright; *Martha*, b. Jan. 31, 1709, m. Benjamin Wait, and d. 1794; *Lydia*, b. March 16, 1711, m. Samuel Morton; *Jerusha*, b. Jan. 9, 1713; m. Simeon White, and d. abt. 1809.

10. Joseph, s. of Philip, (2) grad. H. C. 1695, teacher in Hopkins Grammar School, also in Springfield and Brookfield, was ord. May 10, 1709, pastor of the church in Cohanzy, N. J., and Jan. 15, 1715, pastor of the 2d church in Upper Middletown, Ct. He d. Sept. 8, 1736, ae. 62. He m. Esther Parsons, b. Dec. 24, 1672, who d. May 30, 1760, in 89th yr. Children—*Martha*, b. Sept. 17, 1699, m. Nov. 30, 1721, Richard Hamlin; *Joseph*, m. Dec. 20, 1726, Elizabeth Buckley; *Mary*, m. Dec. 10, 1729, Rev. Samuel Tudor of East Windsor, Ct., and d. June 15, 1785, ae. 76.

11. Ichabod, s. of Philip, (2) d. Sept. 6, 1746, ae. 70 or 71. He m. July 19, 1698, Elizabeth, dau. of Capt. Aaron Cook. She d. Oct. 10, 1751, ae. 73. Children—*Philip*, b. May 2, 1699; *Aaron*, b. Sept. 20, 1700; *Nathaniel*, b. Feb. 16, 1702; *Rebecca*, b. Nov. 9, 1703, m. Oct. 21, 1726, William Smith; *Moses*, b. April 30, 1706; *Bridget*, b. March 15, 1708, m. Nov. 20, 1730, Jonathan Moody of Amherst; *Miriam*, b. Aug. 22, 1710, m. Nov. 16, 1738, David Moody; *Elizabeth*, b. Sept. 10, 1712, m. (1) Dec. 4, 1735, Noadiah Lewis; (2) Aug. 14, 1743, Elisha Ingram of Amh.; *Samuel*, b. Aug. 4, 1715, m. Rebecca, and in 1759 res. in Sandisfield; *Experience*, b. Jan. 27, 1717; *Elisha*, b. Jan. 23, 1721, was of Amh. 1761, and Had. 1770.

12. Samuel, s. of Chileab, (3) shoemaker, d. Aug. 4, 1724, ae. 60. He m. March 9, 1687, Sarah Bliss, who was alive in 1742. Children—*Samuel*, b. Nov. 25, 1687, d. Jan. 18, 1688; *Sarah*, b. April 10, 1689, m. Feb. 27, 1713, E. Perkins; *Samuel*, b. Aug. 11, 1691; *Peletiah*, b. March 8, 1694; *William*; b. Dec. 21, 1696; *Lydia*, b. Nov. 30, 1699, m. June 12, 1724, Samuel Smith, *Hannah*, b. Oct. 18, 1701, unm.; *Elizabeth*, b. Jan. 23, 1704, d. March 18,

1712; *Esther*, b. June 14, 1706, m. Feb. 22, 1727, Daniel Belding of Deerfield; *Margaret*, b. Jan. 24, 1710, m. March 6, 1734, Samuel Church.

13. Luke, s. of Chileab, (3) captain. His will made 1736, was proved Jan. 1748. He m. 1690, Mary Crow, who d. June 19, 1761, ae. 89. Children—*Luke*, b. Feb. 12, 1691, d. June 15, 1693; *Son*, b. April 5, 1692, d. ae. 4 days; *Mary*, m. Dec. 2, 1714, John Preston; *Hannah*, b. March 1, 1694, m. Nathaniel Dickinson; *Luke*, b. May 21, 1697; *Samuel*, b. May 23, 1699; *Jonathan*, b. March 4, 1702; *Ruth*, b. April 8, 1703, m. Feb. 13, 1724, Israel Dickinson; *David*, b. July 7, 1707; *Joseph*, b. March 22, 1710; *Sarah*, b. May 5, 1713, m. Aug. 9, 1734, James Smith, a Baptist minister of Granby.

14. Ebenezer, s. of Chileab, (3) a weaver, d. abt. 1716. His inventory was presented 1716, and his estate settled 1717. He m. Oct. 1691, Abigail Broughton. Children—*Abigail*, b. Oct. 10, 1692, m. March 15, 1711, Joseph Kellogg; *Martha*, b. Nov. 10, 1694, m. —— Read; *Ebenezer*, b. March 20, 1697, settled in Norwalk, Ct.; *John*, b. May 1, 1699; *Nathan*, b. Aug. 14, 1701, settled in Norwalk, Ct.; *Eliakim*, b. Jan. 13, 1704, settled in Norwalk, Ct.; *Eunice*, b. June 9, 1706, m. —— Olmsted; *Joseph*, b. Sept. 18, 1708; *Ephraim*, b. Jan. 27, 1730, settled in Stamford, Ct.; *Dinah*, b. July 8, 1713, m. —— Hoyt.

15. Chileab, s. of Chileab, (3) d. Nov. 8, 1746, ae. 61. He m. Dec. 19, 1710, Mercy Golding. She d. Aug. [6?] 1756, in 69th yr. Children—*Peter*, b. Oct. 31, 1711; *Chileab*, b. Sept. 27, 1713, d. Aug. 14, 1715; *Mercy*, b. May 25, 1715, m. March 24, 1739, Nathaniel Coleman of Hat. and Amh., and d. May 16, 1798, ae. 83; *Phinehas*, b. June 5, 1717, m. Mary; *Martha*, b. Jan. 16, 1719, m. Feb. 18, 1742, Thomas Meekins; *Windsor*, b. Nov. 12, 1720; *Thankful*, b. July 12, 1722, m. Moses Dickinson of Amh., and d. Oct. 18, 1802, ae. 80; *Chileab*, b. May 25, 1724, d. before 1730; *Mary*, b. Dec. 1. 1725, m. May 31, 1748. Moses Billings of Sunderland; *Chileab*, b. July 8, 1730, d. Oct. 24, 1752, ae. 22.

16. John, s. of John, (4) called "Orphan John," d. Jan. 20, 1724, ae. 58. He m. 1687, Mary, dau. of John Root of Westfield. She survived her husband. Children—*Son*, b. 1688, d. same day; *Mary*, b. May 7, 1689, m. June 19, 1712, Thomas Sheldon of N. H., and Suffield, Ct., and d. 1771, ae. 82; *Abigail*, b. Oct. 26, 1691, m. Sept. 29, 1714, John Montague; *Mercy*, b. July 3, 1694, m. Nov. 22, 1711, Joseph Eastman; *John*, b. Feb. 1, 1697; *Rachel*, b. Aug. 4, 1699, m. Aug. 14, 1724, John Smith, s. of Ebenezer of Granby, and d. Sept. 20, 1724, ae. 25; *Hezekiah*, b. Dec. 21, 1702; *Noah*, b. May 16, 1707.

17. Joseph, s. of John, (4) Hatfield, d. Feb. 6, 1752, ae. 81. He m. Dec. 15, 1696, Canada Waite. She d. May 5, 1749, ae. 72. Children—*Mary*, b. Sept. 24, 1697, m. Joseph Field of Sunderland; *Martha*, b. Oct. 19, 1699, m. Thomas Nash; *Benjamin*, b. Nov. 17, 1701, slain June 18, 1724; *John*, b. Dec. 26, 1703, d. abt. the middle of July, 1705; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 14, 1707, m. Elisha Smith; *Esther*, b. June 2, 1710, m. Jonathan Field of Sunderland; *Hannah* or *Anna*, b. July 22, 1712, m. Moses Dickinson; *Eleanor*, b. Dec. 9, 1717, m. Jonathan Morton; *Joseph*, b. Nov. 21, 1720; *Samuel*, m. Mary, res. in Hat., and d. abt. 1779 or 1780.

18. John, s. of Dea. John, (6) d. Dec. 25, 1761, ae. 77. He m. Esther, dau. of Ephraim Colton of Longmeadow. She d. ae. abt. 84. Children—

Philip, b. Oct. 12, 1712, m. 1743, Alice Jones, and d. s. p., abt. 1800; *Ephraim*, b. Nov. 17, 1714; *John*, b. Jan. 20, 1717; *Phinehas*, b. April 12, 1719; *Silas*, b. Feb. 2, 1722; *Eleazar*, b. Jan. 27, 1725; *Esther*, b. Nov. 27, 1726; *Josiah*, rem. to Brookfield, Vt., and d. ae. abt. 66.

19. JOSEPH, s. of Dea. John, (6) rem. to Sunderland, but returned to Hadley, and there d. He m. Feb. 1712, Rebecca, dau. of Joseph Smith. Children—*Joseph*, b. Jan. 22, 1715, d. Dec. 29, 1735; *Rebecca*, b. May 29, 1717; *Joanna*, b. Aug. 27, 1719, m. (1) June 17, 1737, Joshua Olds; (2) May 19, 1743, Benjamin Wright; *Lydia*, b. Feb. 28, 1722; *Elisha*, bapt. Oct. 3, 1726, d. Aug. 27, 1744; *Elisha*, b. Oct. 3, 1726, d. 1810, ae. 84.

20. JONATHAN, s. of Jonathan, (7) captain, rem. from Hat. to Amherst, and d. abt. 1778. He m. June 6, 1722, Hannah, dau. of Benoni Wright of Hatfield. Children—*Jonathan*, b. abt. 1728; *Martin; David; Noah*, b. Oct. 8, 1742; *Hannah*, m. 1753, David Dickinson; *Abigail*, b. abt. 1723, m. Jan. 2, 1755, Joseph Church of Amh., and d. March 22, 1815, ae. 92; *Rebecca*, m. June 16, 1757, Elijah Baker of Amh.; *Jerusha*, perhaps, who m. —— May.

21. STEPHEN, s. of Jonathan, (7) rem. to Amh., and thence to Sunderland, where he d. abt. 1760. Children—*Stephen; Joel; Titus*, res. in Leverett; *Mary*, b. abt. 1727, m. 1753, Daniel Shattuck of Hinsdale, N. H., and d. Sept. 3, 1788, in 61st yr.

22. PHILIP, s. of Ichabod, (11) Hatfield, m. Jan. 11, 1722, Sarah White, per. dau. of John White of Hat.; (2) 1734, John Burk. Children—*Simeon*, killed by the fulling mill wheel, April 25, 1735; *Oliver*, b. Jan. 18, 1727, d. April 26, 1728.

22½. AARON, s. of Ichabod, (11) was of Amh. 1739, but d. in Shutesbury, July 5, 1759, ae. 58. He m. Nov. 26, 1724, Mehitable, dau. of John Ingram, and perhaps m. (2) Abigail, for it appears from Records of 1st Chh. of Amherst, that Aaron and Abigail Smith had baptized to them, there, Abner, Aug. 16, 1747. Children—*Son*, b. Sept. 16, and d. Sept. 17, 1725; *Jemima*, b. Aug. 18, 1726, prob. m. —— Whiton, and d. Feb. 14, 1774; *Philip*, b. 1729, d. in Shutesbury, Nov. 21, 1759, ae. 30; *Aaron*, b. 1732. An old family record says he was missing in a battle March, 1758, ae. 25 yrs. and ten mos. He was in Maj. Roger's Rangers, and taken near Ticonderoga, March 13, 1758.

23. NATHANIEL, s. of Ichabod, (11) was the first physician of Amh., whither he removed as early as 1731, and d. July 21, 1789, ae. 84. He m. Nov. 11, 1726, Mehitable, dau. of John Ingram. She d. July 21, 1789, ae. 84. Children—*Nathaniel*, b. Aug. 23, 1727, d. Sept. 9, 1727, ae. 17 days; *Dorothy*, b. Feb. 23, 1729, m. 1747, (pub. June 14,) Ebenezer Mattoon of Amh., and d. June 3, 1756, ae. 27; *Rebecca*, b. July 1, 1731, m. April 8, 1756, Jonathan Smith, Jr. of Amh., and d. Sept. 5, 1807, ae. 76.

24. MOSES, s. of Ichabod, (11) Amh., d. May 12, 1781, ae. 75. He m. 1732, Hannah, dau. of Samuel Childs of Deerfield. She d. Jan. 26, 1778, ae. 67. Children—*Moses*, b. Dec. 10, 1733; *Simeon*, b. Aug. 26, 1735; *Hannah*, b. July 18, 1737, m. Oct. 6, 1774, Daniel Church; *Catharine*, b. Aug. 13, 1739, m. Robert Emmons, and d. April 1, 1779, ae. 39; *Azubah*,

b. Sept. 30, 1741, d. Oct. 10, 1743; *Elizabeth*, b. Sept. 10, 1743, m. Aug. 13, 1767, Elisha Nash of Hatfield, and d. April 29, 1782, ae. 38; *Amasa*, b. April 23, 1746, res. in Deerfield; *Samuel*, b. June 19, 1748, went to sea, and d. early in Kingston, Jamaica; *Noadiah*, b. Sept. 26, 1751; *Oliver*, b. Nov. 7, 1755, d. of measles, during the revolution, in White Plains, N. Y.

25. EXPERIENCE, s. of Ichabod, (11) Granby, m. Mercy Eastman. Children—*Mercy*, b. Aug. 19, 1746, d. 1748; *Mercy*, b. Sept. 27, 1748; *Asa*, b. Sept. 29, 1750; *Rebeckah*, b. Jan. 22, 1753; *Ruth*, b. April 22, 1755; *Martha*, b. Oct. 5, 1757; *Jemima*, b. Oct. 18, 1758.

26. SAMUEL, s. of Samuel, (12) deacon, Sunderland, d. 1755 or 1756. He m. (1) 1716, Esther, dau. of Eleazar Warner; (2) Jan. 16, 1724, Sarah, dau. of Samuel Billings of Hatfield. Children—*Esther*, b. 1719, m. Nehemiah Church; *Nathan*, b. 1721; *Miriam*, b. 1723; *Moses*, b. 1724, settled in Leverett; *Margaret*, b. 1727, d. 1745; *Rebekah*, b. 1730, m. Jonathan Church; *Lydia*, b. 1731; *Caleb*, b. 1733.

27. PELETIAH, s. of Samuel, (12) Amherst, m. 1721, Abigail, dau. of William Wait of Nh. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. May 19, 1722, m. Moses Smith; *Peletiah*, b. Feb. 14, 1724; *Abigail*, b. Sept. 14, 1726, m. March 27, 1747, Simeon Pomeroy of Amh., and d. Dec. 10, 1820, ae. 94; *Lucy*, b. Nov. 7, 1728, d. May 8, 1737.

28. WILLIAM, s. of Samuel, (12) South Hadley, d. 1770. In his will made and proved 1770, he names his wife Elizabeth, the heirs of his daughter Elizabeth, deceased, grandchild Charles Chapin and his wife Silence. Children—*Jerusha*, b. June 25, 1727; *Rebecca*, b. Sept. 21, 1731; *Elizabeth*, b. July 10, 1734, m. March 27, 1755, William Negus, and d. prior to 1770. One of his daughters probably d. June 25, 1740.

29. LUKE, s. of Luke, (13) rem. to Sunderland, but before his death, returned to Had. He m. (1) Sarah; (2) April 14, 1739, Sarah Hamilton. Children—*Sarah*, b. 1721; *Hannah*, b. 1723; *Eleazar*, b. 1725; *Abigail*, b. 1729, m. Joseph Cook of South Had. and Had.; *Asahel*, b. 1731; *Abiel*, (dau.) b. 1735, was of South Had., 1756.

30. SAMUEL, s. of Luke, (13) d. Aug. 22, 1763, ae. 64. He m. June 12, 1724, Lydia Smith. She d. Feb. 6, 1786, in 85th yr. Children—*Samuel*, b. Sept. 7, 1724, d. 1746; *Lydia*, b. April 7, 1728, m. Nov. 17, 1750, Gad Alvord, and d. prior to 1786; *Josiah*, b. Aug. 26, 1729, m. Dec. 26, 1751, Abigail Eastman, res. in So. Had., and d. Aug. 29, 1779, ae. 50; *Mary*, b. March 3, 1733, [Rec.] m. March 16, 1749, Josiah White; *Reuben*, b. Sept. 23, 1733, d. Nov. 11, 1733; *Rebecca*, b. March 25, 1740, m. Job Alvord, and was living in 1833; *Phebe*, b. March 25, 1742, m. —— Dickinson, and d. before 1786.

31. JONATHAN, s. of Luke, (13) deacon, d. April 4, 1774. He m. (1) Dec. 16, 1725, Rebecca, dau. of Nehemiah Dickinson. She d. Oct. 3, 1726, ae. 27; (2) Jan. 31, 1734, Mehitable Cook. She d. Nov. 3, 1766. Children—*Oliver*, b. Sept. 23, 1726; *Enos*, b. Nov. 19, 1734, d. Feb. 11, 1738, ae. 3; *Rebecca*, b. Oct. 27, 1736, m. Jan. 24, 1760, John Cook, and d. July 30, 1761; *Seth*, b. Feb. 6, 1738, d. Feb. 15, 1738, ae. 9 days; *Mehitable*, b. March 24, 1740, m. June 17, 1760, Eliakim Smith; *Anne*, b. June 22, 1742, m. Nov. 15, 1770, Timothy Eastman, and d. Dec. 7, 1777, ae. 35; *Enos*, b. June 28, 1745;

Jonathan, b. Jan. 28, 1747; *Seth*, b. June 24, 1751; *Ebenezer*, b. and d. June 24, 1751; *Perez*, b. Sept. 20, 1754.

32. David, s. of Luke, (13) deacon, resided for a few years in Amh., but after a short absence returned to Had., where he d. Aug. 6, 1771, ae. 64. He m. Hannah, dau. of Josiah Willard of Wethersfield, Ct. She d. in Westhampton, Jan. 27, 1809, ae. 87. Children—*Elizabeth*, bapt. April 8, 1741, m. (1) Sept. 16, 1762, Josiah Smith; (2) Jan. 4, 1770, John Cook; *Hannah*, m. Jan. 31, 1771, Coleman Cook; *Theoda*, m. Aug. 13, 1769, Nathaniel Dickinson of Amh.; *Mary*, b. July 21, 1754, m. Feb. 24, 1778, Peter Montague; *Eunice*, b. Oct. 11, 1756, m. 1792, Reuben Wright of Nh.; *Naomi*, m. —— Wallace; *Willard*, b. Oct. 30, 1761; *Jerusha*, m. Oliver Atwell.

33. Joseph, s. of Luke, (13) d. June or July, 1797, ae. 88. He m. May 24, 1739, Miriam, dau. of Benjamin Church. She d. abt. 1794. Children—*Gideon*, b. April 12, 1740; *Miriam*, b. Jan. 12, 1742, d. unm., Sept. 1794, ae. 52; *John*, b. Jan. 17, 1744; *Joseph*, b. April 19, 1751.

34. John, s. of Ebenezer, (14) deacon, Granby, d. June 17, 1774, ae. 75. He m. (1) Aug. 14, 1724, Rachel, dau. of "Orphan John" Smith. She d. Sept. 20, 1724, ae. 25; (2) April 6, 1727, Mary, dau. of William Dickinson. She d. March 5, 1781, in 78th yr. Children—*Nathan*, b. abt. 1731; *Abigail*, m. Dr. Samuel Vinton of So. Had., and d. Aug. 11, 1793.

35. Peter, s. of Chileab, (15) Amh., d. abt. 1787, as appears from the fact, that his will dated 1771, was proved 1787. He m. Amy Bissell of Windsor, Ct., who d. Aug. 1796. Children—*Chileab*, b. Oct. 27, 1747; *Elisha*, b. March 14, 1749; *Child*, bapt. Dec. 24, 1751.

36. Windsor, s. of Chileab, (15) d. Dec. 31, 1788, ae. 68. He m. (1) Dec. 3, 1747, Sarah, dau. of Joseph Smith. She d. Sept. 1, 1772, in 50th yr.; (2) Oct. 20, 1773, Lydia, wid. of Hopestill Hastings. Children—*Martha*, b. Oct. 11, 1749, m. (1) April 16, 1795, Dea. Hezekiah Belding of Amh.; (2) July 6, 1815, Col. Asaph White of Erving's Grant; *Sarah*, b. Dec. 30, 1751, m. Nov. 16, 1775, Perez Cook; *Chileab*, b. May 21, 1754; *Mercy*, b. Oct. 26, 1756, m. Sept. 23, 1779, Timothy Marsh; *Windsor*, b. Dec. 22, 1758; *Electa*, b. Nov. 17, 1761, d. March 20, 1763; *Electa*, b. Feb. 13, 1764, m. May 16, 1782, Holcomb Granger; *Naomi*, b. June 28, 1767, d. Dec. 18, 1775, ae. 8.

37. John, s. of "Orphan" John, (16) m. Elizabeth. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. Feb. 14, 1728, m. Phinehas Smith; *Timothy*, b. Dec. 6, 1729; *Benjamin*, b. May 16, 1732, of Granby, 1761, became a tory, and went to Halifax, N. B.; *Titus*, b. June 23, 1734, grad. H. C. 1764, a tory, went to Halifax; *Seth*, b. Aug. 21, 1736, m. Thankful; *Israel*, b. April 2, 1739; *Lucy*, b. 1746, d. 1763; *Ruth*, (?) m. John Ayres.

38. Hezekiah, s. of "Orphan" John, (16) Granby, made his will 1780, which was proved Dec. 1790. He m. May 10, 1728, Dorcas Dickinson. Children—*Rachel*, b. Aug. 13, 1729, m. Nov. 22, 1748, Thomas Wait; *Esther*, m. —— Dickinson, and was alive in 1812; *Hezekiah*, b. Sept. 17, 1751.

39. Noah, s. of "Orphan" John, (16) d. 1767. He m. Mary ——. Children—*Noah*, b. Feb. 8, 1732, m. (1) 1756, Mary Kilbourne of Newfane, Vt.; (2) 1754, Sarah Stephenson of Spr.; *Warham*, b. March 19, 1735; *Josiah*, b. June 26, 1737, d. Oct. 8, 1765; *John*, b. Jan. 18, 1740; *Mary*, m. James Hunt, to whom she was pub. June 16, 1769.

40. Ephraim, s. of John, (18) So. Hadley, m. Mary, dau. of John Preston of So. Had. Children—*Ephraim*, m. Thankful Goodman; *Eli; Darius; Simeon; Luther; Joanna*, m. Samuel Goodman; *Lois*, m. William Taylor.

41. John, s. of John, (18) d. March 24 or 25, 1795, ae. 78. He m. Elizabeth, dau. of Nathaniel Edwards of Nh. She was b. Nov. 29, 1723, and d. March 12, 1795, ae. 72. Children—*Beriah*, rem. to Woodstock, Vt.; *Joel*, res. for a time in Greenfield, but rem. thence to the West; *John*, b. abt. 1751; *Elizabeth*, m. Reuben Judd of So. Had., and d. March 31, 1781; *Martha*, m. —— Thayer, and rem. to State of N. Y.; *Lucy*, m. Enos Pomeroy of Had. and Buckland; *Sabra*, m. —— Badger.

42. Phinehas, s. of John, (18) rem. to Wilmington, Vt. He m. 1754, Eleanor Bell. Children—*Medad*, b. Feb. 2, 1755; *Esther*, b. Dec. 22, 1756; *Phinehas*, b. 1761, d. 1767.

43. Silas, s. of John, (18) m. (1) 1749, Sarah, dau. of John Preston; (2) Rebecca Allen. Children—*Philip*, m. Achsah Chapin, (see the Chapin genealogy) d. in Springfield; *Perez*, b. 1753; *Silas*, b. Nov. 30, 1754; *Sarah*, m. Hugh McMaster of Palmer.

44. Eleazar, s. of John, (18) deacon, res. in Longmeadow and Amherst, and d. Jan. 4, 1816, ae. 90. He m. (1) Lydia Thomas of Lebanon, Ct. She was b. Jan. 29, 1725; (2) Abigail, dau. of Thomas Hale of Longmeadow. She was b. Feb. 9, 1735, and d. June 24, 1812, in 77th yr. Children, all but youngest, by 1st wife—*Lydia*, b. June 8, 1750, d. Nov. 7, 1774; *Lucina*, b. Feb. 11, 1752; m. Chileab Brainerd Merrick of Wilbraham; *Eleazar*, b. Feb. 28, 1754, d. Oct. 22, 1757; *Ithamar*, b. June 13, 1756, m. Lucy Nevers of Springfield, and d. Sept. 1, 1844, ae. 88; *Eleazar*, b. June 20, 1758, d. March 14, 1759; *Sarah*, b. Sept. 10, 1760, m. Dec. 4, 1783, Medad Dickinson of Amh., and d. Oct. 11, 1784, ae. 24; *Ethan*, b. April 24, 1763, m. Nov. 7, 1785, Tabitha, dau. of Thomas Hastings, and d. March 22, 1821, ae. 57; *Achsah*, b. Aug. 20, 1765, m. April 27, 1786, Levi Cook of Amh. and Ashfield, and d. June 5, 1809, ae. 43; *Eleazar*, b. Oct. 25, 1767, m. Mabel Bartlett; *Justin*, b. Aug. 12, 1770, m. Experience Clark of Nh.; *Seth*, b. July 12, 1775.

45. Jonathan, s. of Jonathan, (20) Amherst, d. April 20, 1814, ae. 86. He m. April 8, 1756, Rebecca, dau. of Dr. Nathaniel Smith of Amh. She d. Sept. 5, 1807, ae. 76. Child—*Jerusha*, b. April 27, 1764, m. June 13, 1780, Col. Elijah Dickinson of Amh., and d. April 6, 1853, ae. 88.

46. Martin, s. of Jonathan, (20) Amherst, d. 1780. He m. Jan. 4, 1760, Lucy, dau. of Preserved Clapp of Amh. She m. (2) Daniel Shattuck of Hinsdale, N. H., and d. in Randolph, Vt. Children—*Levi*, m. —— Holland of Pelham; *Josiah*, m. Sally, dau. of John Field; *Solomon; Jonathan*, bapt. Nov. 6, 1768; *Martin*, bapt. Oct. 7, 1770, rem. to Massena, N. Y.; *Stephen*, bapt. March 21, 1773; *Wright*, bapt. Feb. 19, 1775; *Phineas*, rem. to Randolph, Vt.

47. David, s. of Jonathan, (20) Amherst, d. Nov. 23, 1807. He m. Mary, dau. of Moses Warner of Amh. She d. July 25, 1826. Children—*Elijah*, m. Martha Burt, and d. in Amh., Sept. 12, 1848; *Mary*, m. Lucius Wait of Hat.; *David*, m. Jan. 5, 1804, Anna Nash, and d. in Amh., Oct. 31, 1833, ae. 70; *Martha*, bapt. Nov. 26, 1769, m. April 7, 1791, Ephraim Kellogg of Amh.; *Moses*, m. Nov. 20, 1794, Tamar Pettis; *Oliver; Eli*, per. m. Oct. 7, 1802, Thankful Dickinson.

48. Noah, s. of Jonathan, (20) Amherst, d. Feb. 22, 1830, ae. 87. He m. abt. 1766, Mary, dau. of Edward Elmer. She d. Sept. 4, 1833, ae. 88. Children—*Hannah*, b. Jan. 3, 1767, m. Jan. 28, 1785, Martin Cook, and d. 1846, ae. 79; *Jonathan*, b. Dec. 17, 1768, m. Feb. 7, 1799, Ruth Jurdon, and d. Dec. 27, 1843, ae. 75; *Reuben*, b. Sept. 14, 1770, m. April 14, 1796, Margaret Carpenter, and still (1862) resides in Goshen; *Noah*, b. June 6, 1772, m. Jerusha Cowls; *Andrew*, b. April 20, 1774, m. Rachel McClary of Massena, N. Y.; *Polly*, b. April 17, 1776, m. July 6, 1797, Martin Baker of Amh.; *Rebecca*, b. Jan. 2, 1779, m. Dec. 3, 1809, John Strong of Amh.; *Sarah*, b. Dec. 4, 1782, m. Feb. 9, 1806, Jonathan Hubbard of Amh., and d. March 21, 1828, ae. 46; *Abigail*, b. Dec. 4, 1782, m. Simeon Smith of Amh., and d. Dec. 1838, ae. 56.

49. Stephen, s. of Stephen, (21) Amh., d. Aug. 9, 1813. He m. Dorothy, dau. of Ebenezer Mattoon of Amh. Children—*Dorothy*, m. Nov. 21, 1793, Enos Baker of Amh.; *Prudence; Arad; Perez*, rem. to Massena, N. Y.; *Gideon*.

50. Moses, s. of Moses, (24) rem. from Amherst to Waitesfield, Vt. Children—*Moses; Elijah; Selah; Samuel; Hannah*.

51. Simeon, s. of Moses, (24) Amherst, d. March 23, 1777. He m. 1763, Rachel, dau. of Nathaniel Strong of Nh. She was b. Feb. 5, 1732, and d. Sept. 1, 1797, ae. 65. Children—*Simeon*, b. May 5, 1764, m. Jerusha Cooley; *Asa*, b. Sept. 6, 1766, m. July 3, 1788, Sarah Moody; *Electa*, b. Jan. 21, 1769, m. Sept. 10, 1794, Seth Montague of So. Had.; *Rachel*, b. Dec. 14, 1772, m. Jan. 27, 1791, Elijah Moody; *Sylvanus*, b. June 28, 1775, res. in Hat.

52. Noadiah, s. of Moses, (24) Amherst, d. Sept. 23, 1799, ae. 48. He m. Nov. 3, 1779, Sarah Lee. Children—*Sarah*, b. July 26, 1780, d. July 10, 1797, ae. 16; *Catharine*, b. May 21, 1782, m. Nov. 1805, Ira Edwards, and rem. to Morristown, Vt.; *Moses*, b. May 11, 1784, grad. W. C. 1811, m. April, 1816, Lois Lee, and d. in Amh.; *Samuel*, b. March 9, 1786, m. May 7, 1807, Mary Hastings, and rem. to Marion, N. Y.; *Oliver*, b. March 30, 1788, grad. W. C. 1812, d. unm. in New York City; *Martin*, b. Aug. 9, ——, d. unm. in Johnson, Vt., July 27, 1855; *Calvin*, b. Aug. 12, 1792, rem. to Johnson, Vt.; *Abel*, b. April 28, 1794, m. Achsah Edwards, and d. in Amh., Jan. 12, 1840, ae. 46; *Mary*, b. June 1, 1796, m. April 2, 1820, Dexter Dickinson, and d. Sept. 25, 1839, ae. 43.

53. Peletiah, s. of Peletiah, (27) rem. after 1773, from Amh. to Charlemont. He m. April 24, 1755, Rhoda Morgan. Children—*Reuben*, bapt. March 14, 1756; *Rhoda*, b. Aug. 3, 1760; *Sarah*, bapt. Sept. 19, 1762; *Mary*, bapt. Oct. 25, 1765; *Aaron*, bapt. Dec. 2, 1770; *Phinehas*, bapt. Dec. 26, 1773; *Samuel*.

54. Oliver, s. of Jonathan, (31) deacon, d. July 22, 1808, ae. 81. He m. June 2, 1757, Elizabeth Eastman. She d. Aug. 13, 1811, in 79th yr. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. Dec. 29, 1758, m. Sept. 10, 1783, Doct. Job Marsh, and d. June 7, 1823; *Elihu*, b. Oct. 3, 1761; *Joanna*, b. July 12, 1764, m. Dec. 14, 1792, Gad Cook; *Naomi*, b. Feb. 5, 1767, d. Dec. 7, 1787, ae. 20; *Oliver*, b. Oct. 29, 1769; *Timothy Eastman*, b. Jan. 22, 1773, d. April 8, 1776, ae. 3; *Rebeckah*, b. Dec. 9, 1775, m. Rev. John Smith of Haverhill, N. H.

55. Enos, s. of Jonathan, (31) d. March 14, 1836, ae. 90. He m. Nov. 15, 1770, Mary, dau. of John Dickinson. She d. Feb. 7, 1815, ae. 64. Children —*Mehitable*, b. Sept. 13, 1771, d. Sept. 5, 1776, ae. 4; *Mary*, b. Aug. 20, 1773, d. Jan 12, 1777, ae. 3; *Enos*, b. Sept. 13, 1775, d. Jan. 18, 1777, ae. 1; *Enos*, b. Nov. 7, 1777; *Mehitable*, b. Jan. 24, 1780; *William*, b. March 5, 1782; *Jonathan*, b. Dec. 27, 1784; *Sylvester*, b. April 15, 1789; *Elijah*, b. Feb. 17, 1791, d. Feb. 27, 1791; *Mary*, b. Nov. 15, 1793, m. Rufus Kellogg of Amh.

56. Jonathan, s. of Jonathan, (31) prob. grad. H. C. 1768, was settled, Jan. 23, 1788, over church in Chilmark, dis. Feb. 4, 1827, and d. in Had., April 14, 1829, ae. 81. He m. Oct. 25, 1789, Anna, dau. of Rev. Abraham Williams of Sandwich. She d. in Chilmark, Oct. 26, 1807. Children— *Eloisa*, b. Jan. 13, 1791, d. unm. in Greenfield, July 5, 1855, ae. 64; *Erastus*, b. Nov. 1, 1794, unm.

57. Seth, s. of Jonathan, (31) deacon, d. June 30, 1828, ae. 75. He m. Nov. 10, 1779, Lydia, dau. of Thomas Smith. She d. Aug. 23, 1828, ae. 71. Children—*Ebenezer*, b. Aug. 4, 1781, d. June 15, 1782; *Ebenezer*, b. Jan. 21, 1783, d. Jan. 22, 1783; *Seth*, b. July 4, 1785; *Ephraim*, b. June 17, 1787, d. Jan. 8, 1788; *Ephraim*, b. Oct. 8, 1788; *Elijah*, b. Oct. 24, 1791; *Worthington*, b. Oct. 11, 1795; *Lydia*, b. March 12, 1795, m. July 3, 1826, William Owen Gadcomb of St. Albans, Vt., and d. Feb. 13, 1856, ae. 60.

58. Perez, s. of Jonathan, (31) d. Nov. 1, 1824, ae. 70. He m. Feb. 15, 1786, Lovisa, dau. of Stephen Noble of Westfield. She d. June 19, 1823, ae. 69. Children—*Anna*, b. Dec. 19, 1786, m. Ashley Williams, and d. Oct. 11, 1828; *Lovisa*, b. Oct. 12, 1790, m. David Smith, and d. March 31, 1842, ae. 51.

59. Gideon, s. of Joseph, (33) rem. to Vt. He m. (1) May 20, 1763, Margaret Church. She d. Jan. 1, 1781; (2) March 3, 1784, Sarah Fairfield. Children—*Lucy*, b. March 26, 1764, d. Oct. 12, 1775, ae. 11; *Irene*, b. June 22, 1768; *Samuel*, b. Oct. 18, 1770, d. ae. 5; *Sophia*, b. March 29, 1773; *Lucy*, b. Nov. 11, 1777.

60. John, s. of Joseph, (33) d. Feb. 1818, ae. 78. He m. Dec. 5, 1764, Marah, dau. of Westwood Cook. She d. Dec. 22, 1822, ae. 79. Children— *Martha*, b. May 25, 1765, m. (pub. Aug. 20,) 1791, Timothy Stockwell, and d. Aug. 20, 1793; *William*, bapt. April 5, 1767; *Eli*, b. Nov. 25, [22?] 1769; *Stephen*, b. June 19, 1774, a blacksmith, rem. to Williamstown, and d. May, 1838, ae. 64; *Mary*, b. March 6, 1784, m. David Smith, and d. Aug. 23, 1823, ae. 39.

61. Joseph, s. of Joseph, (33) d. Sept. 13, 1842, ae. 91. He m. June 10, 1775, Nancy Day of Springfield. She was b. May 22, 1754, and d. Aug. 27, 1845, ae. 91. Children—*Hannah*, b. Aug. 28, 1775, m. Nov. 18, 1814, Andrew Holt, and d. July 25, 1855, ae. 79; *Phebe*, b. Dec. 8, 1777, m. Nov. 18, 1804, Cotton Nash; *Samuel*, b. Aug. 13, 1780; *Anson*, b. June 27, 1787.

62. Nathan, s. of John, (34) deacon in Granby, d. Aug. 21, 1811, ae. 80. He m. Eunice, dau. of James Smith. She d. Sept. 19, 1822, ae. 87. Children —*Mary*, b. Sept. 18, 1754; *Ebenezer*, b. Feb. 4, 1756; *Nathan*, b. April 1, 1757; *John*, b. March 11, 1758, d. March, 1758; *Jared*, b. March 17, 1759; *Martha*, b. Feb. 7, 1761; *John*, b. Sept. 14, 1762, unm., killed by the fall of a tree; *James*, b. March 14, 1764; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 20, 1765; *Elisha*, b. July

11, 1767, drowned at So. Hadley Canal, 1789; *Eunice*, b. June 24, 1769; *William*, b. April 29, 1771, d. unm.; *Abigail*, b. Nov. 24, 1772, d. 1776; *Samuel*, b. Aug. 4, 1775; *Elihu*, b. March 21, 1777, educated (prob. graduated D. C. 1801) minister in Castleton, Vt.; *Benoni Mandeville*, b. Jan. 26, 1779.

63. Elisha, s. of Peter, (35) Amherst, d. March 25, 1823, ae. 74. He m. Feb. 1782, Ursula, dau. of Dea. John Billings. She d. Aug. 30, 1832. Children—*Jerusha*, bapt. Jan. 26, 1783, m. July 27, 1809, Jonathan Bridgman of Amherst; *Lucretia*, bapt. March 21, 1784; *Achsah*, bapt. Oct. 1, 1786, m. March 1, 1809, David Moody of Amh.; *Peter*, bapt. March 31, 1788; *Polly*, bapt. Oct. 25, 1789, d. Aug. 16, 1796, ae. 6 yrs.; *Elisha*, bapt. Nov. 6, 1791, rem. to China, Mich., and d. March 20, 1846, ae. 54.

64. Chileab, s. of Windsor, (36) d. Aug. 25, 1804, ae. 50. He m. March 2, 1775, Tabitha Clark, who d. Sept. 12, 1817, in 67th yr. Children—*Erastus*, b. May 29, 1775, m. Sarah Williams, and d. March 5, 1832, ae. 57; *Lucretia*, b. Feb. 5, 1777, m. (1) Samuel Gaylord; (2) Samuel D. Ward of Brimfield; *Cotton*, b. April 22, 1779, d. April 20, 1780; *Son*, b. and d. March 25, 1781; *Lucinda*, b. April, 1782, m. Col. Sylvester Goodman; *Joanna*, b. Dec. 1784, m. Hon. Estes Howe; *Cotton*, bapt. May 20, 1787, d. in Amh.

65. Windsor, s. of Windsor, (36) d. Jan. 1835, ae. 76. He m. Elizabeth. Children—*Abigail*, b. Feb. 3, 1781; *Elizabeth*, b. Dec. 1783; *Obadiah*, bapt. May, 1787; *Melinda*, b. March 11, 1789, m. Rev. Cyrus W. Gray of Stafford, Ct.; *Henry*, b. Nov. 1791; *Electa*, bapt. Feb. 23, 1794; *Roger Robbins*, bapt. Feb. 14, 1797; *Horace*, bapt. Oct. 1798; *Charles*, bapt. May 16, 1802; *Frederic*, bapt. May 27, 1804; *Miranda*, bapt. Jan. 5, 1806.

66. Timothy, s. of John, (37) Granby, d. Feb. 13, 1794. He m. Hannah, who d. Nov. 6, 1802. Children—*Lucy*, b. Aug. 19, 1764, d. unm. 1838; *Hannah*, b. Sept. 9, 1766, d. ae. 9; *Joel*, b. July 28, 1769, res. in Granby; *Timothy*, b. April 27, 1771, d. in Granby, 1837; *Moses*, b. Feb. 21, 1775; *John*, b. July 10, 1777, res. in Granby; *Hannah*, b. Aug. 12, 1780, d. Oct. 1846.

67. Israel, s. of John, (37) Granby, m. Abigail. Children—*Chloe*, b. Nov. 10, 1762; *Israel*, b. Dec. 15, 1764; *Simeon*, b. Dec. 5, 1766.

68. Warham, s. of Noah, (39) d. Oct. 30, 1802. He m. Martha, who d. Jan. 22, 1802. Children—*Josiah*, b. July 11, 1766; *Patty*, b. July 24, 1768; *Lois*, b. Nov. 8, 1770; *Justin*, b. May 26, 1775, m. Anna.

69. John, s. of John, (41) d. Aug. 11, 1840, ae. 89. He m. (1) Dec. 8, 1774, Ruth, dau. of Jonathan Cook. She d. July 10, 1785, ae. 33; (2) May 10, 1787, Maria, dau. of Josiah Dickinson. She d. May 21, 1808, ae. 46; (3) Sept. 21, 1808, Betsey, wid. of Lemuel Brown, and dau. of John Dickinson. She d. June 22, 1832, ae. 57. Children—*David*, b. Jan. 4, 1775, d. Sept. 12, 1779; *Alethea*, b. June 12, 1782, m. Doct. Reuben Bell, and d. 1861; *David*, b. Nov. 3, 1783, m. (1) Mary, dau. of John Smith; (2) *Lovisa*, dau. of Perez Smith; *Infant*, b. and d. July, 1785; *Ruth*, b. May 30, 1788, m. Jan. 29, 1812, Ephraim Smith, and d. April 27, 1857; *Orlando*, b. Dec. 10, 1789, m. Nov. 7, 1814, Dorothy Arms, was a merchant, post-master, and town clerk, and d. Sept. 1857; *Dudley*, b. Nov. 4, 1793; *Maria*, b. Nov. 28, 1795, m. Dec. 3, 1817, Elijah Smith; *Elizabeth Edwards*, b. March 27, 1798, m. April 6, 1819, Sylvester Smith; *Clarissa Cook*, b. Aug. 5, 1804, m. Charles C. May of New York City.

70. Silas, s. of Silas, (43) deacon in South Hadley, d. March 23, 1813. He m. 1780, (pub. March 18,) Asenath, dau. of Phinehas Chapin of Springfield. She d. Nov. 31, 1835, ae. 85. Children—*Horace*, b. Feb. 16, 1781; *Rufus*, b. March 2, 1782; *Allen*, b. Dec. 8, 1783; *Child*, b. and d. Aug. 29, 1785; *Asenath*, b. March 3, 1787, m. Jan. 2, 1833, Col. Samuel Seymour; *Laura*, b. March 10, 1789, m. Nov. 23, 1812, Zebina Judd of So. Had.; *Warren*, b. Sept. 25, 1790, d. April 2, 1820; *Hiram*, b. Sept. 23, 1793.

71. Elihu, s. of Oliver, (54) d. March 9, 1821. He m. (1) Jan. 15, 1792, Lucretia, dau. of Jonathan Cook. She d. March 6, 1793, ae. 31; (2) Elizabeth, dau. of Edmund Hubbard Children—*Lorenzo*, b. Feb. 11, 1790; *Naomi*, b. Nov. 8, 1792, m. William Stall; *Lucretia*, b. Dec. 24, 1794, m. Salmon Morton Dickinson of Amh.; *Giles*, b. Jan. 22, 1797, d. Feb. 26, 1797; *Giles Eastman*, b. Jan. 14, 1798; *Sophia*, b. March 15, 1800; *David*, b. Aug. 8, 1802; *Sarah*, b. Nov. 21, 1805.

72. Oliver, s. of Oliver, (54) d. Aug. 13, 1851, ae. 81. He m. June 4, 1806, Anna, dau. of Nathan Dickinson, Jr., of Amh. Children—*Thankful D.*, b. April 4, 1807; *Oliver Eastman*, b. Feb. 21, 1809, d. Nov. 13, 1810; *Margaret Prentiss*, b. June 6, 1813, m. Sept. 6, 1838, Rev. E. W. Bullard of Fitchburg, and d. Dec. 2, 1841, ae. 28; *Oliver Eastman*, b. Sept. 20, 1815; *James Fowler*, b. Aug. 24, 1819, d. Oct. 10, 1852, ae. 33.

73. Enos, s. of Enos, (55) d. Jan. 24, 1822, ae. 45. He m. Dec. 10, 1804, Polly, dau. of Elisha Dickinson. She d. Nov. 9, 1849. Children—*Roswell*, b. Nov. 30, 1805, d. Aug. 30, 1807; *Mary*, b. Sept. 23, 1807, m. April 31, 1835, Nathaniel Collins Prior; *Hannah*, b. June 23, 1809, m. Joseph Enterton; *Delia*, b. June 22, 1812, m. Ephraim Potter; *Roswell*, b. April 5, 1815; *Enos Dickinson*, b. July 25, 1817; *Lucius*, b. June 5, 1819, d. Oct. 22, 1819; *Mehitable Morgan*, b. Dec. 28, 1821, m. Joseph Howe.

74. William, s. of Enos, (55) d. June 12, 1840, ae. 58. He m. Dec. 17, 1805, Elizabeth, dau. of Dr. Job Marsh. She d. Dec. 18, 1856, ae. 72. Children—*Elizabeth Marsh*, b. Oct. 15, 1806, d. unm.; *William Dickinson*, b. Sept. 5, 1808; *Julia*, b. July 17, 1810, d. unm. May 23, 1829, ae. 18; *Charles*, b. May 17, 1812; *Ethelinda*, b. March 11, 1814, m. Nov. 2, 1842, Stephen Lawrence; *Theodore*, b. Feb. 15, 1817, d. Jan. 16, 1819; *Sarah Ann*, b. Jan. 10, 1820; *Caroline*, b. Feb. 13, 1823.

75. Jonathan, s. of Enos, (55) d. Dec. 2, 1856, ae. 61. He m. Dec. 15, 1814, Cynthia, dau. of Moses White. Children—*Jonathan Dwight*, b. Feb. 11, 1818; *George*, b. Aug. 4, 1820, d. Nov. 29, 1821; *George*, b. Nov. 13, 1823, d. April 19, 1824; *Jane*, b. Nov. 13, 1823, d. Dec. 1825; *Sophia*, b. Aug. 4, 1825, m. April 3, 1851, Ebenezer Watson Dickinson; *Jane*, b. April 9, 1827; *George Barlow*, b. Aug. 9, 1831.

76. Sylvester, s. of Enos, (55) deacon in 1st church, is the person, by whose solicitations Mr. Judd was induced to commence the History of Hadley, and from whom he obtained ten-fold more information and assistance in the prosecution of the work, than from any one beside. He m. (1) Jan. 1, 1812, Polly, dau. of Lemuel Warner. She d. Aug. 19, 1817, ae. 24; (2) April 6, 1819, Elizabeth Edwards, dau. of John Smith. Children—*Rodney*, b. Aug. 6, 1812; *Henry*, b. Dec. 14, 1814, d. Nov. 3, 1815; *Mary Ann*, b. April 23, 1817, m. May 29, 1844, Chester Smith.

77. Seth s. of Seth, (57) grad. Y. C. 1803, was a clergyman in Genoa, N. Y., where he d. Jan. 30, 1849, ae. 63. He m. Nov. 29, 1810, Margaret, dau. of Gen. Samuel Porter. Children—*Samuel Porter*, b. June 20, 1812; *Margaret*, b. Feb. 15, 1814, d. Feb. 18, 1814; *Margaret*, b. May 21, 1815, m. Sept. 13, 1842, Isaac Peck of Genoa, N. Y., and d. Dec. 28, 1849; *Lydia*, b. April 17, 1817, d. Sept. 14, 1831; *Lucy*, b. Aug. 3, 1821, d. Feb. 12, 1844; *Julia*, b. Aug. 11, 1823, d. unm. Aug. 9, 1851; *Abigail*, b. April 17, 1825, res. in Had.; *Harriet*, b. Jan. 31, 1827, d. May 16, 1831; *Susan Hubbard*, b. Nov. 6, 1828, m. Nov. 23, 1852, Daniel H. Dickinson.

78. Ephraim, s. of Seth, (57) m. Jan. 29, 1812, Ruth, dau. of John Smith. She d. April 27, 1857. Children—*Theodore Worthington*, b. Oct. 30, 1812; *Ephraim Orlando*, b. Aug. 11, 1814; *Lydia Maria*, b. June 2, 1816; *Mehitable Worthington*, b. July 3, 1818; *John Edwards*, b. Sept. 26, 1821; *George Dickinson*, b. Jan. 16, 1824; *Seth Pomeroy*, b. Aug. 11, 1830.

79. Elijah, s. of Seth, (57) d. June, 1861. He m. Dec. 3, 1817, Maria, dau. of John Smith. Children—*Susan Partridge*, b. Sept. 17, 1818; *Mary Ann*, b. July 5, 1821, d. Aug. 10, 1828; *Lydia*, b. Oct. 16, 1824; *Mary Ann*, b. Jan. 8, 1829; *Maria Dickinson*, b. Nov. 23, 1831.

80. Rev. Worthington, D. D., s. of Seth, (57) grad. W. C. 1816, was for many years pastor of the (Cong.) church in St. Albans, Vt., and at the time of his decease, President of Vermont University. He d. in St. Albans, Feb. 30, 1856, ae. 60. He m. July 1, 1823, Mary Ann Little of St. Albans, Vt. Children—*Mary Ann*, b. Oct. 26, 1825; *Julia Elizabeth*, b. May 22, 1827, d. June 9, 1828; *Jane Worthington*, b. May 3, 1829; *Ellen Maria*, b. Jan. 9, 1830; *Edward Worthington*, b. Dec. 16, 1832; *Arthur Hampden*, b. Nov. 3, 1834; *Alfred Little*, b. Nov. 3, 1836; *Sarah Elizabeth*, b. Sept. 19, 1838, d. March 17, 1840; *Elizabeth Little*, b. July 14, 1840; *Robert Leighton*, b. Aug. 7, 1841; *Charles Sidney*, b. Dec. 26, 1843; *Anna Porter*, b. Jan. 3, 1845; *William Kingman*, b. June 12, 1847; *Sarah Lydia*, b. Sept. 25, 1851.

81. William, s. of John, (60) a blacksmith, rem. to Williamstown, and d. Sept. 1803, ae. 37. He m. Nov. 7, 1787, Persis, dau. of Aaron Cook. She d. Aug. 30, 1847, ae. 85. Children—*Joanna*, b. Feb. 9, 1788, m. 1805, Amasa Shattuck of Williamstown, and d. Sept. 1, 1847, ae. 59; *Dennis*, b. Feb. 7, 1790, d. unm. 1852; *Pamelia*, b. March, 1792, m. (1) Daniel Cook; (2) Lucius Crane; *Martha*, b. April, 1794, m. Nathan B. Towne of Williamstown.

82. Eli, s. of John, (60) d. Oct. 4, 1839, ae. 70. He m. (1) Nov. 17, 1791, Martha, dau. of Enos Nash. She d. July 28, 1817, ae. 44; (2) Sept. 10, 1818, Hannah, dau. of Timothy Stockwell. Children—*Lorinda*, b. Oct. 13, 1792, m. John, s. of Caleb Smith, and d. Aug. 17, 1829; *Martha*, b. Sept. 23, 1794, d. unm. Dec. 20, 1821; *Joanna*, b. April 28, 1797, m. Horace Judd; *Almira*, b. Sept. 17, 1799, d. unm. Sept. 23, 1848; *Edwin*, b. June 23, 1802; *Sophronia*, b. Sept. 13, 1804, d. unm.; *John*, b. March 29, 1809, m. July 7, 1836, Harriet Ellis; *William*, b. Jan. 5, 1811, m. Laura Fuller; *Mary*, b. May 13, 1820; *Jeriah Stockwell*, b. June 11, 1822; *George*, b. Jan. 11, 1825.

83. Samuel, s. of Joseph, (61) a physician, rem. to Williamstown, and d. June 9, 1852, ae. 72. He m. Jan. 1800, Betsey Towner. She was b. 1784, and d. March 17, 1850, ae. 66. Children—*Albert Gallatin*, b. Jan. 12, 1800;

Sally, b. Nov. 19, 1801; *Betsey*, b. 1802, d. in infancy; *Betsey Adeline*, b. Nov. 3, 1803, m. Rev. Wm. Bradley of Newark, N. J.; *Samuel*, b. June 8, 1805, d. 1810, ae. 5; *Daughter*, b. and d. 1807; *Nancy Emeline*, b. Jan. 1808, d. May 17, 1845, ae. 37; *Francis Towner*, b. 1810, m. Doct. James Wilson of Washington, D. C.; *Hannah E.*, b. Sept. 3, 1812, m. Rev. Samuel Day of Bellows Falls, Vt.; *Mary A.*, b. Aug. 1814, m. Gilman Darling of Holden; *Samuel Augustus*, b. April, 1816, d. Oct. 3, 1834; *Sarah Augusta*, b. April, 1816, m. Doct. Jonathan Ford, and d. Dec. 1843, ae. 27; *Henry*, b. 1814, d. Aug. 1831, ae. 17; *Harriet*, b. 1814, d. in infancy; *Andrew Murray*, b. Nov. 1826, m. Laura Hosford of Williamstown.

84. Anson, s. of Joseph, (61) m. May, 1810, Betsey Mead, who d. July 14, 1814, ae. 28; (2) March 2, 1816, Sally Purdy, who d. April 20, 1856, ae. 69. Children—*William*, b. June 14, 1817; *George Purdy*, b. April 18, 1819, m. Oct. 4, 1847, Florence Rogers; *Caroline*, b. Jan. 17, 1821, d. Feb. 11, 1856, ae. 35; *Albert Douglass*, b. March 10, 1823, m. 1849, Adeline Hurd; *Orlando*, b. May 2, 1825, m. July 30, 1848, —— Andrews; *Anson*, b. July 30, 1827; *Joseph*, b. Sept. 17, 1830, m. 1852, Sarah Snow.

85. Justin, s. of Warham, (68) m. Anna. Children—*Flavia Ann*, b. Oct. 10, 1797; *Cordelia*, b. Jan. 19, 1800; *Oliver*, b. Jan. 20, 1802; *Calvin*, b. May 28, 1804; *Wareham*, b. Jan. 22, 1806, d. Feb. 1, 1806.

86. Dudley, s. of John, (69) merchant, d. May 27, 1858, ae. 64. He m. Dec. 5, 1822, Pamela, dau. of Elisha Porter. Children—*Samuel Porter*, b. June 26, 1824, d. Aug. 26, 1825; *Lucy*, b. Sept. 18, 1826, d. Aug. 16, 1828; *Dudley Porter*, b. Aug. 31, 1828, d. Oct. 29, 1828; *John*, b. Oct. 11, 1829, grad. A. C. 1849; *Sarah Hillhouse*, b. Aug. 7, 1831; *Abby Phillips*, b. Aug. 26, 1833; *Clarissa*, b. Jan. 11, 1836; *Lucy*, b. May 8, 1839; *Samuel Dudley*, b. May 30, 1843.

87. Horace, s. of Silas, (70) deacon and Colonel, res. in Amh., and d. Nov. 11, 1862, ae. 81. He m. (1) March 5, 1805, Rebecca Moody. She was b. March 28, 1783, and d. Nov. 30, 1821, ae. 38; (2) —— King of Suffield, Ct. Children—*Mary Berintha*, b. Dec. 2, 1806, m. Dec. 2, 1824, James B. Wood, and d. Aug. 11, 1841, ae. 34; *Cordelia*, b. Aug. 15, 1808, m. May 25, 1830, Joseph Fuller of Suffield, Ct.; *Silas Moody*, b. May 8, 1810; *Asenath*, b. July 8, 1812; *Josiah White*, b. June 3, 1819.

87½. Rufus, s. of Silas, (70) Huntington, m. Jan. 31, 1808, Salome Clark, b. Sept. 17, 1786. Children—*Philetus*, b. Nov. 10, 1808, m. Sept. 29, 1836, Mary E. Bates of Springfield, and d. Nov. 21, 1853; *Almena*, b. Oct. 3, 1810, m. Oct. 7, 1847, Daniel F. Lyman of Easthampton; *Bethia Chapin*, b. July 10, 1814, m. June 6, 1843, Franklin Burt of Chesterfield, *Phinehas Clark*, b. Oct. 19, 1816, m. May 24, 1848, Amanda Sadler of Ludlow, and d. Aug. 14, 1853, ae. 36; *Paulina*, b. Sept. 14, 1819, m. Nov. 6, 1847, Ezra H. Corning of Chicopee Falls; *Warren*, b. Aug. 13, 1822, d. Sept. 4, 1823; *Minerva*, b. Jan. 17, 1825, m. Oct. 7, 1853, Elbridge Hazen.

88. Allen, s. of Silas, (70) So. Hadley, d. Sept. 2, 1848, ae. 64. He m. Jan. 1811, Polly Bartlett. She was b. Oct. 1, 1786, and d. May 8, 1850, ae. 63. Children—*Silas Allen*, b. Dec. 11, 1813, m. Nov. 5, 1835, Olive, dau. of Col. Eliphaz Moody; *Mary Bartlett*, b. July 30, 1816, d. Dec. 30, 1836, ae. 20; *Luna Chapin*, b. April 21, 1819, m. Dec. 30, 1846, Horace Rice, Jr. of Chicopee;

Clarissa Delphia, b. April 3, 1822, m. Oct. 1, 1848, John Beckwith; *Frances Eliza*, b. Jan. 3, 1825, m. Dec. 15, 1848, Elisha Pomeroy, Jr.

89. Hiram, s. of Silas, (70) So. Hadley, was for many years engaged in boating on the Conn. river, but of late has devoted his attention to agriculture. He has been much employed in town business, and has been Representative to the General Court. He m. June 2, 1817, Mary, dau. of Col. Eliphaz Moody of So. Had. She was b. Aug. 13, 1796. Children—*Rebecca Allen*, b. April 7, 1819, m. Oct. 6, 1842, Moses Gaylord; *Child*, b. Jan. 7, 1821, d. young; *Edwin*, b. June 26, 1822, a farmer in So. Hadley, m. Feb. 26, 1851, Sarah Jane, dau. of Dr. Lucius Wright of Westfield. She was b. Feb. 24, 1814. No children; *Hiram*, b. July 24, 1824; *Mary Jane*, b. Dec. 26, 1826, m. Feb. 23, 1848, William Stacy; *Julia Avis*, b. Feb. 7, 1831, m. Sept. 5, 1850, John Lyman; *Eliza Augusta*, b. Dec. 8, 1832; m. Dec. 15, 1853, Jotham Graves; *Emily Wright*, b. June 8, 1834; *Josiah Moody*, b. Nov. 21, 1837, d. Sept. 8, 1839.

90. Lorenzo, s. of Elihu, (71) d. Feb. 20, 1827, ae. 37. He m. Hannah, dau. of Medad Dickinson of Amh. She was b. March 10, 1788. Children—*Medad D.*, b. July 21, 1818, d. Dec. 19, 1820; *Pliny Edwards*, b. July 1, 1820, d. Nov. 7, 1820; *Medad*, b. Nov. 2, 1822; *Lorenzo*, b. Sept. 20, 1825, d. Aug. 29, 1828.

91. Giles Eastman, s. of Elihu, (71) m. Sept. 25, 1821, Martha K., dau. of Enos Hitchcock. Children—*David R.*, b. Dec. 3, 1822, d. July 31, 1827, ae. 4; *Charles Hitchcock*, b. July 7, 1825, m. Sarah Eliza, dau. of William Cushman; *Francis*, b. Jan. 31, 1828, d. Jan. 8, 1846, ae. 17.

92. Roswell, s. of Enos, (73) m. (1) Nov. 28, 1843, Louisa, dau. of Henry Tuttle of West Springfield. She was b. April 3, 1824, and d. May 2, 1844, ae. 20; (2) Nov. 10, 1846, Elizabeth Ely of Charlestown, N. H. She was b. Oct. 14, 18—. Child—*Emma Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 19, 1849.

93. Enos Dickinson, s. of Enos, (73) m. Nov. 25, 1840, Adeline, dau. of Elihu Cook. Children—*Lucius*, b. Nov. 22, 1842; *Clara Adeline*, b. June 25, 1845, d. July 30, 1849, ae. 4; *Orra Louisa*, b. Sept. 13, 1847, d. Aug. 6, 1849, ae. 1; *George Ely*, b. May 12, 1851; *Lucy Jane*, b. April 17, 1855.

94. William Dickinson, s. of William, (73) m. Oct. 9, 1844, Louisa, dau. of Isaac Sylvester Taylor of Nh. She was b. April 29, 1812. Children—*Henry Dwight*, b. Aug. 31, 1845; *Horace William*, b. Feb. 9, 1847; *Job Marsh*, b. Aug. 11, 1849, d. Dec. 13, 1849; *Edward Taylor*, b. Nov. 21, 1851, d. Sept. 15, 1855.

95. Charles, s. of William, (74) m. Dec. 6, 1838, Eliza Maria French, b. Aug. 26, 1818. Children—*Charles Frederick Harrington*, b. March 7, 1840; *Theodore French*, b. Dec. 13, 1841.

96. George Barlow, s. of Jonathan, (75) m. Nov. 20, 1851, Maria Mann, b. Oct. 5, 1832. Children—*Francis Dwight*, b. Sept. ——; *Charlotte Carrina*, b. Feb. 12, and d. March 16, 1854; *Eugene Jonathan*, b. Nov. 28, 1856, d. Feb. 23, 1859, ae. 2; *Cynthia Maria*, b. March 27, 1859.

97. Rodney, s. of Sylvester, (76) entered A. C. in Class of 1833, but remained only a short time. He m. Oct. 20, 1841, Rebecca, dau. of Elijah Kilbourn of Walpole, N. H. She was b. Aug. 21, 1815. Children—*Elizabeth Rebecca*, b. Nov. 7, 1842, d. Feb. 23, 1847, ae. 4; *Mary Ellen*, b. March 4,

1845; *William Henry*, b. July 23, 1848, d. Aug. 17, 1848; *Maria May*, b. Nov. 27, 1850; *Arthur* b. Sept. 18, 1852; *Sylvester*, b. Oct. 23, 1854, d. Sept. 15, 1857, ae. 2; *John Kilbourn*, b. May 18, 1857, d. July 16, 1857.

98. Edwin, s. of Eli, (82) m. Jan. 1, 1839, Mary Ann, dau. of Noah Edson. Children—*Eliza Ann*, b. Nov. 29, 1839; *Henry Edson*, b. Sept. 12, 1843.

99. Jeriah Stockwell, s. of Eli, (82) m. Oct. 1, 1845, Sophia Lewis, dau. of Winthrop Cook. Children—*Mary*, b. Sept. 4, 1846; *George Franklin*, b. July 17, 1848; *Ebenezer Dennis*, b. Aug. 21, 1851; *Louisa Hannah*, b. March 30, 1858.

100. George, s. of Eli, (82) m. (1) May 27, 1852, Catherine Mary, dau. of Benjamin Carlisle. She d. Jan. 27, 1856, ae. 28; (2) April 13, 1858, Mary, dau. of Rufus Dickinson of Amh. Children—*Frances Mary*, b. April 16, 1853; *Julia Catharine*, b. July 20, 1855; *Herman Kellogg*, b. March 23, 1860.

101. Silas Moody, s. of Horace, (87) is a cabinet-maker in Northampton. He m. Jan. 6, 1832, Theodocia, dau. of Abner Hunt of Nh. She was b. May 19, 1811. Children—*Watson Loud*, b. July 28, 1834, res. in Nh., in company with his father. He m. Oct. 28, 1856, Eunice A. Brewster of Cummington; *Thomas Hunt*, b. Aug. 21, and d. Dec. 3, 1836; *Harriet Louisa*, b. March 16, 1838, d. Sept. 8, 1839; *Louisa Helen*, b. March 25, 1841; *George Hunt*, b. Oct. 25, 1844; *Mary Jane*, b. Sept. 16, 1850.

102. Josiah White, s. of Horace, (87) Nh., was by trade a printer, for several years publisher of the Northampton Courier, but at the time of his death, a clerk in the office of Superintendent of the Conn. River Rail Road. He d. May 1, 1854. He m. May 27, 1841, Jane S. Damon of Nh. Children—*Isaac Damon*, b. Aug. 6, 1845; *Jane*, b. April 13, 1853.

103. Hiram, s. of Hiram, (89), is a merchant in So. Hadley Falls. He m. Jan. 17, 1848, Harriet Sophia Coney. Children—*Ellis Dwight*, b. July 10, 1849, d. April 22, 1851; *Harriet Victoria*, b. July 11, 1850, d. Oct. 10, 1852, ae. 2; *Jenne Belle*, b. Nov. 21, 1858.

1. SMITH, Samuel, b. Jan. 27, 1639, s. of Rev. Henry Smith of Wethersfield, resided from 1666 to about 1679, in Nh., and then rem. to Hadley, where he d. Sept. 10, 1703, ae. 64. He m. Mary, dau. of James Ensign. Children—*Samuel*, m. Nov. 18, 1685, Joanna McLathlin, res. in Nh. and Suffield, Ct., and d. Sept. 1, 1723; *Sarah*, m. Oct. 16, 1684, John Lawrence; *Dorothy*, bapt. 1667, m. May 30, 1687, William Rooker; *Ebenezer*, bapt. 1668; *Ichabod*, b. Jan. 24, 1670; *Mary*, b. Jan. 18, 1673, m. Aug. 20, 1696, William Barnes; *James*, b. June 12, 1675; *Preserved*, b. Aug. 1677.

2. Ebenezer, s. of Samuel, (1) rem. abt. 1698 from Had. to Suffield, and d. Sept. 15, 1728. He m. Sarah, wid. of James Barlow, and dau. of Thomas Huxley of Suffield. She m. (2) Oct. 5, 1732, Martin Kellogg of Suffield. Children—*Sarah*, b. Sept. 17, 1694, m. 1714, John Barber of Springfield; *Dorothy*, b. Dec. 21, 1696; *Ebenezer*, b. April 2, 1699; *Nathaniel*, b. March 3, 1702; *Joanna*, b. June 8, 1703; *Jonathan*, b. Aug. 1, 1705; *Dorcas*, b. Nov. 19, 1707; *Mary*, b. March 26, 1710, d. 1711; *Mary*, b. May 24, 1713, d. 1716.

3. Ichabod, s. of Samuel, (1) deacon, rem. abt. 1699 to Suffield. He m. Mary Huxley. Children—*Child*, b. Feb. 1, 1693, d. Feb. 13, 1693; *Mary*, b. May 20, 1696; *Hannah*, b. Jan. 21, 1698; *Samuel*, b. Nov. 5, 1700, m. Nov. 8, 1725, Jerusha Mather, and d. Aug. 25, 1767, ae. 66; *Ichabod*, b. Jan. 1, 1708, m. Jan. 1, 1731, Elizabeth Stedman, and d. Feb. 26, 1749, ae. 41; *James*, b. March 15, 1711; *Joseph*, b. Jan. 1, 1717.

4. James, s. of Samuel, (1) rem. abt. 1706, to East Haddam, Ct. He m. Oct. 26, 1698, Elizabeth, dau. of Chileab Smith. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. July 26, 1699; *James*, b. Dec. 30, 1700; *Noah*, b. Aug. 24, 1702; *Samuel*, b. April 28, 1704; *Chileab*, b. Feb. 11, 1706; *Hannah*, b. July 3, 1708; *Ebenezer*, b. Feb. 26, 1710; *Mindwell*, b. April 22, 1714.

5. Preserved, s. of Samuel, (1) d. 1713. He m. Dec. 15, 1697, Mary, dau. of Chileab Smith. She m. (2) April 22, 1721, Peter Montague, and was living in 1746. Children—*Mary*, b. Jan. 3, 1699, d. 1714; *Ebenezer*, b. Nov. 9, 1700, d. young; *Preserved*, b. Nov. 9, 1700; *Ebenezer*, b. Feb. 4, 1703; *Samuel*, b. Oct. 1, 1705, d. in Northfield, Dec. 21, 1799; *Chileab*, b. May 21, 1708; *James*, b. Sept. 23, 1710, m. Aug. 9, 1734, Sarah Smith; *Moses*, b. Oct. 30, 1712, d. 1726.

6. Ebenezer, s. of Preserved, (5) was killed at the raising of Ebenezer Moody's house in So. Hadley, June, 1729, ae. 26. He m. Nov. 9, 1726, Hannah, dau. of Samuel Boltwood. She d. Oct. 23, 1733, ae. 28. Children—*Preserved*, b. March 13, 1728, d. at Cape Breton, Oct. 29, 1745, ae. 17; *Hannah*, b. Feb. 11, 1730, per. m. July 7, 1748, Moses Cook of Amh.

7. Chileab, s. of Preserved, (5) So. Hadley and Ashfield, was at the age of eighty years, by his sons ordained as a Baptist minister. He d. Aug. 19, 1800, ae. 92. He m. (1) Jan. 28, 1732, Sarah Moody. She d. Dec. 23, 1789, ae. 87; (2) Jan. 5, 1792, Rebecca Butler. Children—*Mary*, b. Jan. 22, 1732; *Ebenezer*, b. Oct. 4, 1734; *Moses*, b. Aug. 10, 1736; *Sarah*, b. Aug. 24, 1738; *Jemima*, b. March 15, 1740, m. Jan. 19, 1764, Dea. Isaac Shepard of Ashfield, and d. in Stockton, Chautauque Co., N. Y.; *Chileab*, b. Oct. 24, 1742, d. May 25, 1843, ae. 100; *Enos*, b. July 31, 1744, d. 1746; *Miriam*, b. and d. 1746; *Miriam*, b. May 21, 1747, m. Ephraim Jennings; *Enos*, b. July 24, 1749; *Son*, b. and d.; *Eunice*, b. 1757, m. —— Randall.

8. James, s. of Preserved, (5) Granby, was a Baptist preacher, and appears to have been alive in 1799. He m. Aug. 9, 1734, Sarah, dau. of Luke Smith. Children—*Eunice*, b. Sept. 28, 1735; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 26, 1737; *Sarah*, b. Aug. 8, 1742; *Mary*, b. Dec. 9, 1747.

SMITH, Simon, b. in Hartford, Aug. 2, 1662, s. of Joseph, m. May 1, 1689, Hannah, wid. of John Haley, and dau. of Samuel Bliss. Children—*Hannah*, b. Jan. 31, 1690; *Lydia*, b. Aug. 7, 1691; *Simon*, b. 1693; *Elizabeth*, b. 1697; *Margaret*, b. 1699. In addition to the above, perhaps he had in Hartford, *Ebenezer*, b. 1703; *Margaret*, b. 1705, d. young; *Elisha*, b. 1706; *Jemima*, b. 1708; *Martha*, b. 1710.

1. SNOW, Josiah, from Norwich, Ct., m. Mary, who m. (2) Dec. 15, 1748, Ebenezer Kellogg of So. Had. Children—*Ebenezer*, b. Aug. 14, 1738; *Josiah; Jabez*, b. March 11, 1743.

2. JOSIAH, s. of Josiah, (1) So. Hadley, m. (1) Dec. 8, 1757, Azubah Dickinson; (2) —— ——. Children, by second wife—*Josiah*, b. June 18, 1762; *Azubah*, b. March 8, 1764; *Josiah*, b. July 26, 1766; *Lucy*, b. Sept. 2, 1768; *Lydia*, b. May 18, 1772; *Elizabeth*, b. Aug. 17, 1774.

1. STANLEY, THOMAS, was at Hartford, 1636, whence he removed to Had. in the first settlement of the town, and was there buried Jan. 30, 1663. He m. Bennett ——, who subsequently m. Gregory Wolterton, and d. 1665. Children—*Nathaniel*, b. abt. 1638; *Hannah*, m. Samuel Porter, and d. Dec. 18, 1708; *Mary*, m. John Porter of Windsor, Ct.; *Sarah*, m. John Wadsworth of Farmington.

2. NATHANIEL, s. of Thomas, (1) rem. prior to 1669, to Hartford, Ct., and d. Nov. 14, 1712, in 74th yr. He m. 1659, Sarah Boosey. She was b. abt. 1640, and d. Aug. 8, 1716, ae. 76. Children—*Nathaniel*, b. Jan. 5, 1665; *Sarah*, b. Aug. 24, 1669, d. Nov. 28, 1689; *Joseph*, b. Feb. 20, 1671, d. March 18, 1676, ae. 5; *Hannah*, b. Sept. 30, 1674, d. Oct. 31, 1681, ae. 7; *Mary*, b. Oct. 8, 1677; *Susanna*, b. April 13, 1681, d. Sept. 18, 1683, ae. 2; *Nathaniel*, b. July 9, 1683.

STICKNEY, JOHN, b. in Stoughton, abt. 1742 or 1743, while a butcher's boy, learned of one Dunbar, near Boston, the new style of music, and came up into the Connecticut valley, and taught the same in Northampton, South Hadley, Hartford, Wethersfield, New Haven, and other places. In the face of not a little opposition, he persevered, until he had banished the old and introduced the new method of singing. He finally settled in South Hadley, worked on the farm in summer and in winter taught singing school, in most of the towns in the region, until he was about sixty-five years of age. He d. in 1826 or 1827, ae. 84. He m. (1) Elizabeth Howard of Stoughton; (2) Lucy, wid. of Azariah Alvord. Children—*Jonas*, b. June 10, 1769, d. July 23, 1771; *John*, b. April 3, 1772, a physician in Canada; *Chester*, b. July 3, 1779, d. Nov. 1779; *Caleb Howard*, b. April 2, 1785, d. Jan. 26, 1786; *Caleb H.*, b. 1787; *Walter*, b. Aug. 1790.

STILLMAN, GEORGE, a merchant of enterprise and wealth, Representative in 1698, removed in 1704 or 1705, to Wethersfield, Ct., and d. Nov. 17, 1728, in 74th yr. He m. abt. 1685, Rebecca, dau. of Lt. Philip Smith. She d. Oct. 7, 1750. Children—*George; Rebecca*, b. Jan. 14, 1688; *Mary*, b. July 12, 1689, m. Feb. 5, 1713, Deliverance Blinn of Wethersfield, and d. June 30, 1735, ae. 46; *Nathaniel*, b. July 1, 1691, m. (1) March 3, 1715, Anna Southmayd; (2) Sarah Allyn, and d. in Wethersfield, Jan. 1, 1770, ae. 78; *John*, b. Feb. 19, 1693; *Sarah*, b. Dec. 28, 1694; *Martha*, b. Nov. 28, 1696; *Ann*, b. April 6, 1699, m. April 27, 1721, Hezekiah May of Wethersfield, and d. Nov. 7, 1767, ae. 68; *Elizabeth*, b. Oct. 19, 1700, m. —— Blinn; *Hannah*, b. Nov. 7, 1702; *Lydia*, b. Nov. 7, 1702, m. Nov. 13, 1728, Rev. Daniel Russell of Wethersfield, and d. Sept. 3, 1750, ae. 47; *Benjamin*, b. July 29, 1705, m. (1) Aug. 29, 1727, Sarah Doty; (2) Catharine Chauncey.

STOCKWELL, QUINTAN, rem. from Hat. to Deerfield, and thence to Suffield, Ct. He was captured Sept. 19, 1677, at Deerfield, and carried to Canada, but returned the subsequent year. He m. Abigail. Children—*John*, b. Oct. 8, 1676; *Eleazar*, b. in Branford, Ct. 1679.

STOCKWELL, Timothy, from Conn., d. June 8, 1807, in 66th yr. He m. (1) Aug. 8, 1771, Hannah Goodman, who d. March 9, 1799, in 61st yr.; (2) Sept. 12, 1799, Submit, dau. of Elisha Cook. She m. (2) —— Wallis. Children—*Josiah*, b. March 8, 1772, d. Aug. 15, 1776, ae. 4; *Anne*, b. May 12, 1774, d. Aug. 31, 1775; *Jeriah*, b. Sept. 30, 1776; *Hannah*, b. Oct. 2, 1781. "Old Mrs. Stockwell," mother of Timothy, "d. Oct. 8, 1788, ae. over 80."

1. STRONG, Nehemiah, b. 1694 or 1695, s. of Samuel of Nh., rem. abt. 1741, to Amherst, and d. Feb. 28, 1772, ae. 78. He m. (1) Hannah, wid. of Nathaniel Edwards, and dau. of Jonathan French of Nh. She was b. March 4, 1697, and m. (1) Sept. 3, 1719, Nathaniel Edwards, who was slain by Indians, Aug. 26, 1724. She d. Aug. 31, 1761, ae. 64; (2) April 24, 1764, Wid. Catharine Barrett of Sunderland. Children—*Nehemiah*, b. Feb. 24, 1730, grad. Y. C. 1755, settled Jan. 21, 1761, as pastor of (Cong.) church in Turkey Hills, (Granby,) Ct., and in Dec. 1770, entered on his duties as the first Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Yale College. After resigning his professorship at Yale College, he studied law, but practiced little. He resided for a time in New Milford, Ct., whence he removed to Bridgeport, Ct., where he d. Aug. 12, 1807; *Mary*, b. Feb. 21, 1732, m. Aug. 29, 1751, Solomon Boltwood of Amh., and d. Aug. 1, 1814, ae. 82; *Simeon*, b. March 6, 1736.

2. Hon. Simeon, s. of Nehemiah, (1) Amh., grad. Y. C. 1756, Representative, 1767 and 1769, Senator, 1793, a lawyer of great eminence, was in 1800 appointed one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Mass., and d. in office Dec. 14, 1805, ae. 69. He received from H. C. in 1805, the degree of LL.D. He m. (1) Jan. 12, 1763, Sarah, dau. of Stephen Wright of Nh. She was bapt. March 9, 1740, and d. Dec. 3, 1783, ae. 43; (2) 1787, Mary, wid. of Wm. Barron of Petersham, and dau. of —— Whiting of Concord. She d. in West Springfield, Feb. 12, 1808, ae. 65. Children—*Simeon*, b. Feb. 22, 1764, grad. Y. C. 1786, was a lawyer in Conway and Amh., and d. in Amh., Sept. 2, 1841, ae. 78. He m. Louisa C., dau. of Rev. John Emerson, and was Representative, 1809, 1812, 1813, 1814; *Sally*, b. Oct. 20, 1766, d. Feb. 26, 1777, ae. 10; *Hezekiah Wright*, bapt. Jan. 1, 1769, m. Martha Dwight, was a lawyer in Deerfield and Amh., and afterwards for several yrs. Post Master in Amh. He d. in Troy, N. Y., Oct. 7, 1848, ae. 80; *Polly*, bapt. June 11, 1775, d. Feb. 28, 1777; *John*, b. Aug. 4, 1778, grad. W. C. 1798, m. Dec. 3, 1809, Rebecca, dau. of Noah Smith of Amh., and d. in Amh., July 5, 1849, ae. 70; *Solomon*, b. March 2, 1780, grad. W. C. 1798, practiced law in Royalston, Athol, Westminster, and Leominster, was a member of Congress, 1815—1819, and in 1818, was appointed Judge of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas, and in July, 1821, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and retained said office until his resignation in Sept. 1842. He d. Sept. 16, 1850, ae. 70. He m. Nov. 20, 1803, Sally Sweetser; *Lemuel*, bapt. Aug. 10, 1783, d. Dec. 13, 1783.

1. TAYLOR, John, d. Oct. 17, 1713. He m. Dec. 12, 1666, Mary, dau. of Thomas Selden. She d. Jan. 7, 1713. Children—*Hester*, b. Dec. 9, 1667, m. May 29, 1689, Eleazar Warner; *John*, b. Jan. 6, 1670; *Thomas*, b. June 5, 1672, m. March 30, 1720, Elizabeth Prest, and d. in So. Had. She d. May,

1741; *Stephen*, b. 1674; *Mary*, b. Oct. 12, 1676; *Thankful*, b. 1680, m. May 10, 1710, Nathaniel Warner of Suffield, Ct., and d. March 4, 1756; *Jacob*, b. 1685; *Samuel*, b. Dec. 3, 1688; *Ebenezer*, b. March 1, 1697.

2. JOHN, s. of John, (1) rem. to So. Had., and was alive in 1744. He m. Feb. 9, 1694, Hannah Gillet, who was living in 1743. Children—*John*, b. May 3, 1695; *Joseph*, b. March 20, 1697, d. Aug. 6, 1698; *Joseph*, b. Dec. 6, 1698; *Hannah*, b. Jan. 24, 1701, m. April 16, 1730, Nathaniel Hitchcock; *Samuel*, b. Nov. 17, 1703; *Twins*, b. and d. 1704; *Joshua*, b. April 14, 1706; *Mary*, b. May, 1708, m. April 16, 1730, James Brownson; *Moses*, b. May, 1709, res. in So. Had., 1770, and had Oliver, Reuben, and John; *Aaron*, b. Oct. 1712.

3. STEPHEN, s. of John, (1) res. in Hartford, Ct. He m. (1) Oct. 6, 1703, Esther Richards of Hartford, Ct. She d. 1705; (2) Sept. 1, 1709, Violet Bigelow. Children—*Moses*, b. June 3, 1710; *Violet*, b. Sept. 10, 1712; *Stephen*, b. Jan. 9, 1715; *Jonathan*, b. March 3, 1720; *Esther*, b. Oct. 23, 1725.

4. SAMUEL, s. of John, (1) rem. as early as 1731, to So. Had., and d. 1735. He m. Dec. 17, 1719, Hannah Kellogg, who m. (2) James Dewey. Children—*Samuel*, b. Oct. 30, 1721; *Joanna*, b. Oct. 9, 1723; *Jonathan*, b. Nov. 21, 1726; *Ruth; Paul; Silas.*

5. EBENEZER, s. of John, (1) rem. as early as 1731, to Granby, and was alive in 1756. He m. Mehitable, dau. of Dea. Samuel Smith of East Hartford, Ct. Children—*Jacob*, b. July 10, 1718; *Ebenezer*, b. March 24, 1723, m. Experience; *Lois; Mary.*

6. JOHN, s. of John, (2) d. 1725. He m. July 23, 1723, Mary Selding, She m. (2) March 22, 1728, William White. Children—*John*, b. Nov. 14, 1724, d. in infancy; *John*, b 1725.

7. JOSEPH, s. of John, (2) So. Hadley, was alive in 1764. He m. Dec. 21, 1727, Dorothy Rooker. Children—*Joseph*, b. April 2, 1732; *William*, b. April 18, 1735; *Twins*, b. May 9, 1737; *Eunice*, b. April 30, 1741; *Joseph*, b. June 6, 1744.

8. SAMUEL, s. of John, (2) So. Hadley, was alive in 1770. He m. May 25, 1730, Elizabeth Warner of Suffield. Children—*Elisha*, b. July 10, 1732; *Elizabeth*, b. March 2, 1735; *Samuel; Daniel*, d. in the army, Jan. 21, 1762.

9. JOSHUA, s. of John, (2) So. Hadley, was a soldier in 1759, and d. 1760. He m. Nov. 2, 1737, Mercy Rowe of Suffield. Children—*Hannah*, b. Jan. 17, 1739, d. prior to 1764; *Huldah*, b. April 14, 1741, *Sarah*, b. Dec. 14, 1743; *Lois.*

10. AARON, s. of John, (2) was in 1763, warned out of South Hadley. He m. Katharine. Children—*Phebe; Catharine; Dinah; Eunice.*

11. JACOB, s. of Ebenezer, (5) perhaps resided in Granby. He m. (1) Elizabeth Lane, to whom he was pub. Sept. 28, 1751; (2) Wid. Ruth White, dau. of —— Rood. Children—*Ithamar*, b. 1752, res. in Granby; *Susanna*, b. 1754; *Samuel*, b. 1756; *Shubael*, b. 1759, d. in Granby, in 1834; *Benoni*, b. 1761.

1. TAYLOR, STEPHEN, Hatfield, was buried Sept. 3, 1665. He m. Sarah, dau. of John White. She m. (2) Oct. 15, 1666, Barnabas Hinsdale; (3) Feb. 3, 1679, Walter Hickson, and d. Aug. 10, 1702. Child—*Stephen.*

2. STEPHEN, s. of Stephen, (1) rem. in 1713, from Hat. to Colchester, Ct. He m. Nov. 27, 1700, Patience Brown of Deerfield. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. Sept. 12, 1701, d. Sept. 29, 1701; *Abigail*, b. Oct. 20, 1705, d. Nov. 2, 1705; *Stephen*, b. Aug. 4, 1708; *Mercy*, b. Sept. 12, 1711.

TEMPLE, THOMAS, rem. to Shutesbury, where he was living in 1758. He m. Aug. 12, 1730, Sarah Barnard. Children—*Sarah*, b. Dec. 23, 1730; *Elijah*, b. July 2, 1732; *Thomas*, b. Jan. 22, 1734; *Archelaus*, b. Dec. 10, 1735; *Beulah*, b. Nov. 11, 1737; *William; John; Mary; Dorcas; Silas; Rosina; Frederick.*

TERRY, STEPHEN, was of Dorchester, 1630, whence he rem. to Windsor, and thence to Hadley, where he d. Sept. 1668. His wife d. June, 1647. [Elizabeth, per his mother, d. Aug. 11, 1683, ae. 90.] Children—*Mary*, b. Dec. 31, 1633, m. Dec. 8, 1659, Richard Goodman, and d. 1692; *John*, b. March 6, 1638, m. Nov. 27, 1662, Elizabeth Wadsworth, and res. in Windsor, Ct.; *Elizabeth*, bapt. Jan. 9, 1641, m. Jan. 10, 1666, Philip Russell, and was slain by Indians, Sept. 1667; *Abigail*, bapt. Sept. 27, 1646, m. May 9, 1667, Joseph Kellogg.

THOMAS, JOSEPH, removed after 1677, from Hat. to Springfield. He m. Mary. Children—*Child*, b. and d. Feb. 6, 1675; *Joseph*, b. Dec. 10, 1676, d. Dec. 21, 1676; *Samuel*, b. Nov. 9, 1677.

TILTON, HON. PETER, came here from Windsor, Ct., was Recorder of Hadley from 1661 to 1693, Representative in General Court, 1665–6, 1668, 1670—1679, one of the commissioners, or Associate Judges of the County Court, and at a later period one of the "most worshipful Assistants of the colony," and last, though not least, a deacon, if not an elder in the church. He d. July 11, 1696. He m. (1) May 10, 1641, Elizabeth ——; (2) Mary, who d. April 16, 1689; (3) Nov. 3, 1690, Sarah, wid. of Dea. Benjamin Parsons of Springfield. She had been wid. of John Leonard of Springfield. She d. Nov. 23, 1711. Children—*Elizabeth*, bapt. June 19, 1642, d. 1655; *Mary*, bapt. Feb. 18, 1643, m. (1) Joseph Eastman of Suffield; (2) Feb. 17, 1693, James Guernsey; *Peter*, bapt. Dec. 5, 1647, imbecile, was living in 1707.

TRAYNER, FRANCIS, m. Feb. 25, 1768, Mary, dau. of John Clark. Children—*Nelly*, b. Nov. 20, 1769; *Daughter*, b. Aug. 1, and d. Aug. 2, 1771; *Jane*, b. July 1, 1772; *Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 18, 1774; *Isabel*, b. Dec. 2, 1776, d. Sept. 12, 1777; *James*, b. Aug. 5, 1778; *Mary*, b. Feb. 13, 1781; *William*, b. June 30, 1784; *Son*, b. and d. April, 1786; *Sarah*, b. June 17, 1787.

1. VINTON, ABIATHAR, s. of Abiathar, b. in Leicester, Sept. 18, 1732, res. in Charlton until abt. 1772, when he removed to Granby, where he d. subsequent to 1800. He m. (1) April 14, 1757, Rhoda Wheelock; (2) Rachel Caswell; (3) Wid. —— Smith of Gr. Children—*Abiathar*, b. May 20, 1764; *Tamar*, b. July 30, 1766, m. (1) Asa Newton; (2) Jonas Belknap; *Simeon*, b. Nov. 17, 1768, d. before 1776; *Hannah*, b. Jan. 25, 1771, m Feb. 7, 1797, Ichabod Damon of Chesterfield; *Samuel*, b. May 17, 1773, m. Jan. 27, 1811, Florinda Hinckley, and rem. in 1803, from Granby to Coventry, N. Y., and thence in 1825, to South Bainbridge, N. Y.; *John*, m.

Emma Wares of Hartford, Ct., and d. in Michigan; *Simeon*, b. Feb. 25, 1776; *Rhoda*, b. Sept. 4, 1778, m. April 7, 1803, Joseph Dickinson of Granby.

2. Abiathar, s. of Abiathar, (1) resided in South Had. until within a few years of his death, when he rem. to Amherst, and there d. July, 1833, ae. 69. He m. Dec. 22, 1791, Sarah, dau. of Ezra Day, of So. Had. Children —*Samuel Finley*, b. Sept. 25, 1792, grad. W. C. 1814, an eminent lawyer, rem. in 1816 to Gallipolis, Ohio, was member of Congress from 1822 to 1837 and from 1843 to 1849. He m. June, 1824, Romaine Madelaine Bureau, and d. in Washington, D. C., May 11, 1862, ae. 69; *Abigail Smith*, b. Feb. 5, 1794, m. June 19, (Sept. 12?) 1815, Giles Chapin, rem. to Milan, Erie Co., Ohio, and d. Nov. 18, 1852, ae. 58; *Medad*, b. Dec. 4, 1795, m. (1) Jan. 29, 1829, Eliza, dau. of Nathan Franklin of Amh.; (2) Jan. 21, 1836, Mary, dau. of Ebenezer White, and wid. of Dr. Chester Johnson, res. until 1838 in Amh., when he rem. to Port Washington, O., where he d. Sept. 29, 1847, ae. 51; *Plin*, b. June 14, 1799, m. Feb. 21, 1828, Lydia P. Wilmarth, and res. in Port Washington, O.; *Sarah Eliza*, b. April 2, 1801, m. (1) May 10, 1825, Rev. Abner Towne; (2) May 28, 1831, Dr. Robert Safford of Putnam, O.; *Clarissa*, b. Sept. 17, 1803, m. Nov. 28, 1822, Augustus Eastman of Gr., and d. March 4, 1840, ae. 36; *Alvin*, b. Aug. 23, 1807, m. Nov. 24, 1836, Fanny Sweet Heydon, and res. in New Philadelphia, O.

3. Simeon, s. of Abiathar, (1) Granby, d. June 25, 1824, ae. 48. Children—*Rachel*, b. Aug. 12, 1802, d. March 1, 1815; *Lydia*, b. Aug. 27, 1804, m. May, 1826, Ephraim R. Barker; *David*, b. Feb. 12, 1807, m. 1827, Cynthia Moody; *Ursula*, b. March 10, 1809; *Simeon*, b. Nov. 22, 1811; *Rachel*, b. Dec. 6, 1814, m. May 25, 1833, William Cooley of So. Had. Falls and Chicopee.

VINTON, Dr. Samuel, s. of Abiathar, b. in Leicester, abt. 1737, m. (1) Abigail, dau. of —— Smith. She d. in So. Had., Aug. 11, 1793; (2) Sybil, dau. of —— Miller, and wid. of —— Brewer, was for many years a physician in So. Had., where he d. 1800 or 1801.

1. WAIT, Benjamin, Hatfield, was slain in Deerfield, Feb. 29, 1704. He m. June 8, 1670, Martha, dau. of John Leonard of Springfield. She, together with her daughters, Martha, Mary and Sarah, was in 1677, carried captive to Canada, and there her daughter Canada was born. Children—*Mary*, b. Feb. 25, 1672, m. Dec. 4, 1690, Ebenezer Wells; *Martha*, b. Jan. 23, 1673; *Sarah*, b. abt. 1675, m. John Belding; *Canada*, b. Jan. 22, 1678, m. Dec. 15, 1696, Joseph Smith, and d. May 5, 1749; *John*, b. Jan. 17, 1680; *Joseph*, b. July 17, 1682, d. Jan. 21, 1686; *Jeremiah*, b. Sept. 24, 1684; *Joseph*, b. Nov. 11, 1688.

2. John, s. of Benjamin, (1) Hatfield, made his will 1743, which was proved July, 1744. He m. Feb. 12, 1702, Mary, dau. of Stephen Belding. Children—*John*, b. Dec. 3, 1703, m. Sept. 19, 1723, Submit Hastings, and d. in Whately, 1776; *Martha*, b. Feb. 20, 1706, m. Nathaniel Hawks; *Mary*, b. June 22, 1708; *Lydia*, b. Oct. 7, 1710, d. young; *Lydia*, b. July 14, 1712, m. July 15, 1756, Israel Graves; *Eunice; Benjamin*, b. Jan. 11, 1718; *Eleanor*, b. Dec. 10, 1722; *Elisha*, b. Oct. 10, 1725, m. Martha Wells of Hardwick, and d. June, 1816; *Sarah*.

2. JEREMIAH, s. of Benjamin, (1) Hatfield. His inventory was dated Dec. 1733. He m. April 4, 1706, Mary Graves. Children—*Benjamin*, b. April 8, 1707, m. Bathsheba; *Mary*, b. Nov. 17, 1708, m. —— Morton; *Nathan*, b. Feb. 15, 1711, m. Hannah, dau. of Richard Billings, and d. in Whately, 1798; *Gad; Reuben*, slain abt. 1756, prob. unm.; *Simeon; Miriam.*

3. JOSEPH, s. of Benjamin, (1) Lieut., Hatfield, d. abt. 1780. He m. (1) Nov. 19, 1713, Hannah Billings, prob. dau. of Samuel. She d. July 15, 1716; (2) Sept. 22, 1720, Mary, dau. of Daniel Warner, Jr. She d. Aug. 18, 1792, ae. 98, leaving 6 children, 45 grandchildren, 98 great-grandchildren, and 1 great-great-grandchild, making in all 120 descendants. Children—*Moses*, b. Sept. 23, 1714, m. (1) Hepzibah; (2) Miriam Graves, and d. abt. 1784; *Hannah*, b. July 8, 1716, m. Dec. 22, 1737, James Porter; *Rhoda*, b. Aug. 21, 1721; *David*, b. Dec. 7, 1722, m. Martha Bardwell, and d. abt. 1805; *Martha*, b. Oct. 7, 1724; *Lucy*, b. Sept. 27, 1727, m. (1) —— Bardwell; (2) Asahel Wright; *Mary*, b. Oct. 17, 1730.

WALKER, ISRAEL, m. Abigail. Children—*Isaiah; Israel; Hannah; Elijah; Walter; Susanna; Ephraim*, b. June 1, 1764; *Ebenezer*, b. March 30, 1766.

1. WALLIS, DANIEL, m. (1) Ruth, who d. Nov. 1791; (2) Oct. 18, 1795, Amy Smith. Children—*William; Polly; David; Addi; Elijah*, bapt. 1800; *Amy Saxton*, bapt. Feb. 21, 1802.

2. ADDI, s. of Daniel, (1.) Children—*Ruth Sexton*, b. Sept. 26, 1818; *David*, b. Jan. 1, 1820, d. Jan. 21, 1823, ae. 3; *Sarah*, b. May 18, 1823, d. Aug. 28, 1824; *David*, b. July 28, 1825; *William*, b. July 13, 1827; *Sarah Sumner*, b. Sept. 2, 1830.

WARD, ISAAC, b. March, 1707, s. of Obadiah of Watertown, res. after his marriage in Petersham, whence he rem. to Amherst, and about 1775 to Leverett, where he d. Oct. 1777. He m. Sybil. Children—*Sarah*, b. 1735, m. Joseph Clary of Leverett, and d. 1815, ae. 80; *Isaac*, b. 1738, d. unm. in the army, 1757; *Betsey*, b. 1740, m. John Adams, and d. in Rowe, 1837, ae. 97; *Sybil*, b. 1742, m. 1768, Nathan Adams of Leverett, and d. Oct. 29, 1839, ae. 96; *Lucy*, b. 1746, m. Gideon Lee, and d. in Leverett, Feb. 17, 1817, ae. 71; *Mary*, b. 1750, m. John Woodbury of Leverett, and d. 1829, ae. 78; *Grace*, b. 1752, m. Nov. 1, 1771, Asa Adams of Shutesbury; *Susanna*, b. 1755, m. (1) Noah Dickinson of Amh.; (2) Nathaniel Wilder of Wendell; (3) John Dickinson of Amh., and d. 1838, ae. 83; *Nahum*, b. 1757, m. 1781, Joanna Hubbard of Leverett, and rem. to White Creek, N. Y.; *Lois*, b. 1759, m. 1807,——Cady; *Lucretia*, b. 1761, m. —— Marsh, and res. in Adams, N. Y.

WARD, NATHANIEL, an early settler of Hartford, and a gentleman of good standing in the colony of Conn., was one of the first settlers of Had., where he was made freeman, March 26, 1661. He d. childless, naming in his will, dated May 27, 1664, and proved Sept. 1664, his kinsman William Markham, kinswoman Elizabeth Hawks, sister Cutting, sister Allen, and her son Daniel, and kinsman Noyes. He was buried June 1, 1664. He m. Jane, wid. of John Hopkins of Hartford.

WARD, Samuel Dexter, m. Jan. 6, 1799, Wid. Lucretia Gaylord. Children—*Mary Dexter*, bapt. Jan. 6, 1800; *Samuel Gaylord*, bapt. March 7, 1802.

1. WARNER, Andrew, Cambridge, 1632, and Hartford, 1639, was one of the first settlers of Hadley, where he d. Dec. 18, 1684. He m. (1) ——; (2) Esther, wid. of Thomas Selden, who d. 1693, as is inferred from the fact, that, her inventory was taken Dec. 1, 1693. Children—*Andrew*, m. Rebecca Fletcher, and d. in Middletown, Jan. 26, 1681; *Robert*, m. (1) Feb. 1654, Elizabeth Grant; (2) Mrs. Deliverance Rockwell, and d. in Middletown, Ct., April 10, 1690; *Jacob; Daniel; Isaac*, b. abt. 1645; *Ruth*, living in 1677, and presented to the Court, for wearing silk; *Dau.*, m. John, or Daniel Pratt; *Mary*, m. (1) John Steel; (2) William Hills; *John*, res. in Middletown, Ct.

2. Jacob, s. of Andrew, (1) d. Nov. 29, 1711, acc. to town records, but Sept. 29, acc. to grave stone. He m. (1) Rebecca, who d. April 10, 1687; (2) Elizabeth, dau. of Richard Goodman. She prob. m. (2) —— Picket. Children—*Jacob*, b. Nov. 5, 1687, d. 1687 or 1688; *Rebecca*, b. March 31, 1690; *Jacob*, b. Sept. 29, 1691; *Mary*, b. July 22, 1694, m. April 17, 1720, Benjamin Graves of Sunderland; *Elizabeth*, b. July 20, 1696, d. young; *John*, b. June 10, 1698, d. June, 1698; *John*, b. March 10, 1700, rem. to New Milford, Ct.; *Joseph*, b. April 30, 1707, rem. to New Milford, Ct.; *David*, b. June 4, 1710, unm., was alive in 1794.

3. Daniel, s. of Andrew, (1) Hatfield, d. April 30, 1692. He m. (1) Mary, who d. Sept. 19, 1672; (2) April 1, 1674, Martha, dau. of Robert Boltwood. She d. Sept. 22, 1710. Children—*Mary*, b. Feb. 24, 1663; *Daniel; Sarah*, m. Nov. 25, 1685, Isaac Sheldon of Nh.; *Andrew*, b. June 24, 1667; *Anna*, b. Nov. 17, 1669, m. Isaac Hubbard; *Mary*, b. Sept. 19, 1672, per. m. Samuel Sheldon; *Hannah*, b. Jan. 24, 1675, m. Oct. 14, 1696, Samuel Ingram of Hat.; *John*, b. April, 1677, rem. to Wethersfield, Ct., and d. 1714, ae. 38; *Abraham*, b. Dec. 20, 1678; *Samuel*, b. April 13, 1680; *Ebenezer*, b. Nov. 5, 1681; *Mehitable*, b. Oct. 1, 1683, m. Jan. 21, 1703, Preserved Clapp; *Elizabeth*, m. Dec. 26, 1705, Thomas Wells of Haddam, Ct.; *Esther*, b. Dec. 15, 1686, m. June 26, 1707, Samuel Henry; *Martha*, b. April 3, 1688, d. Nov. 25, 1689; *Nathaniel*, b. Oct. 15, 1690.

4. Isaac, s. of Andrew, (1) rem. abt. 1686, to Northfield, and thence to Deerfield, where he d. 1691. He m. May 31, 1666, Sarah, dau. of Robert Boltwood. She m. (2) Dec. 30, 1696, Dea. John Loomis of Windsor, Ct. Children—*Sarah*, b. May 2, 1668, m. —— French, per. Jonathan French of Nh.; *Isaac*, b. Jan. 13, 1670; *Mary*, b. Jan. 6, 1672, m. —— Crowfoot, prob. dau. of Samuel of Had.; *Andrew*, b. Feb. 24, 1673, per. rem. to Saybrook, Ct.; *Hannah*, b. Nov. 14, 1674; *Ebenezer*, b. 1676; *Daniel*, b. Feb. 25, 1677; *Samuel*, b. March 14, 1681, m. Nov. 8, 1702, Sarah Field; *Ruth*, b. Oct. 18, 1682; *Mercy*, b. Sept. 25, 1685, m. Samuel Gilbert of Hebron, Ct.; *Ichabod*, settled in Mansfield, Ct.; *Lydia*, m. Dec. 8, 1698, Joseph Brooks; *Thankful*, m. —— Loomis; *Mehitable*, m. 1715, Samuel Hitchcock of Springfield.

5. Jacob, s. of Jacob, (2) d. Oct. 3, 1747. He m. Mary, who d. March 20, 1756. Children—*Moses*, b. Sept. 30, 1715; *Jacob*, b. Nov. 1716; *Aaron*, b. March, 1717; *Jonathan*, b. July 10, 1718; *Orange*, b. Oct. 5, 1720; *Gideon*,

b. May 15, 1721; *Oliver*, b. Aug. 10, 1723, d. s. p., May 15, 1786, ae. 56. He m. (1) 1754, Hannah Jones of Stockbridge; (2) Nov. 28, 1771, Eunice, dau. of Dea. Jonathan Church of Springfield. She m. (2) June 27, 1785, Dr. Seth Coleman of Amh., and d. Aug. 8, 1822, ae. 81; *Noadiah*, b. Nov. 3, 1726, d. 1748, while a member of Yale College; *Mary*, b. Jan. 21, 1731, d. young.

6. Daniel, s. of Daniel, (3) resided in Hat., West Hartford and Hardwick, and d. March 12, 1754, ae. 88. He m. Dec. 12, 1688, Mary Hubbard. Children—*Mary*, b. Aug. 31, 1689, d. Feb. 24, 1692; *Daniel*, b. March 1, 1693, settled in Hat., and prob. m. (1) Thankful Billings, and (2) Dec. 29, 1719, Elizabeth Adams of Suffield, Ct.; *Mary*, b. Aug. 17, 1694, m. Sept. 22, 1720, Joseph Wait; *Hannah*, b. 1700, m. Samuel Belding; *Jonathan*, d. May 28, 1763, ae. 59; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 11, 1707; *Joseph*, b. Jan. 18, 1710, m. Mary, dau. of John Hubbard.

7. Samuel, s. of Daniel, (3) Hatfield. He m. (1) May 1, 1715, Hannah Sacket; (2) Elizabeth, dau. of Joseph Morton. Children—*Rebecca*, b. May 6, 1716; *Jesse*, b. May 6, 1718, res. in Belchertown and Conway; *Samuel*, b. Oct. 27, 1722; *Nathan; David*, b. Feb. 15, 1732; *Joshua*, b. Dec. 12, 1733, settled in Williamsburgh; *Hannah; Elizabeth*, m. Israel Chapin; *Abraham*, lost at sea; *Sarah*, m. Elijah Wait.

8. Ebenezer, s. of Daniel, (3) rem. from Hat. to Belchertown. He m. Dec. 15, 1709, Ruth Ely. Children—*Ruth*, b. July 31, 1712, d. Dec. 17, 1730, ae. 18; *Martha*, b. June 27, 1715, m. Abner Smith; *Moses*, b. May 13, 1717, m. Jan. 24, 1739, Sarah Porter, and d. in Belchertown; *Lydia*, b. Feb. 15, 1720; *Eli*, b. Aug. 14, 1722; *John*, b. Jan. 28, 1727; *Ebenezer*, b. July 29, 1729, m. Dinah Phelps, and d. 1812, in Belchertown.

9. Isaac, s. of Isaac, (4) rem. as early as 1730 to Northfield, and d. Sept. 8, 1754, ae. 84. He m. Jan. 24, 1694, Hope, dau. of Timothy Nash. Children—*Isaac*, b. Nov. 12, 1694, d. Feb. 18, 1711; *Daniel*, b. Oct. 10, 1697, d. April 7, 1698; *Sarah*, b. April 3, 1699; *Rebecca*, b. Sept. 5, 1701; *Israel*, b. Dec. 1, 1703, d. unm. in Northfield, Nov. 12, 1772, ae. 68; *Ruth*, b. Feb. 14, 1706; *Ebenezer*, b. Jan. 26, 1709, d. in Northfield, Oct. 19, 1768; *Ruth*, b. July 13, 1713.

10. Daniel, s. of Isaac, (4) d. Dec. 21, 1711. He m. April 13, 1704, Sarah Golding. She m. (2) Jan. 6, 1714, Thomas Horton. Children—*Martha*, b. Oct. 25, 1706, m. June 2, 1727, William White, and d. Oct. 3, 1787, ae. 81; *Comfort*, (dau.) b. Dec. 1, 1711, d. Jan. 25, 1728.

11. Moses, s. of Jacob, (5) Amherst, d. May 3, 1772, ae. 58. He m. May 18, 1738, Mary Field, who d. 1796. Children—*Mary*, bapt. May 18, 1738, m. David Smith of Amh.; *Moses*, m. Sarah Sellon, and res. in Amh.

12. Jacob, s. of Jacob, (5) Amherst, d. 1795. He m. Ann. Children—*Wareham; Jacob*, bapt. Dec. 15, 1745, m. —— Hulet, from Belchertown; *Anna*, bapt. Feb. 23, 1752; *Abigail*, bapt. Oct. 13, 1754; *Esther*, bapt. June 1, 1760; *Reuben*, prob. m. Nov. 18, 1787, Olive Payne; *Sarah*.

13. Aaron, s. of Jacob, (5) Amherst, was a blacksmith, and d. abt. 1787, as is inferred from the fact that his inventory was taken on the 6th Dec. of that year. Children—*Maribee*, b. Feb. 23, 1742, m. Aug. 27, 1761, Eli Colton of Rowe; *Ruth*, b. May 23, 1745; *Aaron*, bapt. Jan. 10, 1748, res. in Amherst,

m. Hannah Dickinson, and d. Oct. 12, 1776, ae. 26; *Lucy*, bapt. 1749, m. May 21, 1778, John Emerson of Wendell; *Noadiah*, bapt. 1751; *David*, bapt. May 27, 1753, d. July 18, 1753; *Hannah*, bapt. June 30, 1754, m. Jeremiah Cady; *David*, bapt. 1756, m. Mrs. Lucy Orchard, and d. in Amh., Dec. 10, 1828, ae. 72; *Jonathan*, m. Dec. 2, 1779, Margaret Elizabeth Sewall; *Elisha*, bapt. 1761, m. Sarah Peck, and d. in Amh., Dec. 10, 1823, ae. 62.

14. JONATHAN, s. of Jacob, (5) d. Dec. 23, 1791, ae. 73. He m. 1745, Mary Graves. Children—*Lemuel*, m. (1) Dorothy Phelps, and d. Aug. 11, 1829, in 82d yr.; *Noadiah*, b. 1749; *Dau.*, b. June 29, 1752, d. Aug. 16, 1752; *Lucy*, b. July 4, 1754, d. May 14, 1778.

15. ORANGE, s. of Jacob, (5) maltster, d. abt. Jan. 1811, ae. abt. 90. He m. (1) 1749, Elizabeth, dau. of Benjamin Graves of Sunderland; (2) Mrs. Lydia Wait, or Coleman of So. Had. Children—*William*, b. Oct. 9, 1750, d. April 24, 1751; *Daughter*, b. and d. Sept. 25, 1752; *Elizabeth*, b. Dec. 29, 1753, m. April 27, 1780, Nathan Seymour; *Martha*, b. Sept. 11, 1756, m. John Crafts of Whately; *Elihu*, b. Oct. 29, 1758.

16. GIDEON, s. of Jacob, (5) resided in Durham, Ct. and Hadley, and d. abt. 1789. Adm. on his estate was granted March 19, 1789. He m. 1749, Mary Parsons of Durham, Ct. She d. Dec. 9, 1786. Children—*Gideon*, rem. to Windsor, Vt.; *Roxelana*, m. (1) Dec. 17, 1772, David White; (2) May 20, 1779, Joseph Crafts of Whately; *Olive; Gideon*, d. Dec. 1766, ae. 12.

17. LEMUEL, s. of Jonathan, (14) d. Aug. 11, 1829, in 82d yr. He m. (1) July 9, 1772, Dorothy Phelps. Children—*Jonathan*, b. Dec. 16, 1773; *Polly*, b. Nov. 22, 1775, d. young; *Dorothy*, b. March 19, 1777, m. Nov. 15, 1795, Dea. Wm. Dickinson; *Oliver*, b. June 27, 1789; *Polly*, b. Sept. 29, 1792, m. Jan. 1, 1812, Sylvester Smith, and d. Aug. 19, 1817, ae. 24.

18. NOADIAH, s. of Jonathan, (14) m. 1783, Martha Hunt. She was b. July 17, 1750, and d. Oct. 25, 1787, ae. 37. Children—*Lucy*, b. Nov. 15, 1784, m. 1814, Giles Crouch Kellogg, Esq.; *Patty Hunt*, b. Oct. 9, 1787, m. (1) Robert Cook; (2) Abel Warner.

19. ELIHU, s. of Orange, (15) m. Oct. 31, 1784, Elizabeth Freeman, who d. July 25, 1834, in 68th yr. Children—*Abigail*, b. Dec. 20, 1785, m. Samuel Wood; *Dau.*, b. and d. Oct. 21, 1787; *Hannah*, b. May 1, 1789, m. John H. Jones; *John*, b. Aug. 5, 1791, d. Oct. 21, 1801; *Harriet*, b. July, 1793, m. Jonathan Marsh; *Elizabeth*, b. Aug. 16, 1795; *William Freeman*, b. April 1, 1797, d. unm. July 9, 1846, ae. 49; *Abel*, b. Feb. 28, 1799, d. s. p. July 19, 1831; *John*, b. Jan. 1, 1802, d. while a member of the Junior Class in Dart. Col., Jan. 11, 1822, ae. 20; *Giles*, b. Sept. 24, 1803, d. Sept. 15, 1804; *Lydia*, b. Nov. 17, 1805, d. Jan. 4, 1841, ae. 35; *Sophia*, b. Aug. 22, 1807, d. Dec. 30, 1809.

1. WARNER, JOHN, supposed to have been the son of William of Ipswich, rem. from Ipswich to Brookfield, and thence to Had. He was living as late as May 17, 1692, and then gave his real and personal property to his three sons, Mark, Eleazar and Nathaniel. He m. Priscilla, dau. of Mark Symonds. Children—*Mark; John; Nathaniel*, b. abt. 1655; *Joseph*, b. Aug. 15, 1657, d. 1658; *Mehitable*, b. April 16, 1659, d. June 12, 1678; *Daniel*, b. April 16, 1661, res. in Ipswich, and d. 1688; *Eleazar*, b. Nov. 13, 1662; *Priscilla*, m. 1688, Thomas Cummings.

2. Mark, s. of John, (1) rem. abt. 1687, from Had. to Nh., and d. May 3, 1738, ae. 92. He m. (1) Dec. 8, 1671, Abigail, dau. of Richard Montague. She d. Feb. 6, 1705; (2) 1713, Mary Root of Westfield, who d. 1732. Children—*Abigail*, b. Aug. 18, 1675, m. May 4, 1695, Charles Ferry, Jr. of Springfield; *Mark*, b. Feb. 20, 1678.

3. Nathaniel, s. of John, (1) a weaver, freeman 1683, d. Jan. 15, 1714. He m. Feb. 3, 1681, Joanna, dau. of Samuel Gardner. She d. March 18, 1729. Children—*Nathaniel*, b. Sept. 28, 1681, slain at Deerfield, 1704; *John*, b. Sept. 3, 1683, rem. to Stafford, Ct.; *Samuel*, b. and d. Jan. 15, 1687; *Samuel*, b. Jan. 24, 1688, rem. to Stafford, Ct.; *Daniel*, b. Aug. 7, 1690, rem. to Stafford, Ct.; *Elizabeth*, m. Nov. 22, 1709, Samuel Pease of Enfield; *Israel*, b. April 16, 1696, rem. to Springfield, and d. abt. 1746.

4. Eleazar, s. of John, (1) d. May 8, 1729, ae. 66. He m. May 27, 1689, Hester, dau. of John Taylor. She d. Dec. 28, 1748, ae. 82. Children—*Hester*, b. Aug. 3, 1692, m. May 23, 1716, Samuel Smith of Sunderland; *Eleazar*, b. July 29, 1694; *Stephen*, b. Nov. 3, 1698; *Marah*, b. Oct. 30, 1699; *Joanna*, b. Sept. 22, 1706, m. Ebenezer Moody; *Ruth*, b. abt. 1712, d. unm. Aug. 16, 1755, ae. 43.

5. Mark, s. of Mark, (2) Northampton, d. Aug. 3, 1766, ae. 88. He m. April 16, 1701, Lydia Phelps, who d. Nov. 19, 1765, in 83d yr. Children—*Lydia*, b. Feb. 9, 1702, m. abt. 1726, Abner Lyman; *Abigail*, b. Feb. 6, 1704, m. Elisha Noble of Sheffield; *Elizabeth*, b. April 9, 1706, m. 1737, Joseph Bridgman of Belchertown; *Mehitable*, b. Aug. 9, 1708, m. 1731, Noah Bridgman; *Downing*, b. Dec. 14, 1710, d. Feb. 8, 1729, ae. 18; *Mark*, b. Dec. 21, 1712; *Mary*, b. May 24, 1715, m. 1735, Israel Rust; *Daniel*, b. 1717; *Naomi*, b. Sept. 26, 1719, m. 1741, Israel Sheldon of Southampton; *Elisha*, b. Oct. 5, 1722, m. Mrs. Spaulding, and lived in Chesterfield; *Lucy*, b. Sept. 25, 1724, m. Ebenezer Edwards.

6. Eleazar, s. of Eleazar, (4) Sunderland, d. abt. 1777, as appears from the fact, that, his will made 1770, was proved Nov. 1777. He m. Martha. Children—*Seth*, b. 1729, m. Martha, and d. before his father, leaving wid. Martha, and four children, viz., Eleazar; Gideon; Jonathan; and Martha; *Eleazar*, b. 1733; *Jonathan*, b. 1736, d. in Albany, 1759; *Martha*.

7. Stephen, s. of Eleazar, (4) Granby, d. Sept. 12, 1782, ae. 85. He m. 1723, Rebecca Ferry of Springfield. Children—*Stephen*, b. Dec. 16, 1726; *Eleazar*, b. Jan. 15, 1731; *Esther*, Sept. 26, 1732.

8. Stephen, s. of Stephen, (7) Granby, d. Sept. 16, 1796, ae. 69. He m. (1) Mary; (2) Rachel, dau. of Peter Montague. Children—*Mary*, b. March 4, 1750; *Rachel*, b. Sept. 12, 1754; *Ruth*, b. June 16, 1756; *Sewall*, b. June 22, 1758; *Rebecca*, b. Nov. 15, 1760; *Miriam*, b. May 15, 1764; *Eli*, b. Dec. 7, 1766; *Adonijah*, b. May 24, 1769; *Jehiel*, b. March 27, 1771; *Nathan*, b. Sept. 3, 1774.

9. Eleazar, s. of Stephen, (7) Granby, d. June 19, 1810, ae. 79. He m. 1752, Mary Chapin, who d. Feb. 14, 1813, ae. 87. Children—*Mary*, b. May 28, 1753; *Eleazar*, b. Jan. 22, 1755; *Samuel*, b. Dec. 26, 1757, [1756?] *Violet*, b. Aug. 5, 1759; *Elisha*, b. Aug. 3, [23?] 1761; *Asher*, b. Oct. 16, 1763; *Esther*, b. Oct. 3, 1765; *Jeremiah Chapin*, b. Sept. 17, 1767, [Sept. 18, 1766?]; *Eunice*, b. May 26, 1769; *Seth*, b. May 30, 1771.

WARRINER, Joseph, b. in Springfield, Feb. 6, 1645, s. of William Warriner, rem. after 1686, from Had. to Enfield, and d. 1697, ae. 52. He m. (1) Nov. 25, 1668, Mary, dau. of Richard Montague. She d. July 22, 1689 ae. 47; (2) July 12, 1691, Sarah, wid. of Daniel Collins. After his death she m. Obadiah Abbee. Children—*Mary*, b. Nov. 17, 1669, m. 1691, Zechariah Booth; *Joseph*, b. Jan. 16, 1671, d. Nov. 1, 1672; *Joseph*, b. Jan. 6 1672; *Hannah*, b. Sept. 10, 1674, m. 1691, Robert Pease, Jr.; *Ebenezer*, b. Jan. 18, 1676; *Dorcas*, b. June 27, 1678; *Abigail*, b. Aug. 23, 1680, d. July 21, 1689; *Joanna*, b. Nov. 8, 1682, m. 1708, Thomas Colton; *Elizabeth*, b. Sept. 30, 1686; *Abigail*, b. May 4, 1692; *Mary*, b. May 4, 1692.

WAY, Ralph, Jr., negro, m. (1) 1765, Phillis Smith; (2) Nov. 16, 1769, Margaret Gregory. Children—*Philip*, b. Aug. 7, 1766, d. July 11, 1768; *Nancy*, b. July 20, 1768; *Ebenezer*, b. Aug. 31, 1770; *Philip*, b. Oct. 3, 1775.

1. WEBSTER, Hon. John, probably came into Connecticut in 1636, or 1637, of which colony he was one of the fathers. He was there a magistrate, Deputy Governor, Governor, and one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. He was an influential member of the church in Hartford, took a deep interest in the controversy which agitated that and other churches, and was one of the leaders of the Hadley company. He was buried in Hadley, April 5, 1661. He m. Agnes. Children—*Matthew*, res. in Farmington, Ct., and d. July 16, 1655; *William; Thomas; Robert*, res. in Middletown and Hartford, and d. 1676. He m. abt. 1652, Susannah Treat; *Anne*, m. John Marsh, and d. June 9, 1662; *Elizabeth*, prob. m. William Markham; *Dau.*, name unknown, m. Jonathan Hunt of Nh.

2. William, s. of John, (1) d. s. p. in Hadley, abt. 1688. He m. Feb. 17, 1670, Mary, dau. of Thomas Reeve of Springfield. She d. 1696.

3. Thomas, s. of John, (1) res. in Nh., Had. and Northfield, and d. 1686. He m. June 16, 1663, Abigail, dau. of George Alexander of Nh. She d. before March, 1690. Children—*Abigail*, b. Jan. 9, 1668, d. in infancy; *Abigail*, b. Jan. 10, 1669; *George*, b. Nov. 7, 1670, m. 1696, Sarah Bliss of Spr.; *John*, b. Feb. 26, 1673; *Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 26, 1676; *Thankful*, b. Jan. 12, 1679, m. 1700, John Bascom; *Mary*, b. May 25, 1681.

1. WELLS, John, rem. prob. from Stratford, Ct. to Hatfield, and d. Oct. 18, 1692. He m. Sarah, who d. abt. 1743. Children—*Sarah; Mary; Abigail; Hannah*, b. Nov. 12, 1665, d. Nov. 24, 1676; *Hester*, b. April 26, 1668; *John*, b. Sept. 15, 1670; *Elizabeth*, b. June 21, 1675; slain Sept. 20, 1677; *Jonathan*, b. Dec. 14, 1682; *Elizabeth*, b. Jan. 10, 1686.

2. John, s. of John, (1) Hatfield, d. April 21, 1720, ae. 49. He m. Rachel, dau. of Samuel Marsh. Children—*John*, b. March 12, 1700, res. in Amherst, and prob. in Hardwick, and d. 1746; *Joseph*, b. March 4, 1702, res. in Amh. and Sunderland; *Samuel*, b. Nov. 19, 1704, res. in Hatfield; *Aaron*, b. Sept. 2, 1707, d. Aug. 9, 1778, ae. 71; *Sarah*, b. Jan. 21, 1710; *Jonathan*, b. April 4, 1713, res. in Shutesbury; *Noah*, b. Jan. 18, 1719; *Abigail*.

1. WELLS, Thomas b. abt. 1620, s. of Wid. Frances Wells, who m. Thomas Coleman, came from Wethersfield, and d. between Sept. 30 and Dec. 14, 1676, ae. abt. 56. He m. Mary. She m. (2) June 25, 1678, Samuel

Belding of Hatfield, and d. before 1691. Children—*Thomas*, b. June 10, 1652; *Mary*, b. Oct. 1, 1653, d. young; *Sarah*, b. May 5, 1655, m. David Hoyt, April 3, 1673; *John*, b. Jan. 14, 1657, d. in infancy; *Jonathan*, b. abt. 1658; *John*, b. April 3, 1660, drowned Jan. 20, 1680; *Samuel*, b. abt. 1662; *Mary*, b. Sept. 8, 1664, m. (1) Aug. 16, 1682, Stephen Belding; (2) Jan. 2, 1723, Capt. Joseph Field; *Noah*, b. July 26, 1666; *Hannah*, b. July 4, 1668, m. July 7, 1687, John White of Hat., and d. Dec. 17, 1733, ae. 65; *Ebenezer*, b. July 20, 1669, *Daniel*, b. Dec. 11, 1669, (record,) d. June 11, 1670; *Ephriam*, b. abt. 1671, m. Jan. 23, 1696, Abigail, dau. of John Allis of Hat., res. in New London and Colchester, Ct.; *Joshua*, b. Feb. 18, 1673.

2. Thomas, s. of Thomas, (1) rem. abt. 1684 to Deerfield, and there d. 1691. He m. (1) Jan. 12, 1673, Hepzibah, dau. of Peter Buell of Windsor, Ct. She with three of her daughters was in June, 1693, knocked on the head and scalped by the Indians, but she and one dau. recovered from their injuries. She m. (2) Feb. 17, 1699, Daniel Belding. Children—*Mary*, b. Nov. 12, 1673; *Sarah*, b. 1676; *Thomas*, res. in Deerfield, m. March 29, 1700, Sarah Barnard, and d. s. p. 1750; *Eleazar*, a sailor, d. in Middletown, Ct., 1723; *John*, sent to Canada, 1706, slain May, 1709; *Daniel; David; Hepzibah*, m. John Dickinson.

3. Jonathan, s. of Thomas, (1) captain, res. in Deerfield, and d. Jan. 3, 1739. He m. (1) Dec. 13, 1682, Hepzibah, dau. of Geo. Colton. She d. Aug. 27, 1697; (2) Sept. 23, 1698, Sarah, wid. of Joseph Barnard and dau. of Elder John Strong. She d. Feb. 10, 1733; (3) Lucy. Children—*Jonathan*, b. 1684, m. Mary, and d. abt. 1735; *David*, b. Jan. 31, 1700, d. 1700.

4. Samuel, s. of Thomas, (1) Hatfield, d. Aug. 9, 1690. He m. Dec. 11, 1684, Sarah, dau. of Nathaniel Clark of Northampton. She m. 1693 or 1695, Thomas Meekins, and rem. to Hartford, Ct. Child—*Samuel*, b. July 7, 1688, m. 1709, Rachel Caldwell, and rem. to Hartford.

5. Noah, doubtless s. of Thomas, (1) was in New London, Ct., 1691, Colchester, Ct., 1709, and there d. 1712. He m. Mary [per. White, dau. of Daniel.] Children—*Noah*, b. Aug. 5, 1686; *Mary*, b. Dec. 10, 1687; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 30, 1692; *John; Jonathan; Samuel; Hannah.*

6. Ebenezer, s. of Thomas, (1) Hatfield. He m. (1) Dec. 4, 1690, Mary, dau. of Benjamin Waite; (2) 1705, Sarah, wid. of John Lawrence. Children—*Ebenezer*, b. Sept. 13, 1691, m. 1720, Abigail Barnard, and d. s. p. in Deerfield, 1758; *Thomas*, b. Sept. 25, 1693; *Joshua*, b. Aug. 31, 1695; *Martha*, b. Sept. 18, 1697, m. Feb. 4, 1720, Edward Allen; *John*, b. June 9, 1700; *Jonathan*, b. Sept. 26, 1702; *Mary*, b. Oct. 24, 1707, m. Aaron Graves.

7. Thomas, s. of Ebenezer, (6) physician, d. in Deerfield, 1744. He m. 1736, Sarah Hawks, who d. in Whately, 1783, ae. 82. Children—*Eleazar*, b. 1728; *Ebenezer*, b. 1730; *Joseph*, b. 1731; *Thomas*, an apprentice of Dea. Ebenezer Hunt, d. in Nh., 1747; *Augustus*, b. 1734; *Sarah*, b. 1736, m. Col. William Williams of Pittsfield; *Agrippa*, b. 1738; *Mary*, b. 1741, m. Lucius Allis of Conway; *Rufus*, b. Sept. 29, 1743, grad. H. C. 1764, was ord. Sept. 25, 1771, pastor of (Cong.) church in Whately, and d. Nov. 8, 1834, ae. 91.

8. Joshua, s. of Ebenezer, (6) d. in Greenfield, 1768, in 73d yr. He m. 1720, Elizabeth Smead. Children—*Joshua*, b. Sept. 16, 1721; *Ebenezer*,

b. 1723; *Martha*, b. 1725, m. 1750, Daniel Nash of Greenfield; *Elizabeth*, b. 1726, d. 1737; *Simeon*, b. 1728, killed, in Johnson's fight, Sept. 8, 1755; *Asa*, b. 1730; *Elisha*, b. 1731, m. —— Graves, and d. in Hat., 1792; *Mary*, b. 1733, m. —— Holland; *Joel*, b. 1735; *Esther*, b. 1736, m. Seth Hawks.

9. JOHN, s. of Ebenezer, (6) Deerfield and Greenfield, d. abt. 1747, as is inferred from the fact, that, adm. on his estate was granted March, 1747. He m. Sarah Allen of Windsor. She m. (2) Michael Metcalf, and d. as early as April, 1761. Children—*Samuel*, b. Oct. 28, 1729, m. Margaret McCullis, (grandfather of Hon. Daniel Wells of Greenfield, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and Samuel Wells, Esq. of Northampton, Clerk of the Courts;) *Sarah*, b. 1732, m. Col. Isaac Lyman of Keene, N. H.; *John*, b. 1734, m. Tamar Rice; *Daniel*, b. 1735, killed in Johnson's fight, 1755; *Susanna*, b. 1737, d. young; *Elijah*, b. 1740, m. Hannah Billings; *Susanna*, b. 1743, m. —— Phelps of Suffield, Ct.; *Thomas*, b. 1745, m. —— Allen of Windsor, and res. in Keene, N. H.

10. JONATHAN, s. of Ebenezer, (6) Deerfield, d. May 7, 1735. He m. (1) 1718, Rebecca Barnard. She was b. Dec. 25, 1686, and d. Nov. 14, 1718; (2) 1723, Mary Hoyt, who d. Nov. 22, 1750. Children—*Jonathan*, b. 1724, d. Oct. 30, 1750; *David*, b. 1726, d. unm. 1802; *Mary*, b. 1728, m. ——— Childs; *Samuel*, b. 1730, a Colonel in the militia, res. in Brattleboro', Vt. He m. May 20, 1751, Hannah Sheldon; *Oliver*, b. 1732; *Rebecca*, b. 1734.

WEST, DAN, m. June 13, 1771, Mary Cook. She m. (2) —— Bryant. Children—*Dan*, b. Jan. 10, (16?) 1772; *Thomas*, b. Nov. 1773, d. Sept. 22, 1775; *Dau.*, b. July 19 and d. July 24, 1776; *Thomas*, bapt. Feb. 1, 1778; *Polly*, b. Nov. 13, 1779, d. Sept. 18, 1781; *Rebekah*, b. May, 1782; *Polly*, b. May 2, 1784; *Mary*, b. May, 1785; *Roswell*, bapt. Oct. 26, 1788, d. April, 1790; *Roswell*, bapt. March 31, 1790; *Hannah*, b. June 18, 1792, m. Chester Gray; *Jerusha*, bapt. March, 1795.

WESTCARR, JOHN, physician, came to Had. abt. 1665, and d. Sept. 1675, in 31st yr. He m. Oct. 17, 1667, Hannah, dau. of Francis Barnard, who m. (2) Oct. 9, 1680, Simon Beaman.

WESTWOOD, WILLIAM, together with Bridget, his wife, sailed from England, in ship Francis, the last of April, 1634, he ae. 28, and his wife 32. He was made freeman of Mass., March 4, 1635. He removed in 1636, with Mr. Hooker and his company to Hartford, or rather arrived in Hartford before Mr. Hooker, and when the first Court was holden at Hartford in April, 1636, was one of the six men (two from each town) who composed it. One of the wealthiest and most prominent of the first settlers of Hartford, he took the same position in Hadley, where he d. April 9, 1669, ae. abt. 63. He m. Bridget, who d. May 12, 1676, ae. abt. 74. Child—*Sarah*, b. abt. 1644, m. May 30, 1661, Aaron Cook, and d. March 24, 1730, ae. 86.

1. WHITE, JOHN, came from England, in the ship Lyon, which sailed from London, June 22, 1632, and arrived in New England, Sept. 16, following. He settled in Cambridge, was adm. freeman, March 4, 1633, and rem. prob. in June, 1636 to Hartford, of which town he was an original proprietor. He was one of the first settlers of Hadley, and Representative, 1664 and 1669. About 1670, he returned to Hartford, where he was an Elder in the

South Church, and d. betw. Dec. 17, 1683 and Jan. 23, 1684. He m. Mary, who was living in March, 1666. Children—*Mary*, m. Jan. 29, 1646, Jonathan Gilbert of Hartford; *Nathaniel*, b. abt. 1629; *John; Daniel; Sarah*, m. (1) Stephen Taylor of Hat.; (2) Oct. 15, 1666, Barnabas Hinsdale of Hat.; (3) Feb. 3, 1679, Walter Hickson of Hat., and d. Aug. 10, 1702; *Jacob*, b. Oct. 8, 1645, m. Elizabeth Bunce, res. in Hartford, Ct., and d. abt. 1701.

2. Nathaniel, s. of John, (1) deacon, res. in Middletown, Ct., was eighty-five times Representative to the General Court, and d. Aug. 27, 1711, "ae. abt. 82." He m. (1) Elizabeth, who d. 1690, ae. abt. 65; (2) Martha, wid. of Hugh Mould of New London, Ct., and dau. of John Coit. She d. April 14, 1730, ae. abt. 86. Children—*Nathaniel*, b. July 7, 1652; *Elizabeth*, b. March 7, 1655, m. John Clark of Middletown, and d. Dec. 25, 1711, ae. 56; *John*, b. April 9, 1657, m. Mary [Pierce?] res. in Hartford, Ct., and d. July, 1748, ae. 91; *Mary*, b. April 7, 1659, m. (1) Jan. 16, 1678, Jacob Cornwall of Middletown; (2) April 13, 1710, John Bacon, Sen. of Middletown, and d. Nov. 15, 1732, ae. 73; *Daniel*, b. Feb. 23, 1662, m. March, 1683, Susannah Mould, res. in Middletown, and d. Dec. 18, 1739, ae. 78; *Sarah*, b. Jan. 22, 1664, m. John Smith of Haddam, Ct.; *Jacob*, b. May 10, 1665, m. (1) Feb. 4, 1692, Deborah Shepard; (2) Dec. 16, 1729, Rebecca, wid. of Thomas Ramney, and dau. of —— Willett, res. in Middletown, Ct., and d. March 29, 1738, ae. 72; *Joseph*, b. Feb. 20, 1667, m. April 3, 1693, Mary, dau. of Hugh Mould, res. in Middletown, Ct., and d. Feb. 28, 1725, ae. 58.

3. John, s. of John, (1) res. in Hatfield, where he was buried Sept. 15, 1665. He m. Sarah, dau. of Thomas Bunce. She m. (2) Nicholas Worthington of Hat., and d. June 20, 1676. Children—*Sarah*, m. Feb. 12, 1678, John Graves of Hatfield; *John*, b. 1663.

4. Daniel, s. of John, (1) lieutenant, res. in Hatfield, freeman 1690, and d. July 27, 1713. He m. Nov. 1, 1661, Sarah, dau. of John Crow. She d. June 26, 1719, ae. 72. Children—*Sarah*, b. Oct. 15, 1662, m. (1) March 31, 1680, Thomas Loomis of Hatfield; (2) Nov. 12, 1689, John Bissell of Windsor and Lebanon, Ct.; *Mary*, d. Sept. 5, 1664; *Mary*, b. Aug. 5, 1665, m. (1) —— Wells; (2) —— Barnard; *Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 13, 1667, m. July 2, 1688, Dea. Samuel Loomis of Windsor and Colchester, Ct., and d. Feb. 18, [25?] 1736, ae. 68; *Daniel*, b. July 4, 1671; *Esther*, d. Feb. 1675; *Hannah*, b. July 4, 1674, d. in infancy; *John*, b. Nov. 16, 1676, d. Aug. 1677; *Esther*, m. Dec. 7, 1696, Lt. John Ellsworth of Windsor, Ct. and Ellington, Ct., and d. Sept. 7, 1766, ae. abt. 89; *Hannah*, b. Sept. 1679, m. Dea. Nathaniel Dickinson of Hatfield; *Mehitable*, b. March 14, 1683, m. Dec. 18, [19?] 1705, Jeremiah Bissell of Windsor, Ct.

5. Nathaniel, s. of Dea. Nathaniel, (2) deacon, rem. abt. 1678 from Middletown, Ct. to Hadley, and settled upon the original homelot of his grandfather, Elder John White, and there took the oath of allegiance, February, 1679. He d. Feb. 15, 1742, ae. 89. He m. March 28, 1678, Elizabeth, dau. of John Savage. She was b. June 3, 1655, and d. Jan. 30, 1742, ae. 86. Children—*Elizabeth*, b. Jan. 13, 1679, d. young; *Nathaniel*, b. Nov. 4, 1680; *John*, b. Nov. 28, 1682; *Sarah*, prob. d. young; *Joseph*, b. Feb. 28, 1687; *Daniel*, b. March 1, 1690; *Jacob*, b. Dec. 5, 1691, d. June, [1692?]; *Mary*, b. Oct. 16, 1693, m. Jan. 28, 1719, Israel Dickinson; *Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 8, 1695, m. Jan. [June?] 24, 1716, Dea. Samuel Montague of Sunderland, and d. 1753, ae. 57; *William*, b. Aug. 15, 1698; *Ebenezer*, b. April 9, 1701.

6. JOHN, s. of John, Jr., (3) deacon, Hatfield, in his old age, prob. 1742, removed to Bolton, Ct., and thence to Hardwick, Mass., where he d. Nov. 13, 1750, ae. 87. He m. July 7, 1687, Hannah, dau. of Thomas Wells. She d. Dec. 17, 1733, ae. 65. Children—*John*, b. Sept. 26, 1689, m. (1) 1717, Sarah, wid. of Thomas Barber, and dau. of Jonathan Ball of Springfield. She was b. Aug. 6, 1685, and d. Nov. 3, 1744, ae. 59; (2) 1746, Hannah, dau. of John Meekins. He settled in West Springfield, and d. 1759, ae. abt. 70; *Mary*, b. Jan. 3, 1692, d. in infancy; *Hannah*, b. March 26, 1695, m. July 14, 1720, John Hastings of Hatfield; *Mary*, b. 1697, prob. d. young; *Jonathan*, b. Sept. 18, 1700, m. (1) Esther ——, who d. March 25, 1727; (2) Anna ——, who d. March 2, 1747; (3) Oct. 6, 1747, Mrs. Anna Wright, who d. Sept. 30, 1777. He res. in Hat., until 1731, when he rem. to Hebron, Ct., where he d. March 28, 1776, ae. 75; *Sarah*, m. (1) Jan. 11, 1722, Philip Smith of Hat.; (2) 1734, John Burk of Hat.; (3) Sept. 5, 1739, Daniel Griswold of Bolton, Ct.; *Elizabeth*, m. Jan. 19, 1726, Daniel White of Hat., and d. July 4, 1770, ae. abt. 65; *Martha*, b. March 14, 1708, m. Oct. 31, [Nov. 1?] 1732, Joseph Olmsted of Bolton, Ct. and Enfield, Ct.; *David*, b. July 1, 1710.

7. DANIEL, s. of Daniel, (4) settled in Hatfield, whence in 1704 or 1705, he rem. to Windsor, Ct., and d. June 22, 1726, ae. 55. He m. (1) Sarah, dau. of Thomas Bissell of Windsor, Ct. She was b. Jan. 8, 1672, and d. July 18, 1703, ae. 31; (2) July 6, 1704, Anna, dau. of John Bissell, Jr. of Windsor. She was b. April 28, 1675, and d. in Windsor, April 21, 1709, ae. 34; (3) April 25, 1710, Elizabeth, dau. of Samuel Bliss of Norwich, Ct. She was b. Feb. 28, 1687, and d. July 2, 1757, ae. 70. Children—*Sarah*, b. 1693, d. Feb. 24, 1693; *Sarah*, b. Aug. 20, 1694, m. Sept. 5, 1716, Daniel Griswold, Jr. of Windsor and Bolton, and d. in B., Feb. 1, 1738, ae. 43; *Daniel*, b. Sept. 5, 1698; *Thomas*, b. July 10, 1701, grad. Y. C. 1720, was ord. pastor of church in Bolton, Ct., Oct. 26, 1725, where he d. Feb. 22, 1763, ae. 61. He m. June 17, 1725, Martha, dau. of Jonathan Hunt of Northampton; *Joel*, b. April 6, 1705, m. (1) Ruth, who d. Sept. 4, [15?] 1735, ae. 32; (2) Jan. 22, 1736, Ruth, dau. of Daniel Dart of Bolton, Ct.; (3) April 8, 1761, Eunice, wid. of Roger Wolcott, Jr. of East Windsor, Ct., and dau. of John Colton of Longmeadow; (4) 1778, Sarah, wid. of [Shubael?] Conant of Mansfield, Ct., res. in Bolton, Ct., where he d. June 28, 1789, ae. 84; *Elisha*, b. Nov. 11, 1706, settled in Bolton, Ct., whence he rem. abt. 1744, to East Guilford, (now Madison,) Ct., and thence abt. 1749, to Killingworth, Ct., where he d. abt. 1778. He m. Aug. 31, 1732, Ann, dau. of Ebenezer Field of East Guilford, Ct.; *Simeon*, b. March 11, 1708; *Seth*, b. March 6, 1713, m. Elizabeth ——, settled in Providence, R. I., but rem. abt. 1748, to Plainfield, Ct., where he d. Jan. 1758, ae. 44; *Lucy*, b. June 16, 1715, m. (1) Joseph French of Norwich and Coventry, Ct.; (2) April 23, 1741, Josiah Wolcott of Coventry, Ct.; *Elizabeth*, b. May 18, 1717, m. Nov. 4, 1734, Samuel French of Norwich, Ct.; *Oliver*, b. March 26, 1720, m. Feb. 21, 1745, res. in Bolton and Saybrook, Ct., and d. Sept. 13, 1801, ae. 81.

8. NATHANIEL, s. of Nathaniel, (5) settled in Hadley, whence abt. 1727, he removed to South Hadley, and d. May 28, 1762, ae. 81. He m. May 10, 1709, Esther, dau. of Samuel Strong of Northampton. She was b. April 30, 1685, and d. Aug. 11, 1756, ae. 71. Children—*Nathaniel*, b. April 10, 1710; *Samuel*, b. Oct. 22, 1711, d. Nov. 22, 1711, *Timothy*, b. Aug. 9, 1712, d.

Aug. 15, 1712; *Submit*, b. Aug. 21, 1713, m. (1) July 4, 1753, William Judd of Nh.; (2) Dec. 4, 1760, Dea. John Clark of Southampton; *Esther*, b. Dec. 4, 1715, m. Samuel Dickinson of Granby; *Jonathan*. b. Jan. 29, 1717; *Christian*, b. June 6, 1720, d. July 13, 1720; *Child*, b. and d. Jan. 2, 1722; *Christian*, b. May 9, 1723, d. Dec. 11, 1732, ae. 9; *Samuel*, b. Oct. 1, 1725, d. Oct. 25, 1745, ae. 20; *Child*, b. and d. March 17, 1728.

9. JOHN, s. of Nathaniel, (5) prob. d. prior to 1766. He m. (1) Jan. 5, 1715, Martha Church; (2) Feb. 27, 1722, Abigail Atherton, who prob. d. May 10, 1766. Children—*Martha*, b. March 18, 1716, m. Nov. 14, 1734, Henry Bartlett; *Abigail*, m. Feb. 16, [Jan. 19?] 1749, John Brooks of Hat.; *Ruth*, m. (1) Nov. 1, 1748, Daniel Rood; (2) 1764, Jacob Taylor of So. Had.; *Oliver*.

10. JOSEPH, s. of Nathaniel, (5) deacon, res. in Had. and So. Had., and d. before 1770. He m. Feb. 3, 1709, Abigail, dau. of Thomas Craft, or Croft. She d. Nov. 15, 1770, ae. 82. Children—*Moses*, b. Feb. 7, 1710; *Abigail*, b. Aug. 20, 1713, m. July 17, 1734, John Alvord, Jr. of So. Had., and d. Nov. 19, 1757, ae. 44; *Thomas*, b. July 20, 1715; *Joseph*, b. Oct. 4, 1718; *Mary*, b. Oct. 15, 1721, d. July 8, 1726; *Rebecca*, b. March 11, 1724, m. Jan. 17, 1745, Josiah Moody of Had. and So. Had., and d. Sept. 15, 1751, ae. 27; *Mary*, b. June 25, 1727, m. Dec. 11, 1744, William Eastman of Granby, and d. Nov. 19, 1752, ae. 25; *Josiah*, b. 1729.

11. WILLIAM, s. of Nathaniel, (5) d. May 30, 1774, ae. 75. He m. (1) March 22, 1728, Mary, wid. of John Taylor, and dau. of John Selden. She d. Aug. 10, 1735, ae. 32; (2) June 2, 1737, Martha, dau. of Daniel Warner. She d. Oct. 3, 1787, ae. 81. Children—*Mary*, b. Feb. 2, 1729, m. Ebenezer Dodd of New Haven and Guilford, Ct.; *Sarah*, b. Oct. 6, 1730, m. 1764, Thomas Chamberlain of Coos, N. H., and d. before 1788; *William*, b. Oct. 4, 1732; *Daniel*, b. Aug. 10, 1734, d. Dec. 10, 1738; *Nathaniel*, b. Nov. 12, 1738; *Daniel*, b. Sept. 1, 1740; *Martha*, b. Aug. 3, 1742, m. April 26, 1770, William Cooke, and d. Oct. 14, 1816, ae. 74; *Ebenezer*, b. March 16, 1744, m. March 13, 1766, Abigail, dau. of Abraham Porter of Hartford, Ct., settled in Pittsfield, and d. May 15, 1794, ae. 50; *John*, b. March 28, 1746, d. unm. May 22, 1819, ae. 73; *David*, b. Feb. 18, 1748.

12. EBENEZER, s. of Nathaniel, (5) d. March 23, 1733, ae. 31. He m. Oct. 28, 1730, Ruth Atherton, who d. April 29, 1785, in her 85th yr. Children—*Rachel*, b. abt. 1731, d. unm. May 25, 1815, ae. 83; *Ebenezer*, b. abt. 1733.

12½. DANIEL, s. of Daniel, (7) captain, rem. with his father's family from Hat. to Windsor, Ct., but returned as early as 1719 to Hat. In 1731, he rem. to Bolton, Ct., whence in 1742 he again returned to Hat. and there d. Dec. 15, 1786, ae. 88. He m. (1) Oct. 7, 1719, Mary Dickinson of Hat., who d. July 8, 1721; (2) Jan. 19, 1726, Elizabeth, dau. of Dea. John White. She d. July 4, 1770, ae. abt. 65. Children—*Salmon*, b. June 22, 1721, d. in infancy; *Daniel*, b. Dec. 28, 1726; *Mary*, b. Aug. 30, 1729, m. Dr. Elijah Paine of Hat. and Williamsburgh, and d. April 19, 1804, ae. 74; *Salmon*, bapt. Oct. 31, 1731; *Elihu*, bapt. April 21, 1734; *Elizabeth*, bapt. Sept. 5, 1736, m. Gen. Seth Murray of Hat., and d. Feb. 4, 1814, ae. 77; *Hannah*, b. Oct. 26, 1740, prob. d. young.

[Omission here in First Edition.]

retained her physical and mental powers, in a good degree, almost to the close of life. Children—*Simeon*, b. 1745, m. Aug. 2, 1770, Hannah, dau. of Elisha Hubbard of Hatfield, res. in Williamsburgh, and Rutland, N. Y., and d. Aug. 20, 1820, ae. 75; *Asa*, b. 1747, m. Jan. 20, 1785, Zilpah Hayes of Granby, Ct., settled in Williamsburgh, and there resided till his death, except a few years, from 1812 to 1816, when he lived in Chesterfield. He d. Sept. 15, 1829, ae. 82; *Jerusha*, b. 1751, m. Jan. 6, 1789, Arnold Mayhew of Williamsburgh, and d. Dec. 1, 1839, ae. 88.

14. Nathaniel, s. of Nathaniel, (8) South Hadley, d. March 23, 1787, ae. 77. He m. Nov. 24, 1741, Martha, dau. of Thomas Bascom of Northampton. She was b. Sept. 16, 1713, and d. Dec. 6, 1796, ae. 83. Children—*Timothy*, b. 1743, d. unm. Feb. 21, 1789, ae. 46; *Samuel*, b. Oct. 3, 1747, m. Sept. [Oct.?] 1771, Mary Collins, res. in So. Had., and d. Jan. 22, 1817, ae. 69; *Nathaniel*, b. Nov. 28, 1749, res. in So. Had. until abt. 1794, when he rem. to Easthampton, where he d. Oct. 15, 1828, ae. 72. He m. May 14, 1778, Huldah, dau. of Eliakim Clark; *Christian*, b. 1751, d. unm. May 5, 1801, ae. 50; *Ezekiel*, b. 1754, was a physician in So. Had. where he d. unm. Nov. 3, 1789, ae. 35; *Ebenezer*, b. May 6, 1756, m. Sept. 26, 1793, Ruth, dau. of Benjamin Lyman, res. in So. Had. and Ludlow, and d. March 29, 1829, ae. 73; *Ezra*, b. 1758, d. unm. April 7, 1790, ae. 32.

15. Jonathan, s. of Nathaniel, (8) South Hadley, d. Aug. 2, 1789, ae. 72. He m. (1) Dorcas Alvord, who d. Nov. 24, 1744, ae. 24; (2) Feb. 6, 1745, Lydia, dau. of Samuel Rugg. She was b. Jan. 1, 1723, and d. Nov. 18, 1802, ae. 80. Children—*Enoch*, b. Nov. 8, 1744, d. Nov. 15, 1744; *Enoch*, b. Feb. 1747, m. Susannah, dau. of Thomas Goodman of So. Had., res. in So. Had., where he was a deacon, selectman and representative, and d. Jan. 10, 1813, ae. 65; *Phineas*, b. 1748, d. in New Haven, Ct., Sept. 5, 1769, while a member of Yale College; *Thankful*, m. Enos Goodman of So. Had.; *Lydia*, b. 1759, m. Darius Smith of So. Had. and Susquehannah, N. Y., and d. March, 1837, ae. 78; *Phebe*, m. Gad Alvord of Granby.

16. Oliver, s. of John, (9) d. June 28, 1789, ae. abt. 65. He m. (1) Feb. 17, 1752, Elizabeth Charter, who d. June 29, 1752; (2) 1755, (pub. Jan. 18,) Abigail Selden. Children—*Son*, b. June 6, 1752, d. Aug. 15, 1752; *Oliver*, b. Dec. 19, 1755; *Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 29, 1757, m. Phinehas Clark of Easthampton, and d. March 25, 1847, ae. 89; *Moses*, b. Dec. 3, 1759; *Jerusha*, b. March 5, 1762, m. Aug. 1781, Seth Kellogg; *Eunice*, b. March 18, 1764; m. March 2, 1784, George Wells, and rem. abt. 1800, to N. Y. or Vt.; *Elihu*, b. March 8, 1766, d. March 27, 1766; *Esther*, b. April 2, 1768, m. Jan. 1, 1789, William Ingram, who rem. to N. Y.; *Abigail*, b. Sept. 24, 1770, m. Feb. 11, 1789, Green Wells of Mapletown, and rem. to Vt. or N. Y.

17. Moses, s. of Dea. Joseph, (10) South Hadley, a trader, d. prob. in 1783, ae. 73. He m. July 29, [1738?] Lydia Bellows. Children—*Lydia*, b. March 30, 1739, d. April 19, 1739; *Child*, b. and d. March 30, 1739; *Elizabeth*, b. 1741, m. Reuben Judd of So. Had., and d. May 9, 1765, ae. 24.

18. Thomas, s. of Dea. Joseph, (10) South Hadley, d. July 18, 1795, ae. 80. He m. Mindwell Alvord, who d. Aug. 25, 1764, ae. 59. Children—*Joel*, prob. m. Anna, and d. 1771; *Mindwell*, b. 1739, m. (1) —— Looman; (2) Lt. Thomas White, 2d, of So. Had., and d. Oct. 10, 1768, ae. 29; *Abigail*, m. Caleb Ely of So. Had. and Norwich; *Aaron*, b. May 29, 1744, m. March 6,

1770, Thankful, dau. of Jonathan White, and d. in So. Had., Feb. 8, 1810, ae. 65; *Job*, b. abt. 1752, m. (1) Charity, dau. of Benoni Chapin of Springfield; (2) Oct. 6, 1785, Mindwell Clapp, res. principally in Northampton, and d. Feb. 12, 1807, ae. 54; *Mary*, b. July 1, 1754, m. Dec. 3, 1780, Perez Smith of So. Had., and d. March, 10 1835, ae. 80; *Simeon*.

19. Joseph, s. of Dea. Joseph, (10) South Hadley, d. Nov. 1795, ae. 77. He m. Oct. 23, 1746, Editha Moody, prob. dau. of Ebenezer Moody of So. Had. She d. July, 1793. Children—*Editha*, b. Jan. 27, 1748, m. —— Chamberlain; *David*, b. Oct. 14, 1749, d. unm. Sept. 1811, ae. 62; *Moses*, b. April 10, 1751, m. Abigail, and d. in So. Had., Sept. 15, 1777, ae. 26; *Rebecca*, b. Jan. 14, 1753, m. Eleazer Goodman, and rem. to the vicinity of Lake George, N. Y.; *Joseph*, b. Dec. 13, 1754, m. Dec. 14, 1788, Sally Yoemans of Colchester, Ct., res. in So. Had., and d. July 30, 1829, ae. 74; *Lois*, b. Oct. 20, 1756; *Miriam*, b. Aug. 2, 1758, m. Samuel Alvord of So. Had., and d. Feb. 25, 1844, ae. 85; *Reuben*, b. Oct. 1, 1761, m. May 18, 1797, Mabel, dau. of Nathaniel White, rem. in 1818, from So. Hadley to Belchertown, and d. Feb. 27, 1856, ae. 94.

20. Josiah, s. of Dea. Joseph, (10) deacon, South Hadley, d. March 29, 1809. ae. 80. He m. March 16, 1749, Mary, dau. of Samuel Smith of So. Had. She d. Sept. 21, 1818, ae. 85 or 86. Children—*Maria*, b. Aug. 13, 1749, d. unm. Aug. 29, 1772, ae. 23; *Mary*, b. Feb. 13, 1752, m. Phineas Smith; *Irene*, b. March 30, 1755, d. Sept. 12, 1757; *Josiah*, b. Feb. 22, 1759, d. Feb. 12, 1760; *Josiah*, b. March 30, 1761, m. Nov. 22, 1787, Mabel, dau. of David Mitchell of So. Had. He was a farmer in So. Had., and d. Feb. 26, 1829, ae. 88; *Irene*, b. Feb. 26, 1763, d. Oct. 2, 1775, ae. 12; *Keziah*, b. March 30, 1766, m. Dec. 31, 1799, Joel Clark of So. Had., and d. Nov. 28, 1810, ae. 44; *Eldad*, b. March 31, 1768, m. March 31, 1789, Hannah, dau. of Ezra Day of So. Had., and d. in So. Had., April 11, 1823, ae. 55; *Medad*, b. Sept. 5, 1771, d. Oct. 10, 1771; *Medad*, b. Nov. 25, 1774, d. Sept. 26, 1775.

20½. William, s. of William, (11) resided in Hinsdale, N. H., in Northfield and Springfield, Mass., and d. in Had., Dec. [30?] 1810, ae. 78. He m. (1) April, 1757, Lydia, dau. of Elizur Patterson of Northfield. She was b. 1737; (2) Nov. 14, 1765, Martha Chapin of Springfield. Children—*Giles*, m. Sarah Dodd, and rem. to Cobleskill, N. Y., as early as 1797; *Sarah; Mary; William; Samuel; Gad*, m. Flavia.

21. Nathaniel, s. of William, (11) kept tavern on the "Bay Road," and d. March 12, 1821, ae. 82. He m. (1) Nov. 5, 1761, Sarah, dau. of Abel Stockwell of Springfield. She was b. March 10, 1742, and d. March 4, 1802, ae. 60; (2) Rebecca Shepard of Hartford, Ct. Children—*Jarib*, b. April 27, 1763; *Sarah*, b. March 27, 1765, m. Nov. 16, 1791, Orange Hart Warren of Williamsburgh, and d. Dec. 1828, ae. 63; *Lydia*, b. March 27, 1765, m. Jan. 8, 1800, Benjamin Burr of So. Had., and d. Feb. 28, 1834, ae. 69; *Mabel*, b. Sept. 1, 1767, m. May 18, 1797, Reuben White of So. Had. and Belchertown, and d. Sept. 20, 1855, ae. 88; *Lois*, b. July 20, [22?] 1770, m. Jan. 16, 1794, Cotton Mather Warren of Williamsburgh, and d. July 19, 1842, ae. 72; *Tirzah*, b. Aug. 13, 1772, m. Nov. 8, 1797, Phineas Thompson of Palmer.

22. Daniel, s. of William, (11) captain, d. Nov. 17, 1815, ae. 75. He m. June 11, 1772, Sarah, dau. of Aaron Goodrich. She was b. Oct. 10, 1747, and d. 1837, ae. 90. Children—*Zenas*, b. Oct. 10, 1773, a farmer, d. unm.

Sept. 16, 1844, ae. 71; *Judith*, b. March 27, 1775, m. March 10, 1806, Eli Graves, and d. June 2, 1837, ae. 62; *Bethene*, b. Feb. 14, 1777, m. Jan. 10, 1798, Eli Graves, and d. Aug. 12, 1802, ae. 25; *Sarah*, b. Jan. 26, 1779, m. Jan. 22, 1799, John Cook; *Permelia*, b. Nov. 2, 1780, m. Jan. 23, 1805, Roswell Wells of Had. and Waterbury, Vt.; *Grace Grant*, b. Oct. 18, 1782, m. Nov. 28, 1802, Stephen Montague; *Silva*, b. April 20, 1785, m. Aug. 8, 1813, John Baker of Westhampton; *Daniel*, b. Nov. 6, 1789.

23. David, s. of William, (11) was a lieutenant in the Expedition to Canada, early in 1776, and d. abt. 1778. He m. Dec. 17, 1772, Roxcellany Warner. She m. (2) May 20, 1779, Joseph Crafts of Whately. Children—*Cotton*, bapt. July 10, 1774; *Luther*, bapt. Sept. 10, 1775, m. and rem. to the South.

24. Ebenezer, s. of Ebenezer, (12) d. Oct. 11, 1817, ae. 84. He m. Sarah, dau. of Samuel Church of Amh. She d. abt. 1802, ae. abt. 66. Children—*Sarah*, b. 1770, m. Nov. 1787, John Sumner of Had. and Belchertown; *Jonathan*, b. Oct. 29, 1774; *Elijah*, b. June 28, 1778.

25. Daniel, s. of Daniel, (12½) Hatfield, d. Aug. 13, 1805, ae. 78. He m. 1754, Submit Morton of Hat., who d. July 21, 1798, ae. 71. Children—*Sarah*, b. March 6, 1755, m. March 24, 1780, Lt. Samuel Smith of Hat., and d. Dec. 7, 1843, ae. 88; *Lucy*, b. Aug. 23, 1757, m. Jan. 26, 1779, Elijah Smith of Hat., and d. June 9, 1839, ae. 81; *Hannah*, b. June 8, 1759, m. June 22, 1780, Elisha Hubbard of Hat. and Williamsburgh, and d. March 27, 1824, ae. 64; *Eunice*, b. Oct. 10, 1761, m. March 1, 1789, Amasa Wells of Hat., and d. April 28, 1824, ae. 62; *Submit*, b. March 28, 1764, m. Feb. 19, 1783, Nathan Bliss of Hat., and d. Aug. 8, 1840, ae. 76; *Daniel*, b. March 17, 1766, m. (1) March 8, 1796, Lucy Allis; (2) Sept. 27, 1815, [1814?] Lucy Burt; (3) Sept. 2, 1834, Elizabeth, wid. of Cotton White; (4) Sarah, wid. of Moses Burt, and dau. of Ebenezer Fitch of Hat. He was a physician, res. for several yrs. in Whitestown, N. Y., but returned to Hat., and d. Jan. 26, 1848, ae. 81; *Elijah*, b. April 26, 1768; *John*, b. and d. Feb. 27, 1775.

26. Salmon, s. of Daniel, (12½) res. in that part of Hatfield which became Whately, was a member of the third Provincial Congress in Mass., and deacon of the church in Whately. He d. June 21, 1815, ae. 83. He m. Mary Wait, who d. June 22, 1821, ae. 90 or 91. She was perhaps dau. of Joseph Wait of Hat. Children—*Salmon*, b. Sept. 22, 1760, m. (1) Lydia Amsden of Deerfield; (2) Nov. 27, 1799, Anna, wid. of Josiah Allis, was a farmer in Whately, where he d. May 1, 1822, ae. 61; *John*, b. Jan. 9, 1762, m. Feb. 7, 1790, Elizabeth, dau. of Samuel Brown of Worcester, was a farmer, representative, and deacon in Whately, and d. April 2, 1836, ae. 74; *Mary*, b. Jan. 24, 1764, m. March 24, 1785, Ebenezer Arms of Greenfield, and d. in Prattsburg, Steuben Co., N. Y., Dec. 26, 1837, ae. 73; *Elizabeth*, b. Feb. 18, 1766, m. Oct. 31, 1787, Perez Hastings of Hatfield; *Mercy*, b. March 3, 1768, m. Nov. 14, 1798, Asahel Wright, Jr. of Deerfield, and d. Aug. 25, 1842, ae. 74; *Judith*, b. Dec. 29, 1770, was for more than twenty years a highly successful teacher in Whately, and d. unm. April 18, 1824, ae. 53; *Thomas*, b. April 12, 1773, m. Aug. 30, 1795, Hannah, dau. of Nathan Harwood of Windsor, was a farmer and blacksmith in Ashfield, where he d. Aug. 17, 1848, ae. 75; *Electa*, b. Sept. 22, 1775, m. Nov. 27, 1800, Elijah Allis of Whately, and d. April, 1859, ae. 83.

26½. Elihu, s. of Daniel, (12½) Hatfield, was in May, 1775, chosen with John Dickinson to represent the town in the Provincial Congress, to be held at Watertown, on the 31st of May. He d. Dec. 23, 1793, ae. 60. He m. Zeruiah, dau. of Ebenezer Cole of Hat. She m. (2) Feb. 19, 1795, Capt. Perez Graves of Hat. She was b. Nov. 30, 1741, and d. Dec. 13, 1820, ae. 79. Children—*Electa*, b. June 4, 1764, m. June 26, 1783, Benjamin Morton of Hat., and d. abt. 1835; *Ebenezer*, b. Feb. 28, 1766, m. Jan. 10, 1793, Mary Dickinson, was a farmer in Hat., and d. Jan. 6, 1826, ae. 60; *Elihu*, b. Dec. 17, 1767, m. July 5, 1792, Sarah Smith, and d. in Hat., June 26, 1816, ae. 48; *Lois*, b. Oct. 14, 1769, m. Feb. 19, 1789, Joseph Smith, 2d, of Hat., and d. Oct. 10, 1829, ae. 60; *Anna*, b. Dec. 14, 1771, m. Dec. 30, 1790, Elias Lyman of Hartford, Vt., and d. Feb. 11, 1844, ae. 72; *Patty*, b. Dec. 14, 1773, m. (1) March 24, 1795, Elihu Robbins of Hat.; (2) Elisha Clapp of Deerfield, and d. abt. 1856; *Betsey*, b. Jan. 28, [27?] 1776, m. June, 1798, Wyllys J. Cadwell of Montpelier, Vt., and d. Sept. 30, 1849, ae. 73; *Nabby*, b. April 30, 1778, m. Aug. 1804, Isaac Freeman of Montpelier, Vt.; *Jonathan Cole*, b. Feb. 17, 1780, m. Cynthia Parkhurst, was a hatter, settled in Hartford, Vt., and d. Aug. 17, 1844, ae. 64.

27. Oliver, s. of Oliver, (16) rem. abt. 1800 to Vt. or N. Y. Children—*Eunice*, bapt. in Had., Feb. 6, 1795; *Anne*, bapt. in Had., Feb. 6, 1795.

28. Moses, s. of Oliver, (16) d. Nov. 10, 1823, ae. 64. He m. Jan. 17, 1788, Chloe Peck. Children—*David*, b. Sept. 24, 1788; *Cynthia*, b. Jan. 14, 1792, m. Dec. 15, 1814, Jonathan Smith; *Elihu*, b. Sept. 22, 1794.

29. Jarib, s. of Nathaniel, (21) a farmer in Amherst, d. Feb. 2, 1821, ae. 57. He m. Feb. 24, 1794, Ruth, dau. of Thomas Sherman of Bridgewater. She was b. July 10, 1763. Children—*Jay*, b. Jan. 8, 1795, m. June 29, 1823, Caroline Wood, was a merchant in Amh., and d. April 1, 1825, ae. 29; *Orra*, b. March 8, 1796, m. June 1, 1821, Rev. Edward Hitchcock, D. D., LL. D. of Amherst College; *Bela*, b. Feb. 23, 1798, m. (1) Feb. 1, 1832, Julia Ann Stratton; (2) Harriet Hoppin, and res. near Omaha City, Nebraska; *Perez*, b. Aug. 14, 1799, d. July 31, 1800; *Mabel*, b. May 8, 1801, d. Aug. 16, 1803; *Rebecca*, b. Feb. 13, 1803, d. Aug. 19, 1803; *George*, b. July 5, 1806, grad. A. C. 1825, a physician, d. unm. in Carlinville, Macoupin Co., Ill., Sept. 1, 1834, ae. 28.

30. Daniel, s. of Daniel, (22) is a farmer, m. Sept. 25, 1816, Dorcas, dau. of Eleazar Barrows of Barre. She was b. Sept. 29, 1790. Children—*Sarah Jane*, b. Oct. 2, 1817, m. April 22, 1840, Enos Foster Cook of Amh.; *Daniel Sherman*, b. Aug. 25, 1819, d. Sept. 20, 1819; *Pamela Wells*, b. March 3, 1824, d. Aug. 25, 1832, ae. 8; *George*, b. Dec. 2, 1825; *Daniel Sherman*, b. Aug. 10, 1827; *Charles*, b. July 3, 1831, is a physician in Chicago, Ill.; *John Baker*, b. Dec. 4, 1833, is a druggist in New York.

31. Cotton, s. of David, (23) res. in Hat. and Had., and d. in Hat., May 19, 1826, ae. 52. He m. (1) Oct. 9, 1799, Demis Dickinson, who d. Dec. 20, 1801; (2) Feb. 19, 1807, Elizabeth Bancroft of Westfield. She m. (2) Sept. 2, 1834, Dr. Daniel White of Hat. She was b. in Westfield, Nov. 8, 1787, and d. May 20, 1843, ae. 55. Children—*Sarah*, b. Aug. 20, 1800, m. —— Taylor; *David*, b. July 5, 1809; *Elizabeth*, b. April, 1816, m. Rev. Mr. McKee of New York.

32. JONATHAN, s. of Ebenezer, (24) d. April 13, 1846, ae. 71. He m. (1) May 30, 1799, Lydia Atwood, who d. abt. 1811; (2) Phebe, dau. of Isaac Rider. She d. May 15, 1856, ae. 69. Children—*Thankful; Pamela*, m. Charles Warner; *Sarah; Ruth*, m. Nov. 22, 1824, Samuel Dunakin; *Lydia*, m. John Miller; *Susan*, m. Nov. 28, 1833, James Wilbur of Hat.; *Olive*, m. —— Stacey of Davenport, Iowa; *Phebe*, m. (1) Sept. 1841, Samuel Hager of Enfield; (2) June 25, 1857, Stoddard Meekins; *Jonathan*, b. Dec. 21, 1817; *Emeline*, m. Levi Ramsdell of Westfield; *Elijah*, b. June 23, 1821, d. July 2, 1821.

33. ELIJAH, s. of Ebenezer, (24) d. Nov. 24, 1856, ae. 78. He m. Dec. 24, 1799, Lucy, dau. of Josiah Pierce, Jr. She d. Oct. 18, 1855, ae. 77. Children—*Josiah*, b. Aug. 1, 1800, m. Hannah Cushing of Chesterfield, and res. in Dover, Wis.; *Samuel Sumner*, b. May 10, 1803; *Ebenezer*, b. Sept. 11, 1805, m. 1829, Mary Ann Coon, and res. in Dover, Wis.; *Delia*, b. Jan. 20, 1808, m. March 28, 1827, Isaac Stall; *Margaret Smith*, b. March 20, 1811, m. April, 1828, Lewis Tower.

34. DAVID, s. of Moses, (28) d. April 18, 1851, ae. 62. He m. (1) Jan. 15, 1815, Mary Bumps of Pelham, who d. 1836, ae. 34; (2) Sept. 1836, Celinda D., dau. of Abial Bragg of Enfield. She was b. July 4, 1805. Children—*Cynthia*, m. (1) Stephen Atwood; *Zenas*, m. and lives in Wisconsin; *Oliver; Sarah Ann*, b. April 22, 1822, m. Oct. 18, 1843, Lyman Stocking of Chicopee; *James Porter; Reuben*, b. Feb. 1830; *Sylvester*, b. Nov. 28, 1832; *Harvey*, b. June 2, 1836; *Albert Rensselaer*, b. Dec. 1837; *Mary Bumps*, b. March 26, 1843.

35. ELIHU, s. of Moses, (28) d. Sept. 5, 1850, ae. 56. He m March 21, 1820, Ruth, dau. of Isaac Rider of Enfield. She was b. Feb. 27, 1797. Children—*Eliza Ann*, d. ae. 1 yr.; *George Smith; Henry*, b. Feb. 1824, d. unm. Jan. 12, 1854, ae. 30; *Eliza Ann*, b. June 11, 1826, m. June 3, 1846, Lewis H. Wilder; *Moses*, m. Sept. 1848, Jane Berditt; *David; Elijah*, b. Jan. 3, 1830.

36. GEORGE, s. of Daniel, (30) m. March 14, 1851, Elizabeth S., dau. of William Judd of So. Had. She was b. Sept. 12, 1831. Child—*Ellen Jane*, b. Dec. 10, 1855.

37. DANIEL SHERMAN, s. of Daniel, (30) m. Feb. 24, 1854, Elizabeth W., dau. of Chester Powers of New Salem. Child—*Edward Sherman*, b. Jan. 27, 1858.

WILLIAMS, CHARLES, prob. removed to Colchester, Ct. He m. Elizabeth. Children—*Charles*, b. Oct. 1691; *Weeks*, b. Feb. 13, 1693; *John*, b. June 13, 1695; *Abraham*, b. April 28, 1696, d. 1697; *Abraham*, b. May 20, 1698.

1. WILLIAMS, REV. CHESTER, s. of Rev. Ebenezer of Pomfret, Ct., grad. Y. C. 1735, was ord. Jan. 21, 1741, third pastor of the church in Had., and d. Oct. 13, 1753, in 36th yr. He m. Aug. 23, 1744, Sarah Porter. She m. (2) Feb. 17, 1756, Rev. Samuel Hopkins, and d. Feb. 5, 1774. Children—*Penelope*, b. July 18, 1745, m. Nov. 15, 1770, Samuel Gaylord; *John Chester*, b. March 6, 1747; *Nehemiah*, b. Jan. 27, 1749, grad. H. C. 1769, m. 1775, Percy Keyes, was ord. Feb. 9, 1775, pastor of church in Brimfield, where he

d. Nov. 26, 1796, ae. 47. He possessed to a great extent the confidence of his people. As a public speaker, he was universally acceptable. His preaching was evangelical and plain. A volume of his sermons was published after his death; *Martha*, b. Nov. 27, 1750, m. Nov. 4, 1779, Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, D. D., of Franklin; *Sarah*, b. Aug. 10, 1752, d. unm. June 9, 1836, ae. 83.

2. John Chester, s. of Rev. Chester, (1) grad. Y. C. 1765, rem. to Randolph, Vt., and d. May 18, 1819, ae. 72. He m. Nov. 14, 1770, Lois, dau. of Obadiah Dickinson. She d. Sept. 7, 1787. Children— *Henry Dickinson*, b. Oct. 6, 1771, a carpenter, res. in Randolph, Vt.; *Emily*, b. May 31, 1773, d. in Northfield, July 13, 1789, ae. 16; *Mary*, b. Aug. 17, 1775; *Sarah*, b. July 17, 1778; *Child*, b. and d. May 10, 1780; *Chester*, b. June 15, 1781, a hatter; *Horace*, b. Sept. 27, 1785, rem. to Black River, N. Y.

1. WILLIAMS, Rev. William, was b. in Newton, 1666, grad. H. C. 1683, was settled over the church in Hatfield, about 1686, and d. Aug. 29, 1741, in 76th yr. He m. (1) Elizabeth, dau. of Rev. Seaborn Cotton. She was b. Sept. 13, 1665, and d. Aug. 7, 1698, ae. 32; (2) Aug. 9, 1699, Christian Stoddard, who d. April 23, 1764, ae. 87. Children—*William*, b. April 30, 1687, d. May 5, 1687; *William*, b. May 11, 1688, m. —— Stoddard, and was minister of Weston; *Martha*, b. Oct. 10, 1690, m. Edward Partridge; *Elisha*, b. Aug. 26, 1694, Rector of Yale Col., d. in Wethersfield, Ct.; *Solomon*, b. June 4, 1700, minister of Lebanon, Ct.; *Elizabeth*, b. June 1, 1707; *Israel*, b. Nov. 30, 1709; *Dorothy*, b. June 20, 1713, m. Rev. Jonathan Ashley of Deerfield.

2. Israel, s. of Rev. William, (1) d. Jan. 9, 1788, ae. 78, having broken his skull by falling down his cellar stairs. He m. Sarah, dau. of John Chester of Wethersfield, Ct. She d. Sept. 18, 1770, ae. 63. Children—*John*, b. May 26, 1732, grad. H. C. 1751, and d. Nov. 7, 1751, ae. 19; *William*, b. June 10, 1734, d. in Dalton, March 1, 1808, ae. 74; *Israel*, d. April 11, 1823, ae. 79; *Sarah*, m. —— Marsh, and res. in Ashuelot, N. H.; *Eunice*, m. Israel Stoddard; *Jerusha*, m. William Billings; *Elizabeth*, m. Feb. 9, 1780, Elisha Billings; *Lucretia*, m. Feb. 15, 1786, John C. Williams, and d. 1834, ae. 81.

1. WOODBRIDGE, Rev. John, was b. in West Springfield, Dec. 25, 1702, s. of Rev. John Woodbridge, grad. Y. C. 1732, was settled over the church in So. Had., April 21, 1742, and retained that connection until his death, which occurred Sept. 10, 1783, ae. 80. He m. (1) Tryphena, dau. of Rev. Benjamin Ruggles. She was b. 1707, and d. Jan. 10, 1749, in 42d yr.; (2) Wid. Martha Strong, dau. of —— Clark of Nh. She d. Aug. 20, 1783, in 58th yr. Children—*Tryphena*, b. July 31, 1731, m. S. Preston; *John*, b. July 24, 1732; *Benjamin Ruggles*, b. Oct. 16, 1733; *Jahleel*, b. Sept. 13, 1751, d. Dec. 31, 1825; *Æneas*, b. 1752, d. Jan. 6, 1832, ae. 79; *Sylvester*, b. May 10, 1754; *Caroline*, b. Dec. 14, 1756, d. Feb. 27, 1785; *Sophia*, b. 1761, m. Rev. Joseph Strong.

2. John, s. of Rev. John, (1) So. Hadley, a trader, was for eight years in the French war as captain, and a major in the Revolutionary war. He d. Dec. 27, 1782, ae. 50. He m. Mary Whitney of Watertown. Children—*Dorothy*, b. May 2, 1763; *Lucy*, b. Jan. 6, 1765; *John*, b. July 12, 1769, d. Dec. 2, 1835; *Martha*, b. Jan. 8, 1771; *Ruggles*, b. June 1, 1775.

WOODBRIDGE, Rev. John, was b. in Southampton, Dec. 2, 1784, s. of Dr. Timothy Woodbridge, grad. W. C. 1804, was ord. as pastor of the church in Hadley, June 20, 1810, and remained in that connection until Sept. 15, 1830, when he was dismissed to take the pastorate of the Bowery Presbyterian Church in New York City. After a short ministry over the last named church, Dr. W. was settled in Bridgeport, and New Hartford, Ct., and on the 16th of Feb. 1842, became the first pastor of the Russell Society in Hadley. He was dis. July 15, 1857 from his charge, and has since resided in Hadley. He m. Mary Ann, dau. of Thomas Y. Seymour of Hartford, Ct. She d. June 16, 1858. Children—*Mindwell*, b. March 20, 1815, m. Oct. 5, 1847, George A. Gibbs, Esq., of Chicago, Ill., and d. Oct. 3, 1849, ae. 34; *Mary Ann*, b. July 13, 1817, m. (1) Aug. 11, 1840, Aaron Hawley, who d. Aug. 19, 1847; (2) July 20, 1850, Rev. Parsons Cook, D. D., of Lynn; *Susan Augusta*, b. Aug. 30, 1819; *Emeline*, b. Nov. 23, 1821, m. Feb. 2, 1848, William P. Dickinson, and rem. to Chicago, Ill.; *Charlotte*, b. March 6, 1824, m. Aug. 4, 1842, Elisha S. Wadsworth of Chicago, Ill.; *Rebecca*, b. March 22, 1826, m. Oct. 2, 1850, Erastus S. Williams, Esq., of Chicago, Ill.; *John*, b. March 3, 1829, m. July 10, 1851, Elizabeth Butler, and is a lawyer in Chicago, Ill.; *Louisa Christmas*, b. Sept. 10, 1831; *Elizabeth Octavia*, b. Jan. 10, 1836, m. Sept. 10, 1853, Rev. Richard H. Richardson of Chicago, Ill.

WOODWARD, Samuel, m. Sarah. Children—*Sarah Smith; George Douglass*, b. Nov. 4, 1800; *Sophronia Williams*, b. Jan. 17, 1803; *Abigail Willard*, bapt. Oct. 1807; *Samuel Williams*, bapt. Feb. 4, 1810.

1. WORTHINGTON, Nicholas, Hatfield, d. Sept. 6, 1683. He m. (1) Sarah, wid. of John White, and dau. of Thomas Bunce of Hartford, Ct. She d. June 20, 1676; (2) Susanna ——. She m. (2) 1684, Capt. Jonathan Ball of Springfield, and d. March 9, 1727. Children—*Elizabeth*, m. —— Morton; *William*, b. abt. 1670, m. Wid. Mehitable Morton, and d. in Colchester, Ct., May 22, 1753; *Mary*, b. Jan. 24, 1674; *Jonathan; John*, b. Aug. 17, 1679; *Margaret*, d. April 8, 1682.

2. Daniel, s. of Daniel, gr. s. of William, and gr. grandson of Nicholas, (1) bapt. Aug. 19, 1733, m. 1772, Margaret Parsons of Palmer. Children—*Amasa*, b. May 9, 1773; *Daniel*, b. March 1, 1775; *Elijah*, b. Oct. 22, 1776; *Child*, b. Aug. 1782, d. Sept. 19, 1782, ae. 40 days; *Elizabeth*, b. May 22, 1784, d. May 24, 1784; *Son*, b. Aug. 24, 1785, d. Oct. 24, 1785; *Son*, b. and d. Oct. 4, 1786.

WRIGHT, Charles, b. in Northampton, Jan. 5, 1719, s. of Samuel, res. in Amherst for many years, but prior to 1762 rem. to Pownal, Vt., where he d. Dec. 23, 1793. He m. Oct. 19, 1742, Ruth, dau. of Solomon Boltwood of Amherst. She d. April 15, 1806, ae. 83. Children—*Solomon*, b. June 27, 1743, d. young; *Samuel*, b. Feb. 8, 1745; *Dorcas*, b. Dec. 31, 1750, m. Ebenezer Woolcott; *Josiah*, b. April 9, 1752, res. in Pownal, Vt., and at the date of his death, which occurred Jan. 2, 1817, ae. 64, was Chief Judge of the Bennington Co. Court, and a member of the Executive Council; *Sarah*, b. July 18, 1757, m. Abel Russell, and d. in Salem, N. Y.; *Esther*, b. Nov. 13, 1760, m. (1) —— Bates; (2) —— Kingsley, and d. in Scipio, N. Y.; *Solomon*, b. Dec. 28, 1762, res. in Pownal, Vt., m. Nov. 19, 1782, Eunice, dau. of

Thomas Jewett of Bennington, Vt., held various important offices, among others, that of Chief Judge of Bennington Co., and d. March 24, 1837, ae. 73.

1. WRIGHT, Samuel, b. in Northampton, s. of Samuel, m. (1) May 11, 1757, Penelope Leonard; (2) Nov. 11, 1772, Elizabeth Stevens. Children—*Paul; Silas*, b. May 17, 1760; *Ozias*, rem. to Maine; *Esther*, m. Sept. 21, 1800, Dea. Jason Stockbridge.

2. Silas, s. of Samuel, (1) res. in Amh. until Feb. 1796, when he rem. to Weybridge, Vt., where he d. May 13, 1843, ae. 72. He m. Sept. 26, 1780, Eleanor, dau. of Isaac Goodale of Amh. Children—*Samuel*, b. Aug. 18, 1785, m. Feb. 15, 1810, Electa Langdon; *Orinda*, b. March 19, 1788, m. May 31, 1810, Josiah Parker; *Lucretia*, b. March 16, 1790, m. Chester Elmer; *Eleanor*, b. Sept. 22, 1792, m. Sept. 21, 1813, Alpheus Bigelow; *Silas*, b. May 24, 1795, grad. Mid. Col. 1815, m. Sept. 11, 1833, Clarissa Moody, settled as an Attorney in Canton, N. Y., was State Senator and Comptroller, Representative and Senator in Congress, Gov. of the State, and d. Aug. 27, 1847, ae. 52; *Daniel L.*, b. April 10, 1799, m. April 26, 1826, Martha Williamson; *Pliny*, b. Dec. 14, 1805.

WYATT, Israel, removed from Hatfield to Colchester, Ct. He m. Dec. 10, 1690, Sarah Pratt. Children—*Sarah*, b. July 8, 1691; *Israel*, b. Sept. 26, 1696; *Susannah*, b. Sept. 26, 1696; *Israel*, b. Nov. 26, 1700; *Hannah*, b. April 10, 1703.

YOUNGLOVE, John, removed as is supposed from Ipswich to Brookfield, where he was a preacher, though not ordained. About 1675, he came to Hadley, and for several years taught the Grammar School. He afterwards preached in Suffield, where he d. June 3, 1690. He m. Sarah, who d. Jan. 17, 1710. Children—*John; Samuel*, b. Feb. 10, 1676, m. July 28, 1696, Abilene Hunter; *James*, b. Oct. 6, 1701, m. Hannah Phelps, and d. in Suffield, Oct. 21, 1723; *Joseph*, b. Nov. 26, 1682, m. Anna, and res. in Suffield, Ct.; *Sarah*, m. Sept. 25, 1682, John Taylor of Suffield, and d. June 19, 1683; *Mary*, m. Dec. 2, 1689, Thomas Smith of Suffield, and d. June 24, 1743; *Hannah*, m. Dec. 11, 1695, George Norton of Suffield, and d. Nov. 23, 1715; *Lydia*, m. April 26, 1693, George Granger of Suffield.

ADDENDA

Bass, Samuel. Children—*Elizabeth*, bapt. April 30, 1781; *Seth*, bapt. March 23, 1783.

Beaman, Rev. Warren Harrison, m. April 27, 1841, Elizabeth Lydia dau. of Rev. Samuel Worcester, D. D. of Salem. She was b. Dec. 19, 1814. Children—*Mary Elizabeth*, b. Feb. 19, 1842; *Emma W.*, b. Oct. 4, 1843; *John Warren*, b. Dec. 28, 1845; *Anna Jane*, b. Jan. 10, 1848, d. 1849; *Mina D.*, b. 1853.

Blake, William, m. Sarah Chapin, dau. of Enos Nash. Children—*Francis*, b. Sept. 1827, d. 1828; *Emily*, b. Jan. 11, 1829; *Mary Shipman*, b. June 10, 1834; *Sarah Jane*, b. Aug. 6, 1837; *Catharine Shipman*, b. Jan. 15, 1842.

Cooledge, Nathaniel, Jr., deacon, merchant, Representative 1828, d. April 9, 1835. He m. Nov. 7, 1827, Lois Eastman, dau. of William Porter.

Cowles, Silas, b. Nov. 4, 1779, s. of David, (10) p. 30, d. He m. Dec. 22, 1805, Zilpha Shumway. Children—*Myra*, bapt. 1811, m. May 21, 1829, Simeon Clark, of Amherst; *Daniel*, bapt. 1811, m. Mary Henderson; *Lewis*, bapt. 1815, m. (1) Nov. 14, 1833, Pamela E. Bolles; (2) May 18, 1854, Eliza Henderson; *Elijah*, bapt. 1812; *David S.*, bapt. 1816; *Emily*, bapt. 1818; *Asa*, d.; *Elijah*, bapt. 1824; *Zilpha Gilbert*, bapt. 1829.

Curtis, Rev. Joseph W., d. March 16, 1857. He m. for his second wife, Nov. 27, 1836, Lois Eastman, wid. of Dea. Nathaniel Cooledge, Jr., and dau. of William Porter. Children—*Charlotte Porter*, b. Nov. 21, 1838, d. Sept. 10, 1840; *William Porter*, b. March 23, 1843, d. March 2, 1844; *James Edwards*, b. Jan. 23, 1845, d. March 2, 1845.

Downing, John, Braintree, 1673, rem. to Hat. He m. July 20, 1676, Mary, widow of Thomas Meekins, Jr. Children—*Jonathan*, b. Jan. 1677; *John*, b. Oct. 29, 1678.

Drury, John. Child—*Abel*, b. 1780.

Dunakin, Andrew, m. Oct. 10, 1798, Anna Pierce. Children—*Henry*, bapt. 1803; *Dolly*, bapt. 1803; *Anna*, bapt. 1809.

Dwight, Nathaniel, s. of Timothy, was b. in Dedham, Nov. 25, 1666, settled in Hatfield, whence about 1695, he removed to Nh. He d. in Springfield, Nov. 7, 1711, ae. 44. He m. Dec. 9, 1693, Mehitable, dau. of Col. Samuel Partridge of Hat. She d. Oct. 19, 1756, ae. 82. Children—*Timothy*, b. Oct. 19, 1694, m. Aug. 16, 1716, Experience King, and res. in Nh.; *Samuel*, b. June 28, 1696; *Mehitable*, b. Nov. 11, 1697, d. Dec. 22, 1697; *Daniel*, b. April 29, 1699, grad. Y. C. 1721; *Seth*, b. Oct. 3, 1702, d. Sept. 12, 1703; *Elihu*, b. Feb. 17, 1704; *Abia*, b. Feb. 17, 1704, m. Samuel Kent of Suffield, Ct.; *Mehitable*, b. Nov. 2, 1705, m. abt. 1728, Abraham Burbank; *Jonathan*,

b. March 14, 1708; *Ann*, b. July 2, 1710, m. 1731, Abel Caldwell of Hartford, Ct.; *Nathaniel*, b. June 20, 1712, m. Jan. 1735, Hannah Lyman, rem. to Belchertown, and d. 1784.

Fox, Joel, m. April 19, 1801, Lucinda Cook, and had besides those children mentioned on page 53, *Amy Smith*, bapt. April 6, 1806; and *Calvin*, bapt. Aug. 21, 1808.

Hawley, Levi, b. Nov. 28, 1798, s. of Chester, who was s. of Zechariah, who was s. of Samuel, (2) p. 67, m. Nov. 23, 1820, Harriet, dau. of Elijah Nash, and d. Feb. 16, 1844. Children—*Mary*, b. May 23, 1822, m. July 3, 1845, Joseph Vincent, of Ashfield; *Caroline R.*, b. Nov. 6, 1824, m. Nov. 27, 1845, Enos D. Williams, of Amh.; *Harriet W.*, b. Nov. 3, 1826, m. Zebulon Taylor; *Levi Parsons*, b. Oct. 12, 1828, d. May, 1829; *Levi Parsons*, b. July 19, 1830 m. Abigail J. Boise; *Julia Electa*, b. Feb. 3, 1833, d. Oct. 1851; *Henry Elijah*, b. Aug. 1, 1836, d. March 2, 1837; *Elbertine Maria*, b. July 24, 1838; *Ellen R.*, b. Oct. 21, 1839; *Elijah Knights*, b. May 15, 1844.

Hooker, Joseph, rem. from Had. to Watertown, N. Y., where he d. He m. (1) —— Spur; (2) Mary, dau. of Nathan Seymour. Children by second wife—*Nancy Spur*, m. William Wood of Watertown, N. Y.; *Mary*, m. O. B. Brainerd of Watertown, N. Y.; *Sarah R.*, m. Rev. M. L. R. P. Thompson, D. D., of Cincinnati, O.; *Joseph*, b. 1815, grad. at West Point, 1837, served with distinction in Mexico as aid-de-camp to Brig. Gen. Hamer, was for a few years in U. S. service in California and Oregon, resigned his commission in 1853, and became a farmer in Sonora, on the Bay of San Francisco. At the breaking out of the Rebellion in 1861, he tendered his services to the Government, and was soon appointed Brigadier General of Volunteers, and later on account of his valor at the battle of Antietam, was made Major General.

Hodge, John, b. Oct. 19, 1760, s. of George, p. 70, m. March 19, 1789, Sarah Dickinson. Children—*Son*, b. April, 1789; *Son*, b. April, 1791; *Child*, b. July, 1793.

Johnson, Stephen, m. April 14, 1791, Sarah, dau. of Israel Lyman. She d. Sept. 19, 1835, ae. 65. Children—*Betsey; Roxy; Alfred; Chester*, bapt. March 10, 1798; *Sally*, bapt. Dec. 29, 1799; *Stephen*, bapt. May 9, 1802; *Rachel*, bapt. June 3, 1804; *Letha*, bapt. Oct. 12, 1806; *Emeline*, b. Feb. 1809.

Lyman, Zadoc, prob. s. of Israel, p. 90, and b. March 26, 1774. He prob. d. Dec. 8, 1849. Children—*Samuel; Watson; Lucretia; William; Horace*, bapt. Dec. 5, 1802; *Zadoc*, bapt. 1804; *Rodney*, bapt. Aug. 3, 1806; *Charles*, b. Nov. 6, 1808.

Marsh, Calvin, m. Oct. 7, 1800, Anna Smith. Children—*Orsamus*, m. Harriet Smith; *Hiram*, bapt. Aug. 30, 1804, m. Betsey, dau. of Jason Stockbridge, and res. in Boston; *Chapman*, bapt. 1806; *Calvin*, bapt. 1808; *Oliver; Elizabeth; Ann; Elihu; Merriam.*

Marsh, Timothy, b. Oct. 5, 1751, s. of Ebenezer, (11) p. 92, d. Oct. 19, 1796, ae. 45. He m. Sept. 23, 1779, Mary Smith. Children—*Child*, b. and d. Oct. 25, 1780; *Mary*, b. Nov. 1781; *Sarah*, bapt. Oct. 26, 1783; *Clarissa*, bapt. April 9, 1786; *Lois*, b. June, 1788.

PORTER, JAMES BAYARD, s. of William, (15) p. 114, is a merchant. He m. Jan. 6, 1836, Susan Parsons. Children—*Edward Clarke*, b. Dec. 3, 1836, grad. Y. C. 1858, delivered the poem at the Bi-Centennial Celebration; *Charlotte Williams*, b. Oct. 6, 1840; *William Parsons*, b. March 9, 1844.

PORTER, JONATHAN EDWARDS, b. May 17, 1766, s. of Eleazar, (12) p. 113, grad. H. C. 1786, and m. Fidelia, dau. of Timothy Dwight of Nh., was by profession a lawyer. Children—*Dau.*, b. Aug. 13, 1793; *Julia*, bapt. May 7, 1797; *Timothy Dwight*, bapt. May 7, 1797; *Theodore W.*, bapt. Oct. 20, 1799.

PORTER, *Mary*, dau. of Elisha, (13) p. 114, d. May 13, 1769; *Lucy*, of do., d. Oct. 18, 1770; *Patience*, of do., d. April 20, 1773.

Lucretia, first wife of Elihu Smith, (No. 71) p. 134, d. May 7, 1810. *Lucretia*, dau. of do., d. May 7, 1810; *Sophia*, dau. of do., m. Park Smith of Nelson, N. Y.; *David*, s. of do., d. Aug. 31, 1825; *Sarah C.*, dau. of do., d. Jan. 1, 1810. By his second wife, Elizabeth Hubbard, whom he m. July, 1811, and who d. Oct. 14, 1854, Elihu Smith had *Sarah Cook*, b. May 20, 1812, m. June 5, 1833, Edmund Smith; *Elizabeth Eastman*, b. Nov. 1813, m. Fordyce M. Knapp of Cummington; *Margaret Gaylord*, b. Jan. 1, 1816, m. Abel D. Forrest of Morrisville, N. Y.

SHIPMAN, SAMUEL, s. of Samuel, d. in Had. He m. Oct. 20, 1831, Mary Stebbins, dau. of Enos Nash. Children—*Sarah Wells*, b. Nov. 7, 1832, d. Sept. 23, 1848; *George Smith*, b. June 6, 1836; *Mary Warner*, b. Aug. 23, 1838; *Lucy Miller*, b. Aug. 23, 1838; *Ellen Elizabeth*, b. March 8, 1845.

STOCKBRIDGE, CALEB, s. of David, m. (1) 1795, Sarah Allis of Hatfield; (2) April 6, 1805, Mrs. Achsah Fairbanks. Children—*Caleb; Eber; Allis; David.*

STOCKBRIDGE, JASON, s. of David, deacon in No. Had. church, Representative, 1835, d. 1860. He m. (1) Sept. 21, 1800, Esther, dau. of Samuel Wright; (2) Oct. 26, 1815, Abigail, dau. of John Montague of Sunderland. Children by first wife—*Samuel*, bapt. Aug. 30, 1804; *Betsey*, bapt. April 25, 1805, m. Hiram Marsh, and res. in Boston; *Jason*, b. April 5, 1806. By second wife—*Levi*, Representative, 1855; *Henry Smith*, grad. A. C. 1845, is a lawyer in Baltimore, Md.; *Elvira*, d.

SUMNER, JOHN, from Belchertown, d. July, 1804. He m. Nov. 1787, Sarah, dau. of Ebenezer White. She d. Aug. 1803, ae. 33. Children—*Zebina*, b. April, 1788, d. 1792; *Susan*, b. July, 1790, d. Dec. 1811, ae. 21; *Margaret*, b. March 29, 1792, m. Nov. 19, 1816, Addi Wallis; *Samuel*, b. April, 1794, d. Aug. 1800; *John*, bapt. Aug. 27, 1795, d. 1795.

WARNER, JONATHAN, b. Dec. 16, 1773, s. of Lemuel, (17) p. 148, m. June 22, 1796, Sally Shipman. Children—*Elizabeth*, bapt. Aug. 17, 1796; *Emily*, bapt. Nov. 5, 1797; *Charles*, bapt. Feb. 3, 1799; *Elizabeth*, bapt. Jan. 18, 1801; *Dorothy*, bapt. 1803; *Sally Shipman*, bapt. June 2, 1805; *Henry Phelps*, bapt. June 28, 1806; *Henry Phelps*, bapt. Sept. 18, 1808.

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